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# **AFRICA CONFLICT RESOLUTION ACT INTER-AGENCY PROGRESS REPORT**

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**U.S. Agency for International Development  
U.S. Department of State  
U.S. Department of Defense  
U.S. Information Agency  
U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency**

**April 19, 1995**

**AFRICA CONFLICT RESOLUTION ACT  
FY95 INTER-AGENCY PROGRESS REPORT**

This report describes the progress of the Administration in carrying out the provisions of the Africa Conflict Resolution Act (P.L. 103-381). It represents the combined efforts of the U.S. Agency for International Development, the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. Department of Defense, the U.S. Information Agency, and the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

In the accompanying Inter-Agency PLAN, an extensive list of programs and activities has been detailed to show the range of previous, present and planned support directed toward the five major elements of the legislation:

- Improving the Conflict Resolution Capabilities of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)
- Improving the Conflict Resolution Capability of Sub-Regional Organizations
- Improving the Conflict Resolution Capability of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)
- Supporting African Demobilization and Reintegration Efforts
- Training Africans in Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping

This report provides additional detail on what *progress* has been achieved to date in implementing the Administration's support activities since the enactment of the legislation in October 1994. While this is a short period of time, significant progress has been achieved in getting activities and programs underway this fiscal year and in planning for next fiscal year and beyond. This is not sufficient time for creating measurable impact, which is the real objective of our programs. However, the Administration has been engaged in the capacity-building, demobilization and peacekeeping areas described in the legislation for several years and there are success stories to relate about this support. Thus, we have supplemented this short-term report with some examples of *longer-term progress* that has been achieved over time through our support for military demobilization and efforts in building African capacity in conflict resolution. These examples reflect solid accomplishments that we will be striving to replicate through our present and planned programs.

**SECTION I: Improving the Conflict Resolution Capabilities of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)**

In 1993 the OAU established a conflict resolution mechanism to expand its mediation and peace-building efforts in Africa. The Administration fully supported this action and in FY94 the Department of State contributed \$1.5 million (in Economic Support Funds transferred from USAID) to the OAU to provide for training, infrastructure and equipment support of the conflict resolution mechanism. The Department also provided \$2 million in voluntary peacekeeping operations funding to assist the OAU in further developing its capacity to plan and deploy peacekeeping operations.

As evidence of the priority that is placed on the important role that the OAU plays as conflict mediator and peacekeeper in Africa, the Department of State has established a new position in the U.S. Embassy in Addis Ababa of OAU Liaison Officer. This individual will have primary responsibility for coordination and follow-up with the OAU on conflict and peacekeeping issues. In addition, s/he will monitor and report on progress and developments related to U.S. financial support to the organization.

The Africa Conflict Resolution Act highlighted the importance of further strengthening the mediation capabilities of this institution by stipulating that assistance should be provided over the next several fiscal years. For FY95 and FY96 the Department of State has budgeted an additional \$650,000 and \$5 million respectively to continue this capacity-building support. The FY95 allotment is currently being transferred to the OAU account.

Additional assistance to the OAU included the U.S. Information Agency funding a study tour for Dr. Chris Bakwesegha, head of the OAU unit on Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, to increase his familiarity with international organizations and approaches to resolving conflict.

In January the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) offered to support the efforts of the OAU to enhance regional security through arms control, and confidence and security building measures. ACDA offered to send experts to the OAU to discuss relevant arms control experience which directly pertains to their efforts and interests, and to explore possible areas for further cooperation. ACDA also offered to host an expert-level delegation to visit Washington for an in-depth workshop on arms control, in particular confidence and security building measures. ACDA will be working with OAU leadership to implement these activities this fiscal year and to plan follow-on programs.

### **Longer-Term Progress in Developing OAU Capabilities in Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping**

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Since FY92 the U.S. has been supporting the OAU to build its capabilities in conflict mediation and peacekeeping. Noticeable progress is now starting to be achieved. The OAU has become more active in interacting with member states on issues of conflict and in taking on leadership roles as a mediator between opposing groups. It assisted in the lengthy Arusha peace talks to end the war in Rwanda and took other important steps to assist the peace process. It designated an OAU Special Representative in Rwanda and deployed military observers there to monitor developments and to keep abreast of a situation that it was actively trying to stabilize.

Recently, with U.S. assistance it has established its civilian conflict resolution center in the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa. Staff is being recruited and trained, communications and computer equipment ordered, and new procedures initiated to track crisis situations and to communicate effectively with representatives in the field. We see the OAU leadership, even at this early point, having the solid capability to engage in mediation efforts at ministerial and heads-of-state levels. The OAU has engaged in mediation efforts in Somalia and Burundi and initiated the deployment of monitors to Burundi to more closely follow the situation there. We expect these and other positive developments to continue with our assistance, and believe that this support by the US Government will significantly ameliorate the resource obstacles endemic to the OAU with regard to monitoring crisis situations and controlling observer field missions.

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#### **SECTION II: Improving the Conflict Resolution Capability of Sub-Regional Organizations**

The Act provides that assistance, as may be necessary, should be provided to subregional organizations in fiscal years 1995 through 1998, to strengthen their conflict resolution capabilities. Previous to passage of the legislation in FY94, the Department of State provided more than \$16 million to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which was pursuing peacekeeping efforts in Liberia. In FY95 the following support has been initiated or is in process as follows:

The Department of Defense is in the process of providing twenty 1-1/4 ton trucks to Ghana for use in their peacekeeping/conflict resolution efforts in Liberia. This action should be completed before the end of the year. While this is a one-time activity, DOD is pursuing similar excess property activities that can be implemented in the future to support peacekeeping operations.

Under the President's Initiative in the Greater Horn of Africa, the Department of State has been convening regular inter-agency meetings to develop a Conflict Early Warning and Response System

to identify evolving crises so that preventive and effective action can be taken by regional, national and local institutions. A first stage plan should be completed by early May. Implementation of this system will span the next several years.

Concurrently, USAID's staff in the Famine Early Warning Project (FEWS) have been in discussion with the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in Rome and in Washington, D.C. on technical approaches to build the early warning/conflict prevention capability of IGADD (Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Desertification) in the Greater Horn. Expanded meetings with IGADD and plans for technical assistance and training to follow.

ACDA offered to support SADC (Southern Africa Development Community) to enhance regional security through arms control, confidence and security building measures. ACDA is pursuing possibilities of sending experts to Southern Africa to discuss relevant arms control experience which directly pertains to their efforts and interests, and exploring possible areas for further cooperation. ACDA has also offered to host a expert-level delegation to visit Washington for an in-depth workshop on arms control, in particular confidence and security building measures. Finally, it is preparing a concept paper on addressing the arms trafficking problem in regional and internal conflicts, with an objective of finding some practical solutions to the problem.

USAID/Ghana is processing funding of \$570,000 to the Government of Ghana, which is the chair of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), to support its efforts to negotiate peace in Liberia.

**SECTION III: Improving the Conflict Resolution Capability of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)**

This section of the legislation provides that assistance should be provided in fiscal years 1995-96 to NGOs engaged in mediation and reconciliation efforts. Over the past decade the USG has supported NGO conflict resolution and mediation efforts on a widespread basis. In South Africa alone, USAID has funded more than \$15 million in such support since 1986. In FY95 this support continues as follows:

The US Information Agency (with USAID funding) completed an information and communication project for South Africa entitled, "The Media and Conflict Resolution" in January-February 1995. Other FY95 Africa-wide conflict resolution projects (\$56,000) are funded and scheduled for implementation later in the year.

USAID is in various stages of progress in funding and implementing almost \$5.8 million of support programs this fiscal year to NGOs in over 11 African countries involved in conflict prevention, mitigation and resolution activities. In addition,

planning is underway to access a part of the \$10 million Southern Africa Initiative Democracy Fund to support capacity-building and conflict resolution activities of NGOs in the region in FY95, FY96 and beyond.

USAID is presently programming some \$3.25 million from the Displaced Children and Orphans Fund to NGOs in six African countries to minister to the psycho-social needs of children affected by war, reunify missing families, and further develop NGO capacity to work with war-affected youth this fiscal year. USAID is also programming similar support to NGOs working in conflict activities in five African countries in FY96.

USAID is programming \$4.75 million from the War Victim's Fund to NGOs in Angola, Mozambique and Uganda to provide rehabilitative services to civilian victims of war this fiscal year. USAID is also programming support in FY96 for NGOs in Angola and Liberia.

**Longer-Term Progress in Building NGO Capability  
in Conflict Prevention and Resolution  
the South Africa Experience**

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Since 1986 USAID/South Africa has worked extensively to develop conflict resolution capabilities in indigenous African institutions. To date, more than \$15 million in program support has been implemented country-wide in conflict resolution and mediation, violence intervention, and other community-level programs. Extensive progress in capacity-building has taken place with subsequent impacts on conflict reduction. For example, as a result of USAID and other donor support for NGOs and others working in conflict resolution, Gauteng Province (Johannesburg, Pretoria, Witwatersrand, and Vereeniging), the most violent province in South Africa in 1993-94, is now one of the most peaceful.

Within the last five years alone, more than 5,000 specialists have been trained in conflict resolution activities and processes. These individuals are employed in a wide range of community organizations and political parties throughout South Africa. Their presence and work is being felt. They have intervened in thousands of disputes in the last several years, working through regional peace secretariats, peace committees, paralegal organizations, and other community-based groups. They have staffed many USAID-supported programs involving NGOs working with high conflict-prone groups, such as taxi associations or hostel dwellers, that traditionally have been politically explosive. Prior to the 1994 elections these trained conflict specialists were seconded directly to the independent election commission and political organizations. They played key roles in diffusing tensions and keeping the election process as calm and violence-free as it was.

Today, through the sustained support of USAID and other international donors, South Africa has a skilled technical base for resolving conflict. This trained cadre, staffing institutions from the community through national and regional levels, has already made significant contributions to the very successful April 1994 elections and is actively facilitating the country's peaceful transition to a full and open democracy.

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SECTION IV: Supporting African Demobilization and Reintegration Efforts

In order to facilitate reductions in the sizes of African militaries, the legislation highlights the importance of demobilization activities, such as encampment, and reintegration programs that enable ex-military to return to their communities to become productive members of civilian society. The Act stipulates that assistance should be provided for FY95 and FY96, if conditions permit. Previously, USAID has actively supported demobilization and reintegration programs in several countries. In FY93, USAID obligated \$33 million toward such programs in Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, and Uganda. Another \$14.5 million in assistance was allocated to similar programs in six countries in FY94. Also in FY94, the Departments of State and Defense provided almost \$7 million for humanitarian/demining programs in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Mozambique, and Namibia. This assistance is supporting their demobilization and reintegration efforts.

In FY95 the **Departments of Defense and State** are in varying stages of implementing more than \$13 million in demining support in 7 African countries. In addition, DoD is in the process of transferring 75 2-1/2 ton trucks to the Government of Mozambique to aid their reintegration program. For FY96 DoD and STATE have requested \$20 million in appropriations to continue demining assistance programs worldwide; much of this to be focused on African countries.

USAID is in various stages of programming and implementing demobilization and reintegration programs for 10 countries. Planned obligations in FY95 total almost \$17 million, if conditions permit full implementation of plans. Planning is on-going for up to \$20 million of similar initiatives in FY96 and beyond.

## **Longer-Term Progress in Demobilization and Reintegration the Mozambique Experience**

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Ten years ago, Mozambique was a failed state, bankrupt, slipping into chaos and self-destruction as a consequence of civil war and Marxist policies. Today, that country has moved beyond crisis. Although daunting challenges remain, a fundamental political and economic transformation is taking place as a consequence of American and international donor assistance.

A decade ago, the situation in Mozambique was disastrous. The human suffering was almost incomprehensible. Countless thousands were dying as a result of the war. More than 1.6 million people had fled the country and nearly four million were displaced, fearful for their security and in search of food and survival. Overall life expectancy was and remains one of the lowest in the world (44 years). More than one child in four never lived to age five. The protracted civil war decimated the economy and food security. Per capita GNP declined 3.6 percent on average each year between 1980 and 1992. Food production per capita fell on average 2.1 percent annually during this period as well.

Beginning in the late 1980s, the United States led a concerted effort to foster peace and stability and to start rebuilding the economic fabric and infrastructure of Mozambique. Working together with other governments, the U.S. assisted in forging a peace process--first a cessation of full-scale hostility, then the opening of a dialogue between the warring sides and, finally, the signing of peace accords in 1992.

With peace, USG assistance shifted toward rehabilitation, recovery and the transition to democracy and development. USAID supported the demobilization of more than 91,000 troops -- 88 percent of those under arms at the time of the peace agreement -- and helped reintegrate them, and their 100,000 dependents into civilian life through the provision of farm supplies and jobs training.

Additional support included the clearing of landmines and the rehabilitation of 2,000 kilometers of rural roads, which opened areas of the country that were inaccessible for years and enabled one of the largest migrations in the world to take place -- 5 to 6 million people returning back to their homes.

USAID provided seeds and tools to over 2.5 million people to enable them to resume productive lives. More than 1.5 million Mozambicans are receiving essential drugs under USAID's primary health care strengthening program, and almost half a million people now have access to safe water through USAID-funded private voluntary organization efforts.

For the country's first-ever multi-party elections, USAID funded the training of election officials, civic education programs, and transportation support for registration and voting. This assistance was essential in producing what the U.N. Secretary General's Special Representative called "the best elections ever held in an African country." 6.4 million Mozambicans, over 80 percent of the estimated voting-age population, registered to vote, and 85 percent of those registered actually voted in the presidential and legislative election.

USAID also helped the new government to turn from a socialist, state-directed economy to a free-market. Our programs and policy dialogue helped end price and marketing controls, and made possible increased maize production and the development of a nascent private sector. USAID support for decentralization of authority and the development of civil society has also allowed the growth of political parties and hundreds of voluntary associations.

Clearly, Mozambique still has a long road to travel to achieve a full-fledged democracy, a completely open economy, and peace and prosperity. But it is now on the right road. The political situation is stable, and growth has rebounded in the post-war period -- a solid 5.4 percent GDP growth in 1994. The new government still faces key challenges in deepening democracy and strengthening economic policy-making, but it is moving in the right direction. Its 1995 budget projects a more than 30% decline in military expenditures with an accompanying increase in health and education expenditures of 44%.

The United States has played an invaluable role in Mozambique's transformation. With the other donors and international organizations, we provided sustained and comprehensive assistance to end the conflict, reintegrate the population into their communities, and open up the political and economic systems. The results have been impressive and provide a model for integrating conflict resolution and development strategies into other conflict-affected countries.

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## **SECTION V: Training for Africans in Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping**

This involves building capacity of military and civilians in peacekeeping and conflict resolution through training, technical assistance and other educational-support initiatives. A variety of support activities have been initiated this fiscal year to train Africans continent-wide. Progress includes:

The Department of State funded military training (\$375,000) in Conflict Resolution Training/Peacekeeping and Democracy for military and civilian personnel in Benin, Botswana, Burundi, C.A.R., Congo, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, Zambia, and Zimbabwe in FY95 and has budgeted support (\$50,000) for a regional conference on the role of the military in a democracy that will take place in Benin in May. STATE/AF has also conducted presentations in Angola, Lesotho, Malawi, and Mozambique for military, academic, and civic audiences on the role and responsibilities of the military institution in a democratic state. Other presentations are scheduled for Mauritania and Togo.

The State Department's Bureau of Political-Military Affairs is completing plans for a May 1995 international conference on African Peacekeeping Operations. At least a dozen participating countries will discuss programs for training, equipment and exercises to strengthen African Peacekeeping capabilities and to improve donor coordination strategies.

Anticipating additional conflict and tension in Burundi, STATE/PM held discussions with military, government, and academic leaders on conflict resolution and reconciliation. And in Ghana, STATE expended \$2.7 million in voluntary peacekeeping funds to enhance Ghanaian capability to effectively participate in peacekeeping operations in Africa.

For FY96 STATE has requested a budget of \$18 million for training and equipping of selected African militaries to participate effectively in peacekeeping operations. In addition, planning is taking place to conduct an estimated \$400,000 in training courses on peacekeeping and conflict resolution for military personnel in various African countries next year.

The U.S. Information Agency has completed almost \$400,000 in grants to institutions to conduct conflict resolution activities in South Africa. A series of interactive WORLDNET broadcasts (\$150,000) on conflict resolution have been completed or are scheduled through the rest of the year. In addition, several projects and a citizen exchange program on conflict resolution, all totalling more than \$300,000, are scheduled for implementation later in the year.

USAID has planned more than \$600,000 in grants to support training and curriculum development in conflict resolution, democracy, and non-violent communication in Burundi.

**SECTION VI: Other Administration Support for Preventing, Mitigating, and Resolving Conflict in Africa**

In addition to the above programs, there is a far larger range of program support that must be mentioned in this plan because it directly contributes to the prevention, mitigation, and resolution of conflict in Africa. Progress in implementing this substantial assistance includes:

Department of State has been very active in holding discussions with African leaders on conflict resolution, demobilization, and reintegration issues. Senior diplomats have conducted talks with European institutions, bilateral donors, African leaders in Zimbabwe, Malawi, Ghana, Ivory Coast, and Sudan, the OAU and African regional organizations to resolve issues, promote peacekeeping and prevent expansion of conflict.

A recent interagency conference identified improving **peacekeeping** coordination and training in Africa as a priority for the U.S. and major partners in global peacekeeping operations. As a result of that meeting, the Department of State launched a major initiative among ten key donor nations to coordinate their resources in support of training African peacekeepers, building on the existing expertise and tradition of many African nations and sub-regional organizations. The movement toward capacity building is in line with appropriate **burdensharing** among the principal countries engaged in supporting peacekeeping operations worldwide. To more effectively develop the concept of burdensharing, coordination and training, the Department hosted an April 18 planning meeting with representatives from Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the UK. That meeting will be followed by a May 17 International Conference on African Peacekeeping operations at the National Defence University, to which representatives from several donor nations are invited. In addition, Spain -- soon to assume chairmanship of the European Union -- and Germany are invited to attend. One representative from the UN Peacekeeping Operations, engaged in reviewing conflict resolution proposals and peacekeeping efforts worldwide, will also attend. Proposals to develop a multinational mechanism to handle future discussions on capacity-building are planned for presentation to the international community following the May international conference. Consultations with the OAU and African representatives have occurred; once levels of donor coordination and support are determined, additional exchanges will occur. This effort will be complementary to those underway at the UN, the OAU and elsewhere.

USAID has provided almost \$1 million for the stationing of human rights monitors in Rwanda to monitor and report on the situation there. In addition, USAID is implementing a range of democracy and governance projects Africa-wide (\$140 million thru FY98) that are building capacity of African government and non-governmental institutions to strengthen judicial and democratic political systems. These efforts will contribute to more effective and sustainable conflict prevention and management. For FY96 USAID is planning an additional \$45 million of multi-year democracy programs.

More importantly, USAID is implementing an extensive development program Africa-wide that is targeted on poverty reduction, a key contributor to violence and conflict in Africa. These programs are improving food production, employment prospects, health, education and the overall livelihoods of African societies. Over time, progress in achieving African development objectives of poverty reduction and economic growth will be the primary contributor to reducing conflict on the continent.

Noticeable and widespread progress is being achieved in implementing programs in support of the Africa Conflict Resolution Act. The Administration has concentrated the resources of five agencies toward the issues of peacekeeping, conflict prevention and resolution in Africa with a long-term commitment. Program support from previous years in building capacity of African institutions to resolve conflict is being continued through additional programs in FY95 with plans being made for FY96 and beyond. An Inter-Agency Working Group is active, meeting regularly, and will continue to monitor and report on progress periodically.

**SECTION VII: Efforts to Seek the Participation of Other Countries and International Organizations**

Through donor working groups and in regular business interaction at the Mission and international levels, USAID, STATE, USIA, DOD and ACDA are in close collaboration with other bilateral donors and international organizations in all of the countries in which the US government is supporting programs in conflict resolution, demobilization and reintegration. Through this interaction our various agencies encourage and integrate the participation of other donors in supporting conflict resolution interventions. In all of the countries in which we work, there is very active and coordinated support with other international agencies and bilateral donors. In the international area, senior U.S. officials are in contact with diplomats worldwide drawing attention to the crisis areas on the continent and searching for appropriate resolutions.

In the areas of demobilization and capacity building in conflict resolution, the US Government has taken the lead through its field missions in Mozambique, Uganda, South Africa and elsewhere to encourage collaborative efforts among donors in sharing support and addressing issues. These initiatives have paid off in more effective programs and positive impacts from our combined assistance.

## Donor Collaboration in Uganda Policy Change and Results

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The Uganda demobilization experience shows the value of how strong international donor collaboration can effectively lead to and support significant host government policy changes. Following 15 years of civil conflict, Uganda in recent years has been undergoing economic and social restructuring which has led to increasing growth and stability. The international community saw this as an opportunity for the GOU to build on this stable environment by shifting its tight budget resources more toward public social and economic sectors away from defense. Donors closely collaborated on the issue and collectively urged the government to take the necessary policy decision on new budget priorities. In May 1992 the GOU took this advice and unveiled its plans to downsize the military by 50,000 men over a three-year period.

With the strong assistance of the international donor community, the GOU has been able to successfully demobilize 32,000 soldiers to date. With the collective and shared support of the World Bank, USAID, a number of European donors, and UN agencies, the donor community has enabled the GOU to effectively downsize a large part of its military in a peaceful and timely manner. The success of this collaborative donor:government effort makes it a model for use in other countries. There still remains much work to be done to fully reintegrate these ex-soldiers into the civilian economy. USAID, through its Demobilization and Reintegration Project, and other donors have committed to continuing their assistance to address the critical job creation, training, and credit needs that will ensure the reintegration effort is sustained over the longer-term.

Equally important is the donor support given to developing institutional capacity in conflict resolution. USAID has been particularly active in funding a series of constitutional seminars and political candidate meetings to support the government in writing a constitution and developing a more democratic governance system. Representatives from all parts of the political spectrum have come together in these meetings and seminars to discuss the key political issues of the day. This represents a major change in politics from just a few years ago when political rivals "went into the bush" rather than resolve conflicts through discourse.

With donor encouragement and support the GOU has made an effort to develop human rights workshops and conflict resolution training for many segments of government service, including the police and military. USAID has worked with the Ministry of Justice to develop conflict resolution seminars run by law enforcement officials for members of the military. USAID has also been supportive of local NGOs developing their own human rights and conflict resolution programs as part of an overall strategy of developing a constitutional culture over the next few years. These investments, in tandem with other similar donor efforts, are paying dividends in political stability and economic growth that were unheard of only a few years ago.

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