



# **REFLECTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTIONS IN AFRICA**

*21 TO 23 SEPTEMBER 2010 – ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA*

*Sponsored and Organized by USA for Africa in Collaboration with Trust Africa and  
Africa Humanitarian Action and Hosted by the United Nations Economic  
Commission on Africa*

## **OVERVIEW OF THE SYMPOSIUM DISCOURSE**

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## **FORWARD**

The African famine of the mid-1980's garnered huge international support for the crisis that led to the implementation of various types of humanitarian Interventions. People from all walks of the Global Community wanted to do something to help. Newly created as well as existing organizations and efforts were put into action responding to the call to help those in need.

United Support of Artists for Africa (USA for Africa) was one of those organizations that came into existence during that time. Its sole purpose was to try and make a difference for those in need.

USA for Africa's initial efforts were focused on supporting emergency relief. But learning very rapidly, we shifted to putting our resources into recovery and development. Over the years we funded hundreds of projects and programs located in 18 different Africa countries as well as to regional efforts.

2010 marked 25 years since the creation of USA for Africa. Its involvement has been recognized as one of the many entities that responded quickly and purposefully to the calls for help. In an effort to look back at what happened in 1985 and over the ensuing 25 years, as well as to look further at the role that Africans have played and continue to play, we came up with the idea of initiating a reflective process that focused on hearing African voices and their thoughts about what happened back then, and the role that interventions now play regularly on the continent of Africa.

This report is an overview of that reflective process which was informative, engaging and thought provoking. By sponsoring this process we, at USA for Africa, feel that this type of activity serves as a meaningful demonstration of how best to help Africa and Africans help themselves.

**Marcia Thomas**  
**Executive Director**  
**USA for Africa**



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report is the product of a collective effort and the generous contributions of many individuals. The preparation and publication of the report has been funded by United Support of Artists (USA for Africa).

Thanks are extended to USA for Africa for initiating and developing the idea of the Symposium and to the organizing team. The organizers include Jalal Abdel-Latif, Amira Ali, Joanna Nkosi, Morley Nkosi, Rose Maruru, Marcia Thomas and Dawit Zewde.

The organizers express their profound appreciation to all the participants, moderators and facilitators, as well as to the musicians, Kenny Allen and Art4Life Group, along with two Art students, Wondowossen Melake Selam and Robel Temesegen (photos of their painting are on page ##) who contributed to the creative atmosphere of the meeting. The invaluable contribution of Salim Amin and his Camerapix communications team for capturing and disseminating the proceedings of the Symposium must also be acknowledged.

The organizing team would also like to thank Joanna and Morley Nkosi for compiling the report on behalf of the organizers and to the invaluable assistance that was provided by the team of Rapporteurs. The team headed by Sefulaziz Milas consisted of Andy Mesfin, Tizita Kebede and Saba Kasa. We also want to thank Konjit Bisrat for processing the document and assisting in the design of the cover and the layout under the guidance of Jalal Latif.

We are indebted to many individuals and institutions that helped to make the Symposium a success. We still hope that more will join us in our continuing effort to encourage citizens in Africa to get informed and stay engaged around the emergencies, crises and development challenges that face the continent.

Finally, we thank the Government of Ethiopia, the Africa Humanitarian Action and UNECA's Governance and Public Administration Division for their support to and servicing of the Symposium.



## PART ONE: INTRODUCTION AND EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### BACKGROUND TO THE SYMPOSIUM

At the end of September 2010, a symposium comprised mainly of African social and economic development thinkers, activists and NGO practitioners assembled in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia to reflect on the meaning and impact of international humanitarian interventions in Africa in the post-independence period. The event was organised by United Support of Artists for Africa (USA For Africa – Los Angeles) in collaboration with the UN Economic Commission on Africa (UNECA – Addis Ababa), Trust Africa (Dakar, Senegal) and Africa Humanitarian Action (AHA – Addis Ababa).<sup>1</sup>

The aim was not only to reflect retrospectively on humanitarian responses on the continent but to examine what Africans have done and continue to do for themselves and to begin to shape a paradigm for the future. 2010 marked twenty-five years since the onset of the international response to the great famine in Ethiopia and the Sahel. A fitting hiatus for the type of reflection which the Symposium facilitated.

The people assembled included many who have responded to past and current humanitarian crises (famines, floods, population dislocations, peacekeeping, etc) as well as others who have vast experience in economic and social development initiatives that have emerged or been highlighted from the responses to crises. The invited participants made up the moderators, panelists and a *Circle of Resource Persons* which was comprised of all of the foregoing when they were not in panels.<sup>2</sup>

Very importantly, there were representatives of various African-led humanitarian organisations (Africa Humanitarian Action, The Gift of the Givers, Rotary in Africa, the African Union's new section on humanitarian assistance, Relief Society of Tigray (REST) and others) that work at the coal-face of response when communities and countries face emergencies.

A large audience comprised of Ethiopians and representatives of African multi-lateral and non-governmental organisations attended the meeting and contributed significantly to the discussions and debates.

The symposium was organised around three major themes and an action-oriented synthesis towards shaping a new paradigm regarding humanitarian action on the continent. Briefly, the panels interrogated what happened in the past; what are the contours of current international humanitarian interventions in Africa; what are some of the contemporary African-led interventions; and finally what could a new paradigm look like?

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<sup>1</sup><http://www.usaforafrica.org>; <http://www.trustafrica.org>; <http://www.uneca.org>; <http://www.africahumanitarian.org>

<sup>2</sup> Biographical Sketches of Participants in Part Three: Annexure.



### FORMAT AND PROCESS FOR THE SYMPOSIUM:

The organizers chose to organize a *symposium* rather than a conference or other category of meeting, because the former is an openly discursive format, rather than the lecture-presentation and question-answer format of conferences. The aim was to hold a public discussion of a topic in which the participant presenters both formed the audience and also made presentations while other members of the audience were invited to comment from the floor on the presentations but more so on the issues at hand.

Each thematic area was organized into a panel with a moderator and four or five presenters. The moderator set the tone and posed the overarching issues and questions to be addressed while panelists were asked to speak from experience and to focus on the themes and questions for the panel developed by the organizers prior to the event.<sup>3</sup> There were no formal paper presentations required.

At the end of each round of presentations by moderator and panelists, the floor was opened to the “Circle of Resource Persons” that included all the panelists and other invited participants and to the general audience comprised of representatives of the Ethiopian government, officials and staff of the UN Economic Commission on Africa, the African Union, various nongovernmental organizations present and active in Ethiopia, journalists and concerned members of the general public.

The entire Symposium was video taped by Camerapix, a company founded by Mohammed Amin, the late photo-journalist who first brought images of the great famine in Ethiopia to the attention of the world. Camerapix is currently led by his son, Salim Amin, who is carrying on in the tradition of his father. Camerapix also filmed a series of interviews with participants during the intermissions between sessions and captured their thoughts and responses on the spot.

A team of four rapporteurs documented the substance of the Symposium. The team led by Sefulaziz Milas consisted of Andy Mesfin, Tizita Kebede and Saba Kasa.

Two cultural items were included in the program. One was a rendition of the classic song “We Are the World,” written by Michael Jackson and Lionel Richie and performed in 1985 by a chorus of internationally famous musical artists. At the Symposium, three young performers led by Kenny Allen and his group “Art for Life” performed the song for the participants.

Two young artists from the University of Addis Ababa, Wondowossen Melake Selam and Robel Temesegen, painted striking and large images inspired by their understanding of the Symposium’s theme as the deliberations were taking place. During intermissions, participants discussed the works with the artists and shared insights.

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<sup>3</sup>Document on the panel themes and associated questions appears as Part Three: Annexure.





## OVERVIEW ON THE SYMPOSIUM DISCOURSE AND FORMAT IN THIS REPORT

The organizers' intent was that the panels raise issues, concerns and viewpoints that would result in discussions and debates during the open sessions from the Circle of Resource Persons and the general audience. The open discussion that followed the contributions of the panels was informative, sometimes discursive and often controversial.

While the panels each had focused themes, often there were no strict demarcations in terms of the discussions and comments among them. Issues raised in one panel held pertinence to other thematic areas reinforcing points made by colleagues in subsequent panels.

In this document, the main themes and comments from panelists and audience are presented in a schematic format. The idea is to provide an overview of what happened and what were some of the key contributions made during the conversations that were held in all the panels. The content is based on a compilation of notes from the rapporteurs and organizers as well as a review of video footage.

Anyone wishing to follow the actual course of presentations is referred to the internet portal, Africa Speaks for Africa [<http://www.africaspeaks4africa.org>], where segments of the Symposium are available in video format for viewing. The portal also contains interviews with various participants on their responses and opinions of the Symposium.

## POST-SCRIPT

It might be useful to highlight some of the key issues and recommendations that emerged from the discussions:

- African people, communities and states are all too often viewed as objects and only victims by the providers of humanitarian and development aid rather than as actors with agency.
- Over the past three decades, a humanitarian aid industry has emerged in the north and west of the globe whose *raison d'être* is to respond to crises. The economic benefits flow to contractors, consultants, international aid organizations, etc that supply human resources, material relief and systems.
- The consequences of this paternalistic posture towards Africa and its people are often the temporary, 'band aid' solutions and interventions that can leave countries worse off than before the onset of a crisis or disaster.
- In order to promote sustainable relief and development as well as sovereignty in countries across the continent, Africans need to assume responsibility for their destiny through self-reliance, accountability, self-discipline, and own initiatives.



- Interrogation of the terminology, language and concepts regarding humanitarian interventions as well as reflection on identity, role, class and agency would be prerequisites in the process of shaping a new paradigm for responses to crises, disasters, and even development generally on the continent.
- This stance does not negate the need for assistance in solidarity from other parts of the world. But the assistance must be on terms designed in Africa by Africans. Additionally, by interrogating what has happened in the past, people can decide what worked and what did not or what objectified African victims, children, etc.
- It is vital to document the institutions, organizations and initiatives that Africans have established in many countries and communities to respond to humanitarian crises and disasters. It is not as though Africans just sit and wait for outside intervention when a disaster strikes.
- African scholars need to expand their research agenda to embrace humanitarian action and philanthropy on the continent. This work will contribute significantly towards the emergence of a new paradigm of how crises and disasters are managed and how responses and assistance are organized and deployed.
- African humanitarian and development practitioners, activists and thinkers must network and connect in order to share reflections, analyses, challenges, models, systems, etc towards advancing new paradigms and systems. The internet portal, [AfricaSpeaks4Africa.org](http://AfricaSpeaks4Africa.org) would be one mechanism to keep the dialogue going.
- Specific suggestions were offered regarding the methodology (Panel 2) and theory (Panels 2 and 4) for shaping a new paradigm. Other strategies emerged as priorities for managing disasters and crises, especially plans and institutions within countries to prepare for responses in advance of crises (Panels 1 and 3). Two other recommendations drew attention to the need to create networks and linkages among African actors in the fields of humanitarian responses to disasters as well as to consider the establishment of an ombudsman/person to monitor and mediate regarding the provision of humanitarian assistance and action (Panels 3 and 4). It was also noted that special attention should be given to the initiatives within the African Union's commission regarding the development of institutional mechanisms for disaster management in member countries.

## PART TWO: HIGHLIGHTS OF THE DISCOURSE IN THE PANEL SESSIONS

### OPENING SESSION:

The opening session welcomed the participants and guests to the Symposium and outlined the expectations of the hosts, sponsors and organizers.

The representative from the *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the government of The Democratic Republic of Ethiopia* noted the symposium was a fitting commemoration of the twenty-five years since the great famine in Ethiopia. It was a time to look back on what had happened, to note the responses of the international and local communities to the crisis, specifically in his country, and to observe the progress, amid ongoing challenges, achieved by Ethiopia since 1984. The representative underscored the support of his government for the success of the symposium and looked forward to the important outcomes.

The representative of the *UN Economic Commission on Africa* noted that his organization supported the premise of the Symposium that it was fitting to mark the twenty-five years since the famine with an examination of humanitarian intervention on the continent. He congratulated the sponsors and organizers for bringing people with broad knowledge and experience together to focus on a timely and important subject that merits everyone's attention. The Symposium seeks to stimulate an African discourse on the issues and to identify how African institutions can take action. The UN ECA also emphasized that Ethiopia had made hard won progress since the difficult years of the past and was now the fastest growing, non-oil producing economy in Africa.

The chairman of the board of directors of USA for Africa explained how he and a few colleagues had journeyed to Ethiopia and later to other countries in the Horn of Africa to familiarize themselves with what was happening there, how the people responded to the famine and what the organization could do to help. Now, twenty-five years later, he and two other board members have returned (after many other trips in the interim) once again to participate in an African symposium that seeks African solutions to African problems. USA for Africa continues in supporting such initiatives and is eager to see what will emerge from this very important meeting.

On behalf of the Organizing Committee, the program director explained the goals and procedures for the Symposium. For the primary sponsor, USA for Africa, the objective was to bring Africans from diverse sectors together to reflect, after twenty-five years, on the impact of international humanitarian initiatives on Africa. The Symposium was an opportunity for African voices to be heard and African perspectives to be presented on international involvement with the continent to date and to offer their views on the future.

The organizers hoped for lively exchanges and discourse among all the participants with contributions not only from the panelists but also from the Circle of Resource Persons and the audience in general. The idea was to avoid a monolog by the panelists and to promote open exchanges among everyone present on the issues raised.



## **PANEL I: HISTORY OF HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION IN AFRICA:**

### ***THEME FOR THE PANEL***

International humanitarian interventions as we know them today, in independent Africa, can be traced to the time of the Biafra secession from Nigeria. Whatever humanitarian crises might have preceded the Biafra War in 1968 to 1970 would probably have been the consequence of colonial policies of dislocation and marginalization of Africans. After Biafra, we had the Sahelian drought and famine in the 1970s which intensified and culminated in the 1984 great famine in Ethiopia. Today, several humanitarian crises have continued to unfold across Africa: in Rwanda, Darfur, South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Niger/Chad, etc.

What constitutes a humanitarian crisis that draws international intervention? Who determines what crises merit external response? Why do some crises attract international attention while others do not? What role have celebrities played in attracting attention to humanitarian crises?

### ***MAJOR ISSUES RAISED AND IDENTIFIED BY THE PANELISTS***

This panel consisted of key players from African countries impacted at various points by humanitarian crises as well as from the diaspora in the North, where resources and assistance were mobilized through various organizations. The panelists described various initiatives meant to contribute to sustainable alleviation of crises and to economic development meant to avoid/mitigate against crises.

In terms of the focus on the past in Panel I, it was felt that it is vital that the history of humanitarian interventions be interrogated to see what has worked and what has failed as well as to chart a path for the future. The dominant view held that humanitarian interventions from the North, albeit of worthy intention, often overwhelmed local institutions and communities, have sometimes been riddled with contradictions or have even had negative or unintended consequences. Local voices all too often were not heard or entertained and interventions were mostly imposed without consideration of context and impact.

From the perspective of the past, it was noted that those responses where African organizations, communities and governments participated actively in shaping what was done were more successful and sustainable. Additionally, where African organizations responded directly to crises such as displacement, famine, flood, etc., in some cases local capacity to respond was built and enhanced often in the absence of foreign humanitarian intervention.

The word humanitarian connects to people's humanity, as exemplified by the song "We are the World". What people perceive touches their humanity. Humanitarian response is natural humane response. It is necessary to note that the first respondents are the victims of the disaster and those around them. Some took issue with the use of the term "humanitarian intervention" as, was argued, the very act of "intervention" is "unhumanitarian." It was

suggested rather than talk about humanitarian interventions, perhaps we should talk about 'humanitarian responses'.

- The main players engaged in humanitarian interventions in the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s were:
  - ◇ Community Based Organizations (CBOS) which were mainly African
  - ◇ Non Government Organizations (NGOs) which were predominantly Western
  - ◇ Governments
  - ◇ UN agencies

This situation has changed dramatically since 1984/1985 and there is an industry of organizations and institutions offering humanitarian responses to crises.

Western responders have never asked Africans to participate in solutions. Instead they prescribed the solution and donated according to their own prescription. As a result 25 years on we are still facing the same challenges and issues. The experience of USA for Africa underscores that not much has changed in the approach to the same problems. Dialogue with other donors found that they were reticent to engage with local groups.

USA for Africa was one of the mobilizing organizations that raised millions of dollars through the sale of the song, *We Are the World*, and then distributed the proceeds in a ground breaking manner. Its initiatives and projects in Ethiopia, the Sahel and elsewhere on the continent rested on the principles of consultation with people on the ground to learn what they wanted, local community empowerment and sustainable development. It also discovered the power of using celebrities.

Celebrities can raise awareness of crises and their role has often been positive. However if we evaluate their commitment and understanding, one finds that most of these celebrities have had only superficial understanding of the issues and only limited commitment. There have been exceptions, of course, such as Harry Belafonte, Bob Geldorf, Bono and others.

Interventions, whether humanitarian or developmental, have become "technicalized" or professionalized. They involve large amounts of money but nothing is controlled by Africans. The northern donors control what is done and how, even when they have a "good heart." Africans follow what is already decided in and by the north. Donors play the role of the pied piper as they control the funds and therefore determine where the funds are allocated. On the lighter side, an African development practitioner was quoted as saying: "If I have my hand in your pocket, I am forced to go with you."

Unfortunately, the all too frequent projection of the image of Africa is one of pessimism, of Africa dying. Africans are portrayed as victims so that some northern NGOs can raise funds. But it was emphasized that Africans must take responsibility for agreeing to go along.



The small number of offices of international agencies in Africa signifies the low value given to African input in decision making processes.

Awareness by Africans of the realities regarding the structure and power relations imbedded in international humanitarian or development aid is paramount in realizing that Africans have to participate in Africa's solution.

*What have we learned from the history of humanitarian interventions? What worked and what did not?*

- In 1953, Kwame Nkrumah said that freedom brings with it responsibility. African leadership and ownership are critical to success. There are budding examples of efforts by Africans to take leadership in disaster and crisis management. Mozambique, for example, has established a disaster management agency to prevent and mitigate recurrent disasters, especially floods.
- Involvement of those being helped is also critical. They are not passive victims and should not be seen or treated that way. They need to be consulted and engaged in any relief efforts. Africans must be brought into the consultative process and make inputs at the conceptual stage.
- Leveraging and coordinating resources is important to avoid wastage and duplication of efforts. Humanitarian responses should be viewed and implemented within the broader development framework. This is particularly important because the need for humanitarian intervention is often a result of failure in development.
- Africa has enormous resources-human, knowledge, natural-that can be brought to bear in preventing and mitigating crises. But Africa's inability to bring its own financial resources to support home-grown ideas and approaches means that it has little control over what gets done. Those who control the purse control what gets done. Dialogue with indigenous groups affected by disasters brings forth responses and strategies which are more effective than many so called Western experts.
- It is important to note that systems, or even the lack of systems, produce crises that are manifest in war, natural disasters, famines, etc.

*Two presentations focused on descriptions of African initiatives to respond to and mitigate crises in Mozambique (flooding, cyclones, pest infestations and other natural disasters) and in Ethiopia (famine and population dislocation).*

### MOZAMBIQUE:

Mozambique is prone to environmental disasters and in the past these were made worse by civil war during the 1980s and resulting in 1 million people losing their lives and 6 million being displaced. The signing of the peace agreement in 1992 provided an opening for local action.

Humanitarian assistance has traditionally been provided by various international agencies. After many years of relying on various international agencies for help when a disaster struck, Mozambique established the *National Institute for Disaster Management (INGC* – Portuguese acronym)<sup>4</sup> in the late 1990s with help from the UN Development Program. While some obstacles have interfered with the INDC's progress, early warning contingency plans have at least been set out. A comprehensive disaster risk prevention system takes time to develop. These systems are not easy to transfer from Western prototypes because they need to be applied and contextualized at the local level.

### ETHIOPIA:

The *Relief Society of Tigray (REST)*<sup>5</sup> was set up in the 1970s by rebels engaged in the struggle of the time as a relief organization. REST perceived a need to alleviate the suffering and hunger of displaced people in the areas they controlled. It was involved in relief work and social construction programs that relied on model 'food for work' programs that led to the construction of schools and hospitals. During the famine of the 1980s, REST helped move 200,000 members of the community towards Sudan. Once the famine had subsided, they became involved in repatriating 160,000 people.

In the 1990s REST's focus changed towards promoting economic development. The primary features identified for the success of REST's activities were:

Well developed plans

- Locally driven and owned initiatives
- Local mobilization
- A committed and determined leadership

The story of REST is one that emphasizes the importance for local communities to acknowledge that Africa is in African hands and it is necessary for Africans to work at finding its solutions.

*What can Africa do to reassert its leadership and right of self-determination during a time of crisis?*

- Africa needs to get over its psychological dependence on outside aid which cripples its ability to lead.
- Rebuilding confidence will require self-criticism and reflection to examine the language we use, the actors, and the underlying class tensions.
- Africans should stop being naïve about how the world works and be prepared to seize opportunities.

<sup>4</sup><http://www.ingc.gov.mz>

<sup>5</sup><http://www.rest-tigray.org.et>



- Learn from other African countries, such as Ethiopia, that have successfully resisted the pressures from neo-liberal prescripts and programs.
- Africans need to be the source of solutions by planning for and preventing disasters in the first place. There need to be well-defined development paths within humanitarian action in order to foster sustainable solutions.
- Especially important is local leadership as a driving force to mobilize entire populations to prevent crises.

**HIGHLIGHTS OF CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE AUDIENCE**

- The problem is not so much with those trying to assist but with Africans (ourselves). It seems that we Africans don't care. Look at the voiceless rural communities. We need to clarify what our needs are first. This is why we, Africans, remain dependent on those with money (funds). Africans are the source of our problems however we can become the source of the solution.
- Africans must become proactive about their own developmental needs and not rely on development agencies for direction.
- Setting up institutions owned and run by Africans is vital in partnering with others to tackle the continent's developmental needs. One of the best cancer facilities in the world is a hospital in Cairo, Egypt, which is funded and run by Egyptians. This illustrates that capacity exists in Africa. It is the only way to challenge northern-led NGOs who have made a business out of African misery.
- A comment from the audience pointed out that President Meles Zenawi and the Ethiopian government have withstood donor pressures and aid conditionality. The number of international NGOs had mushroomed in Ethiopia. In 1974, there were only 20, increasing to over 60 in 1985 and standing at 234 in 2010. However the figures for local NGOs are stark as there were none in 1974 and 1985, but in 2010 the number had become over 3000. Thus the NGO proclamation law in Ethiopia is likely to clip the wings of the NGO industry. It was observed by one participant that NGOs are sometimes "foot soldiers of their creators" [but] "need to be foot soldiers of the people." Local NGOs need to transform themselves as Western NGOs are influential among them.
- Reservations were also expressed regarding laws and policies of African governments that proscribed the autonomy of civil society in their countries and curbed the initiatives of NGOs. The right to assemble as well as human rights must be respected.
- The need to consult beneficiary communities before planning an intervention was emphasized. There is a need for Africans to find their voice and sense of empowerment in order to guide development interventions so that they match local needs.
- The education systems in Africa have been adopted from the West. Africans must interrogate both the systems of education and the relevance of their content to the needs of the continent.



## **PANEL II: CONTOURS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTIONS IN AFRICA:**

### ***THEME FOR THE PANEL***

Africa experiences various kinds and degrees of crises and emergencies on an annual or even continuous basis. These include crises emerging from natural disasters (floods, earthquakes, drought, etc), conflict and wars, population dislocation, disease and illnesses (malaria, polio, HIV/Aids, etc) and other sudden human tragedies that have drawn both international and local responses. This panel aimed to interrogate the nexus of players, motivations, interests, impacts and influences of international humanitarian interventions in Africa.

### **The Players**

International humanitarian interventions come from various sources: non-governmental organizations, foundations, faith-based organizations, multi-lateral and bi-lateral organizations, governments, the private sector, celebrities and philanthropists. These players bring to the interventions different perspectives, experiences, capacity, resources and influence which shape the nature of the interventions.

Who are the players? What are the trends and new players in international interventions? What are the content of the interventions?

### **Motivations Driving International Humanitarian Interventions**

Each is driven by its values, interests and agendas. Motivations are sometimes at odds with the best interests of the communities for whom the interventions are meant. Sometimes they are at odds with the local socio-cultural, economic or political contexts.

What are the current trends in the values, interests and agendas of the players? Who shapes what the agendas are? What are their methods of operation and approaches? How do they engage with local structures; government, faith-based organizations, local community-based and civil society organizations and local responders?

### **Interests imbedded in international humanitarian interventions**

There are a variety of interests that exist around international humanitarian interventions. These include:

- ◇ faith-based interests
- ◇ commercial & procurement interests
- ◇ institutions whose survival depends on humanitarian interventions
- ◇ foreign policy interests of intervening governments
- ◇ recipient government interests
- ◇ Publicity (for celebrities)



Specifically what interests are we talking about? In what ways are these interests manifested? Are there groups whose interests are marginalized, e.g. youth? Is there anything wrong with self-interest in humanitarian interventions? Is it possible for international humanitarian interventions to be interest free?

There are organizations and individuals that emerge spontaneously to respond to humanitarian crises with the sole motivation to help.

### **Influence and Impact of International Humanitarian Interventions**

International humanitarian interventions approach crises with resources, capacity, experience and authority at a point when local resources, structures, institutions and populations are most vulnerable and where development planning and disaster management is weak or non-existent. What often results is

- ◇ destabilization of local initiatives and economies
- ◇ lack of accountability to local structures and communities
- ◇ fracturing fragile national institutions
- ◇ distortion of national priorities
- ◇ undermining of security
- ◇ dependency on foreign interventions
- ◇ overwhelming of longer term development policies and planning

Who is impacted by humanitarian interventions? How are different groups impacted, e.g. the youth? Given such negative associations with international humanitarian interventions, are there positive outcomes derived from interventions? Given the short-lived nature of international humanitarian interventions, how can the positive features be transitioned into long-term development?

### **MAJOR POINTS AND ISSUES FROM THE PANELISTS**

The task of Panel II was to address the foregoing theme and sub-themes in order to deconstruct the humanitarian aid industry today. The issues outlined above were touched on tangentially rather than directly and systematically. Nonetheless, important contributions were made in understanding the contours of the humanitarian aid industry as it pertains to Africa.

*The issue of the terminology of humanitarian aid, action, response, etc, raised in the Panel 1, was continued here.*

- It is important to deconstruct the language around humanitarian action or aid or intervention. Words are important and are embedded with nuances of meaning, with issues of power and interests as well as with latent ambiguities.
- It is time to reconsider even the language we use. Language traps people, and Africa is trapped in the language of the donors. It is critical that we unpack the language of aid.



- Language reflects specific paradigms. It might be preferable to reflect on the language of donors (where does the concept of humanitarian aid, response or intervention actually come from) which has been imbedded in international conventions and practice.
- The players, motives, and interests driving international humanitarian interventions in Africa are varied. They are mainly western and largely based on a common neo-liberal world view. When Africa succeeds in getting a seat at the table where aid is designed, its voice is weak and/or largely echoes the language of the donor, e.g. the current 'AID speak', very well articulated in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness.
- It was suggested that "solidarity" might be an alternative in defining a new paradigm for responses to crises and disasters and even for development assistance. Solidarity implies empathy with other human beings.

*Some of the key players discussed by the Panelists:*

The roles of *media and celebrities* were reviewed in terms of raising awareness but also in shaping memory and stereotypes.

The *media* raises awareness of humanitarian crises and disasters as they happen.

- While this is a positive contribution, it is not enough. Very often only 'hard news' stories are presented without background or context. The stark and difficult images portrayed are the ones that stay with the world because there is rarely follow up to see what has happened subsequently. A case in point would be the world's stereotypical impression of Ethiopia as still a victim of famine and drought when so much else has happened since 1985 to change the reality in the country.
- The role of the media is to inform, however the question is whether it perpetuates a stereotypical image of Africa. Balance in terms of context, background and history is often lacking, including in the reporting of humanitarian matters and African news stories by global media giants. This has been most prevalent in times of calamity and disasters such as the Rwandan genocide, the Ethiopian famine, etc.
- Media space is often dominated by Western media outlets. There is a need to fill this gap. African media needs its own voice and platform. Africa is a continent of 1.2 billion people however no African network such as BBC, CNN or Al Jazeera exists. Africa needs pan-African media channels that can report the continent's own issues.

The issue of the role of *celebrities* in promoting awareness of humanitarian crises was raised and analyzed in this Panel as well.



- The discussion in this panel was framed around the concepts of memory and agency. Who is it that defines humanitarianism (the who, how and why), who chooses what gets portrayed and eventually embedded in global memory?
- Celebrities, aside from drawing attention to a crisis, often come to be seen as the 'savior' of the people affected. Contemporary celebrity activism often brings a message but not the context, the history and the depth appropriate to understanding the situation.
- Another issue is that agency and voice falls to the celebrity who then is invited to sit on commissions and advise and make decisions on behalf of those afflicted by a crisis. Certainly the afflicted need to be at the table as well.
- Finally, why do some crises and emergencies draw attention and others not? Furthermore, food aid must not be politicized.

The African *diaspora*, long present in many countries of the north as immigrants with both historical and contemporary pasts, maintains links and commitment to involvement in African development and to respond to its crises. In Panel 1, the focus was on those who left the continent under the horrific circumstances of slavery but who have remained interested over the centuries in what happens in the motherland. In Panel 2, there was a shift to the vast community of recent African immigrants to the United States, European countries and elsewhere.

- The African Diaspora is a "giant" that is waking up. Many African Diaspora community members are highly educated and dynamic. In part this happens because of the West's willingness to attract and accept educated Africans.
- Constructive engagement between the Diaspora and their countries of origin is important. However analysis is required on where this relationship can be effective. It is important to identify whether it is in the political, social, economic or cultural aspects.
- It would be interesting to determine whether second generation African immigrants internalize existing stereotypical perspectives of what Africa is and to explore the engagement of western universities with African ones.
- African Diaspora engagement in NGOs working in Africa has significantly increased. However it is necessary to develop a mutually beneficial relationship between Diaspora and local constituencies in Africa.

*Humanitarian agencies* were identified as: charities, faith based institutions, bilateral and international agencies as well as international aid organizations.



- Some humanitarian agencies use their intervention to promote their faith. For example, one panelist noted that in his experience some Catholic relief agencies actively promote the principles of Catholicism in their programs.
- Another faith-based organization that provides humanitarian response on a non-sectarian basis is “Gift of the Givers” which is based in South Africa. Its representative on the panel said that they consider themselves the biggest African humanitarian organization that responds to crises both on the continent and elsewhere. They are organized on principles and values inspired by Islam and aim to uplift vulnerable communities.
- There is a tendency and preference by UN bodies and agencies to partner with Western-based NGOs as opposed to local ones which are often viewed as untrustworthy. Implementing organizations are inevitably northern or western rather than local NGOs which are viewed as possibly corrupt and painted with the same brush that African governments tend to be painted.
- Focus is often hijacked by the need to identify how to keep resources flowing into a country as opposed to identifying what the needs are for the communities the intervention is targeting.
- The absence of consultation often leads to the application of faulty solutions or the provision of questionable forms of aid. A poignant example was provided where donated sneakers from an Asian donor ended up being used as receptacles for plants because the sizes were wrong for the local African population. An audience participant pointed out that in one part of Ethiopia a school was built in a region that already had adequate educational facilities. The building ended up being used for livestock.
- Attention was drawn to two OECD documents that attempt to address the issues of participation, voice, partnership, etc that were raised as challenges to humanitarian and development aid. These documents actually embrace the language of effecting greater participation for aid recipients at the table of giving. The challenge is to understand who has offered and who has accepted the parameters within these documents. Also it is critical to interrogate what the documents mean for an end to dependence and for greater control by African countries over their own destiny, for greater self-reliance.
- **The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness**, endorsed on 2 March 2005, is an international agreement to which over one hundred Ministers, Heads of Agencies and other Senior Officials adhered and committed their countries and organizations to continue to increase efforts in harmonization, alignment and managing aid for results with a set of monitorable actions and indicators. **The Accra Agenda for Action (AAA)** was drawn up in 2008 and builds on the commitments agreed in the Paris Declaration.

[http://www.oecd.org/document/18/0,3343,en\\_2649\\_3236398\\_35401554\\_1\\_1\\_1\\_1,00.html](http://www.oecd.org/document/18/0,3343,en_2649_3236398_35401554_1_1_1_1,00.html)



*Methodologies and strategies for containing the influence of international humanitarian role players, agencies, etc and for promoting African agency in the management and determination of solutions to crises, disasters and, of course, to development.*

- Some of the panelists, and, later in the open discussion, the audience focused on two themes: that Africans must take responsibility for weaning their societies from dependence on international donors, aid and interventions and that Africans and African governments must take responsibility for determining the path of development in their countries. All agreed that there was a direct correlation between the incidence, frequency and severity of crises and disasters and the failures of development policies, programs and trajectories in general.
- Africans must learn to accept criticism and to take up the opportunity that this provides for learning. Given that Africa is well endowed, it must look at how it can repair the ravages of the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP).
- When looking at community participation in Africa, there is a preference for dependence on foreign (Western) aid. It seems that the will to create strategies are put to one side as communities are led by the grants that donors provide. There is a need to set up networks and links amongst African actors.
- Consultation with communities in need of assistance is vital. These communities are creative and able to devise/suggest strategies for growth. The dialogue for community participation in interventions happened a long time before the World Bank regurgitated it and presented it as their own, thereby enabling it to become institutionalized.
- Very importantly, a plea was made for Africa to take the time to reflect introspectively and self-critically in order to end dependence on international donors. It was added that dependence on aid is, after all, psychological. There are clear class issues involved in the dependence on aid. Class interests underlie the demands made. Those *asking* are not neutral. They reflect various engrained, local interests and power relationships.
- Budgeting by African countries and societies must be undertaken *by* the poor (the overwhelming majority) and not *for* the poor so that their interests become primary. A class analysis is very much in order.
- The interconnectedness between development challenges and humanitarian crises was emphasized. For one thing, the deep impact of crises and disasters on local populations is usually directly related to development failures and challenges as well as to failures of states to plan and prepare for the safety and well-being of its people.



**HIGHLIGHTS OF CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE AUDIENCE**

- When reflecting we must look at the distinction between self-criticism and self-blame, especially as the latter is reminiscent of colonial rule.
- Poverty is still increasing in Africa. Part of the funding provided by donors is repatriated to their own countries because the implementing agencies and consultants are outsiders who charge high fees.
- There is a need to look at how the Diaspora can link in with African nations and support their economic development aspirations. However the engagement of the Diaspora can be problematic if they are entitled to privileges which citizens of African countries are not permitted.
- Humanitarian assistance can sometimes weaken the livelihood strategies of recipient countries. Development and humanitarian assistance are intertwined so it is important to look at both.
- To grapple with self criticism we have to look at cultural and social developments. The colonial period is always a focus however we also have to look at other issues such as structural adjustment programs (SAPs) of more recent years. Their impact on society has to be evaluated and reflected upon.
- There is an undeniable interface between humanitarian and development aid. The question we must ask ourselves is whether humanitarian aid has stifled development growth in Ethiopia and other places. It will be important to carve out the role that northern NGOs can play a part in supporting development efforts.
- There are dangers for sovereignty and dignity when exhorting humanitarian assistances. There is need to explore the role of accountability.
- The notion of race is important as there is the racist depiction that blacks cannot look after themselves and that they need whites to save them.
- There is also the offensive nature of how Africans are represented by foreign celebrities when they should be represented by Africans.



## PANEL III: AFRICAN LED HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTIONS:

### *THEME FOR THE PANEL*

When a crisis happens, the first responders are always on the ground, that is local people, institutions and organizations: neighbors, friends, faith-based organizations and then the government of the region. That is to say the victims of humanitarian crises do not just sit back and wait for external intervention. Over the years, some of these homegrown responders have become institutionalized humanitarian entities. Africans in the diaspora also play a critical role in mobilizing action and resources in the international community.

What forms do African-led interventions take? Who is involved? What is the role of young Africans? What role, if any, do African celebrities play? What have been and are African led institutions operating in this field? How do they sustain or fund themselves? How do they develop their capacity to deliver? What resources are required? What do they do differently or better than foreign humanitarian institutions?

### *MAJOR POINTS AND ISSUES FROM THE PANELISTS*

- African-led interventions, though nascent on the continent, are varied – military, medical, food distribution, food assistance, etc. – and poised to rise to the next level to become real players on the global stage.
- Although many of the organizations in Africa carrying out humanitarian work are off-shoots of international relief agencies, there are a number of impressive examples of locally grown and financed organizations such as REST, Gift of the Givers as well as Africa Humanitarian Action. These are all doing important work both within specific countries and across the continent.<sup>6</sup>
- African peace-keeping missions have demonstrated their capacity to provide strategic interventions, security and medical teams and assistance.
- Africa has also demonstrated success in the area of peace-keeping (e.g. ECOMOG, AU Peacekeeping) and its experience in this field is growing. It has the ability to coordinate and strategize. What its peacekeeping missions often lack are logistics (vehicles, weapons, ammunitions, medical supplies, etc) which can come from outside the continent.
- The AU's recent declaration, the Kampala Declaration<sup>7</sup> on Refugees, Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, and its ongoing efforts to develop an overarching framework and develop implementation tools, is another example of the growing impetus by Africans and African institutions to take leadership in the humanitarian field.

<sup>6</sup><http://www.rest-tigray.org.et> ; <http://www.giftofthegivers.org/> ; <http://www.africahumanitarian.org>

<sup>7</sup><http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/publisher,AU,,,4afo623d2,o.html>





- Despite these positive signs, many challenges remain. One of the key challenges facing African-led initiatives is sourcing local funding. Some groups such as Gift of the Givers are demonstrating that it is possible to mobilize local resources. Overseas Africans, usually referred to as the Diaspora, remain a huge untapped resource for financial and technical support.
- African civil society organizations (CSOs) often are characterized by weak organizational and technical competencies. Some specific areas were mentioned where African CSOs need to deepen their capacity: visioning, information technology, governance, and negotiating skills were highlighted. One challenge is the almost exclusive continued reliance for funding from external sources.
- An emphatic presentation was made regarding the increasingly important role of African NGOs that operate in collaboration with international and multi-lateral institutions to provide humanitarian assistance. The point was made that the band aid approach of the 1980s has matured into something more than providing food aid.

Over the past decade two principles have emerged to drive international humanitarian action and have been adopted by the United Nations and others: people have *rights to freedom from want and freedom from fear*. What emerges is the responsibility to intervene in order to protect and to assist people not just with food aid but with rights to be able to sustain themselves. The prime responsibility of humanitarian organizations is to save lives and to allow people to maintain livelihood security.

Since 2000, the UN and later the AU have exercised their rights to intervene to protect and assist populations, in many cases, whose own governments have violated their human rights while hiding behind the thin veneer of sovereignty. This has resulted in a milestone in international law.

It was argued that emergency relief has to focus on relief and not rights. Furthermore emergency relief does not lead to development. It just focuses on solutions and not on the problems of the society.

- In contrast, others argued that humanitarian interventions are not just actions in the face of disaster. They must also provide preventive strategies in order to avoid a repetition of the disaster and to promote development.

*Further examples of African-led humanitarian interventions:*

- There is a complementarity between security and humanitarian assistance. Ecomog, the AU and the intervention of other regional players have intervened to provide security and create the conditions for others to come in. Over the past fifty years, Nigeria, Ghana and Senegal have accumulated the most experience in peace keeping, not only in Africa but even in other continents.



- Rotary International functions in Africa providing humanitarian assistance in many places where it has branches. The international organization is the largest service organization in the world and is active on the continent as some of the participants who are members noted. Those local branches are comprised of African members. It is able to mobilize local resources to respond to emergencies.
- Africa Humanitarian Action (AHA) has become a major player on the continent. Based in Ethiopia, it has a presence in sixteen African countries. It is an African based NGO with international trustees that works with internally displaced people and refugees to provide relief, food, medical care, training, conflict management and to assist in providing security from violence especially for women. In Darfur, AHA's action has assisted 620,000 people. AHA has been able to negotiate access to the refugees in Darfur in order to provide the fundamental rights for the people to receive aid.

*What are some lessons learned from previous and current African-led interventions and humanitarian initiatives/organizations?*

One of the presentations in this panel provided a critique of current humanitarian practice in Africa but also addressed the theme of the next panel on shaping a new paradigm in making what could be called a *not-so-modest proposal*:

- *Localize interventions.* People on the ground are the first responders in any case. They need to get access to resources and logistics to prepare especially for recurring crises (such as floods in Mozambique). Responses must focus on local people and their needs and include them in defining the emergency and in the process of decision making. Local people must assume responsibility for leading the efforts to provide assistance. Even when some or even many fail, at least capacity has been developed to lead the continent.
- *Systematize the analysis of the causes of crises and the course and impact of interventions.* Many variables (political, social, historical, economic, cultural, etc) must be taken into consideration in understanding humanitarian crises. Analyses of power relationships are important as there is a broad and deep causal web when it comes to humanitarian crises. Even when the crisis might seem to be caused by natural phenomena, the impact of a disaster is always hardest on the poor (the rich usually manage to get away – the Titanic factor). Most natural disasters have social, economic, political and other causes. Famine is not brought on by drought but has socio-politico-economic roots. Sometimes, the very saviors of devastated people are at the base of the causes, perhaps historical, of the suffering.
- *A long term view* is needed to fully understand crises and interventions in order to formulate more sophisticated analyses. To solve child malnutrition in Africa, one must look at the history and patterns of agricultural production on the continent over many decades. Today Africa produces less food than it did in the 1960s.



- *Develop local capacity to respond* – especially establish systems of disaster management (Mozambique and the AU initiatives), planning and management structures responsible for humanitarian intervention in order not to be dependent on action from outside. Local institutions must be created and strengthened.
- *Do our own research and create our own knowledge base.* Not enough African scholars addressing issues of humanitarian crises and interventions. Especially important are the many local organizations that are first responders and givers of aid but who get overlooked. There is lots of grass roots activity that is below the radar. African scholars need to identify and document what they do.
- *Cooperate regionally*, across the continent and internationally with others.
- *Leverage resources* (logistics in particular) and linkages with the African diaspora in the United States and elsewhere. These linkages will increase and broaden the resource base for African institutions and organizations.
- *Link issues* together and think of a *systems approach* to challenges.
- Need to *conceptualize an African humanitarian intervention model* – in part, the task of the next panel.

#### HIGHLIGHTS OF CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE AUDIENCE

- A *representative of the African Union (AU)* announced that he was part of an initiative within the AU to develop a model for an “architecture of humanitarian assistance” and an agenda on forced displacement. The AU agenda has a process and vision with clear milestones by 2015 and beyond:
  - ◇ development of AU humanitarian architecture
  - ◇ strengthening AU institutional capacity to respond and coordinate humanitarian assistance
  - ◇ build firm partnerships and a platform for dialogue and action
  - ◇ a 5 year development plan to strengthen the role of the AU as a leader in humanitarian assistance
  - ◇ the establishment of a central AU fund for humanitarian assistance
  - ◇ strengthening of the role of member states in humanitarian assistance

#### *Some caveats:*

- Panelists and participants were asked to consider the impact of a new player on the humanitarian and development scene: China. During recent years, China has become increasingly active on the continent, driven by its desire to acquire mineral, petroleum and other natural resources from African countries. Question raised as to whether what



has been learned from engagement with the west and north can be applied to this new player which has a different mindset from what Africans are used to.

- One long-time humanitarian aid practitioner noted that all countries in the world, no matter how large or developed, are interdependent and at some point, face hardships. No place has exclusivity on peace and prosperity. He then reminded the symposium that African countries have not always been on the receiving side but have also given. Ethiopia sent aid to Japan during a major earthquake that devastated that country. Also African countries have helped one another – countries of southern and eastern Africa received African assistance of various types during their struggles for independence. Africans therefore are not only on the receiving end but also on the giving side. There is no need for, what he perceived as, a complex about receiving aid. In his experience, he has seen examples of the real human drive to respond to crises by people who are genuinely moved by the suffering of others.



## PANEL IV: TOWARDS SHAPING A NEW PARADIGM FOR AFRICA:

### *THEME FOR THE PANEL*

What limited knowledge production that exists around humanitarian interventions in Africa is dominated by writers and theorists from the north. If Africans are going to control the nature and impacts of humanitarian interventions on the continent, Africans must create their own paradigm.

The third panel provided a partial contribution towards shaping such a paradigm. This fourth panel explored further how to do this and how to encourage African voices to express themselves and be heard, especially within Africa.

### *MAJOR POINTS AND ISSUES FROM THE PANELISTS*

Underlying the effort to shape a new paradigm are issues and considerations of both an *ontological and an epistemological* nature:

*Who are we?*

- *One panelist* asked who is the new African humanitarian? Tensions exist between practitioners and thinkers, but the two are not mutually exclusive in their methodologies and actions.
- What framework is to be used towards forging a new paradigm? The framework needs to be rooted in a context which itself is dynamic, complex, social/cultural, local and global all at the same time. The framework needs to be informed by who we are. Clearly, Africans are angry by how we are portrayed, how we are treated, so a new framework should be rooted in our agency, our humanity, resourcefulness, etc.
- How do we articulate this new framework? We seem to be grappling with a search for words, for a language that captures who we are. Is it to be solidarity, gift-giving, emergency response or what?
- There are good examples of things that have been done well and that can inform the way forward. But these things are often not documented. We need documentation to help define the road forward, including how to resource ourselves.
- *Another contributor* observed the need to listen to one's *inner voice* in the process of looking for a new way and of understanding who we are. Sometimes, one must just "sit and think and sometimes just sit."
- Over the course of the Symposium, many participants expressed their frustrations about what has happened to Africa as a result of external, including humanitarian, interventions. This was described as a passionate articulation of the *inner voice*.



- African states have been captured. Their nature is not the same as it was at independence. Understanding the nature and role of the state in Africa requires analysis of the groups of people who are at the top of the state, the economy and the military. Being able to understand who they are, what their alliances are and what they are doing answers part of the ontological question towards framing a new paradigm on 'humanitarian,' and 'emergency' responses or on development.

*What do we know and how do we know it?*

- A distinction was drawn between *knowledge* and *knowing*, the former a conservative concept and the latter a revolutionary one. Knowledge is a package while knowing is a process.
- How we know and what we know will inform the new paradigm and perhaps when there is a crisis we will call it an emergency and the resulting action will be an emergency response in solidarity with others.
- It was argued that for the past thirty years, knowledge has come as a package from donors and through capacity building the recipients have learned how to manage and operationalize the package. This does not represent own thinking and doing.
- Knowing comes from doing, from pain and suffering, from struggle as in the liberation struggles on the continent. Its leaders did not go outside the continent to learn how to liberate but innovated through self-knowledge. What has happened to this tradition?
- Indeed African knowledge and systems of knowing have been suppressed on the whole. Why is it that the major voices on Africa are from the north (Sachs, Colliers and others). How and why do ideas get disseminated and in whose interests. Who drives knowledge?
- It is not that there are no African scholarly voices. They are just not heard.

*Some notes on the processes for shaping a new paradigm and moving beyond the 'humanitarian' response industry that has emerged in the past twenty-five years.*

- Challenges and opportunities facing the continent:
  - ◇ climate change – already evident in the drought of the 70s and 80s and the resultant great famine in the Horn of Africa and the Sahel has broader implications now for the rest of Africa
  - ◇ Africa's centrality in the world due to demand for its natural resources and land
  - ◇ collapse of the global economy/failure of the capitalist model
  - ◇ emergence of new players in the development arena – the so-called BRIC countries



- ◊ threats from military interventions portrayed as humanitarian responses (e.g., Africom)
- Mobilization of popular voices, artists & musicians (often the harbingers of change), diaspora, social movements and youth through new technologies and media to influence states and shape a new model.
- ICT is a powerful tool for masses of people and youth to inform one another of emergency and conflict events and to influence outcomes. Recent events of political violence in Kenya bear witness to this trend.
- Need for innovative techniques to raise funding for non-state actors and facilitate their independence from reliance on outside donors, eg.
  - ◊ tax on commodity transfers to be used for humanitarian assistance and development projects
  - ◊ adoption of tax incentives by states to African companies and individuals for contributions to humanitarian assistance and development projects
  - ◊ other non-traditional approaches which result from thinking *outside the box*
- Ideas based on practical experience in the field:
  - ◊ Instead of *merely consulting* people on the ground who are recipients of assistance *include their representatives in all processes and activities*
  - ◊ Develop capacity of all the executive and policy leadership as well as the staff in aid work in the African aid world by providing a common, homogeneous and systematic education with integrity and competence.
  - ◊ Pan African institutions (African Union, African Development Bank, UN Economic Commission for Africa, etc) to provide institutional funding to ensure the presence and quality of home-grown African humanitarian and development organizations and to promote them as flagship agencies in African disaster and conflict situations.
  - ◊ Establishment and institutionalization of an independent “humanitarian ombudsman” for all humanitarian and development action. This institution would set norms, regulate and validate actions, and produce non-partisan views on results and performances

***Methodological elements towards creating a new framework and paradigm:***

- *Scenario planning* for the future of Africa in the next twenty years is needed to model what the continent might look like given various environmental, climatic, economic, social and political instabilities, conflicts, global risks and other factors. Such scenarios



are invaluable in planning for the future and identifying where and what crises might emerge. The persistence of inequality on the continent is a major issue to consider.

- *A scan of the changing face of donors and of NGOs* on the continent is important.
  - ◇ Philanthropy is no longer the domain of the north and west. African donors and foundations have emerged as players in the humanitarian and development arena. (E.g., African Grantmakers Network)
  - ◇ Additionally foundations and donors from the east (China and India) and South America (Brazil) are increasingly visible in Africa.
  - ◇ The notion of NGOs and civil society is also undergoing change. Will they look the same in 10 or 15 years as there is a shift toward networks and movements.
- *Knowledge generation*, dissemination and application by Africans at a policy level is essential.
  - ◇ Without knowledge we cannot reposition humanitarian assistance in Africa.
  - ◇ Who researches, writes, publishes and influences agendas is critical. The prism used is important for the image that is projected.
  - ◇ Leading development scholars are from the west with their disciples in Africa pushing someone else's agenda.
  - ◇ We need a cadre of scholars from the continent developing knowledge, conducting scans and developing scenarios.
- *Developmental and democratic states*, imbedded in the society, are critical elements for constructing a new paradigm.
  - ◇ In making interventions work, cooperation with democratic and developmental civil society institutions that are constructive, sustainable, accountable and responsible is a priority.
  - ◇ Continental frameworks such as the African Peer Review Mechanism<sup>8</sup> or the Social Policy of the AU must be taken in to consideration in shaping a new paradigm.

<sup>8</sup> [http://www.au2002.gov.za/docs/summit\\_council/aprm.htm](http://www.au2002.gov.za/docs/summit_council/aprm.htm)





*The way forward then points to:*

- Reviving and revitalizing the knowledge we have and engaging in scenario building
- Succession plan-continuity of what has started here in the Symposium - especially bringing in young people into the process to take over from the elders
- Redefining power relations within humanitarian interventions
- Documentation needed of Africans helping Africans
- Sharing recommendations with the AU and other continental entities.

**HIGHLIGHTS OF CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE AUDIENCE**

- Concern was raised regarding levels of suspicion among NGOs, international or local, vis à vis the state. Also concern regarding restrictions placed on NGOs, both local and international, by governments. The impact of suspicion and of restrictions on the ability to deliver assistance was the issue.
- Given the many tasks at hand in providing assistance during disasters and crises, a question was raised regarding who is going to take responsibility to lead the way forward and to get something definitive from the Symposium. [Addressed in the Closing Session.]



## CLOSING SESSION: PLANNING THE WAY FORWARD

The intent of the closing session was to allow all participants (panelists, organizers, sponsors and audience) a chance to offer final reflections on the proceedings of the Symposium and to identify what could and should be done to take the conversations initiated in the Symposium further and even beyond what had been discussed.

### *Final Reflections:*

There were a number of people who had final observations that they wanted to share with participants in the Symposium on issues of the *tone and language* of the meeting, on the importance of the conversations around identity, agency and reflectivity, and *on the format and conduct* of the Symposium.

### *Regarding tone and language in the meeting*

- Just prior to the closing session, one observer noted that the tone of the meeting was “angry, radical and provocative” though he found the level of the discussion impressive and incisive. The Symposium was reminded that another meeting in New York on the Millennium Development Goals coincided with this meeting. It was also underscored that the critiques emanating from this meeting regarding aid, interventions, etc. were an important repost to the rhetoric in New York and that the Symposium report should reflect the tone of this meeting. In fact this meeting was an important news story to communicate to the world.
- Some other participants cautioned that tone and language in how the outcomes of this Symposium are communicated is important for engagement with the outside world and might jeopardize what we seek to do.
  - ◇ Others might take offense from the Symposium’s tone and language. Communications must be civil. After all we are all engaged in one human endeavor.
  - ◇ Tone and language will matter especially in the written record and in any other documents that result from the Symposium. Words and imagery are powerful. They should not isolate Africa as Africa is in the world, of the world and is the world.
  - ◇ Concepts of self-assertion, self-control, self-development based on self-reliance are all fine. But in an effort of making something new, there is the danger of the demise and repudiation of what is not so old including of relationships with long time friends. The latter should not happen. After all, action programs will rely on actors at all levels.



- ◇ If a new paradigm shift is underway, it did not start now. Others like REST, FAVDO<sup>9</sup> and USA for Africa have contributed to a new direction that encompasses the ideas in the immediately foregoing section. The idea was to get beyond relief to sustainable development and to promote self-reliance, etc. Moreover, the concepts of African foundations and philanthropy are not unique to the current period. Various players promoted this concept in the past and now we are seeing a maturation of the idea.
- ◇ Concern was expressed that the Symposium [in its tone and language] was engaged in rhetoric and semantics. Just sitting and thinking [reflecting] will be just that and not accomplish much. We are part of the global system and we should try to influence and win over that system.
- *Other voices* emphasized that while none of us wants to isolate or separate ourselves from the world, the first step is to discover who we are and have our own identity and needs clear before being open to somebody else. What we have been doing in the Symposium is defining ourselves and our priorities first so as to consolidate and take action.
- We recognize the differences among ourselves. There is nothing wrong with that because we need debate. We also need to recognize our failings because we will have to save ourselves.
- The images often projected of Africa as a dying continent are offensive and humiliating. We can raise our issues without seeing dying children, etc.
- One participant argued that while tone and language do matter, we ought to interrogate whose language we have to conform to. Is language something objective? In prior sessions there already was interrogation of the term “humanitarian” as given a particular context and connotation in the past three decades. Language creates a reality and context that does not necessarily represent our stories, who we are and where we are coming from.
- If we as Africans want to influence the global world and be part of it, if Africa is in the world, then we have the duty to contribute to the world, perhaps to begin with by dismantling the existing ways of thinking and operating – especially when it comes to thinking and operating about and in our continent. We have to be more thoughtful about the impact (psychological and philosophical) of existing systems on our minds and to detect how we have been infiltrated against our own interests. Frederick Douglass, the great abolitionist against slavery in the United States and American thinker, was quoted: “Your ideas come from where your money comes from.”

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<sup>9</sup>Forum of African Voluntary Development Organizations – founded in Senegal in 1987

*On the format and conduct of the Symposium*

While most participants embraced the open, often conversational format of the Symposium and the unfettered opportunity for discourse, debate and dialogue, some participants expressed discomfort and frustration.

- One or two people were disenchanted that there were no papers circulated and resolutions proposed by the organizers of the Symposium for the participants to debate and, ostensibly, accept or reject. [Perhaps they did not receive the background documents and materials on the Symposium.]
- Others felt that representatives of African governments and multilateral organizations should have been present. Why were, what were termed, the 'main stakeholders' or the 'real players' – that is international donors and international, specifically northern, NGOs – engaged in humanitarian work, not invited? After all, it is their resources, their commodities that are used in humanitarian interventions. They are the important stakeholders and need to be consulted.
- Instead of focusing on a new paradigm, because paradigms have been exhausted, why not focus on what kind of humanitarian policies can be developed and exist already and where there are gaps. What could be the strategies to implement such policies?
- The process should have been inclusive and participatory – not an African conference. That is for other fora. The AU is present but others are at the center of the humanitarian crises.

Some counter-posed observations:

- ◇ This Symposium is not an event but the beginning of a process. We were invited here, not as representatives of any countries or organizations, but as individuals with thirty to forty years of experiences and reflection on the issues at hand. Our task has been to reflect on international humanitarian interventions and to identify and discuss issues and compile ideas on what we want to do.
- ◇ We need to address the issues of who we are and also recognize that we are part of the global world and we must influence that world system. Yes we will accept assistance from outside – but on our terms.
- ◇ We have held a paperless meeting without concept papers and the like and we have expressed divergent views. But this is for the better.
- ◇ It was important to bring mainly African and diaspora thinkers, practitioners and activists together to reflect and dialogue on critical issues confronting the continent.

***Suggestions on the Way Forward:***

- USA for Africa committed resources to establish and operate, for three years, an internet portal [ <http://www.africaspeaks4africa.org> ] to continue the dialogue on international humanitarian action, emergency responses and solidarity in Africa. Additionally, it is anticipated that the dialogue will extend to related issues, especially to economic, social, political and cultural development on the continent.
- The consensus of the participants at the closing session was that the organizing committee be extended to work with an *Advisory Committee* comprised of volunteers from the Symposium participants:
  - ◊ Those who volunteered included: Emira Woods (Liberia and USA), Liepollo Lebohang Phoko (South Africa), Bak Twendele (DRC and South Africa), Bertha Amisi (Kenya and USA), Meheret Ambachew (Ethiopia), Mercy Mwambui (Kenya and Ethiopia) and Mutombo M'panya (DRC and USA). Their tasks are to:
  - ◊ Produce a report on the proceedings to be circulated to all participants and posted on the internet portal.
  - ◊ Develop other reports, brochures and media both to document what has taken place and to stimulate interest and discussion among African thinkers, practitioners, activists and communicators on the issue at hand.
  - ◊ Engage with the officials of the AU Commission working on humanitarian issues to encourage exchange and cooperation.
  - ◊ Post all the primary material (video footage, Symposium program, written summaries provided by panelists, the short video produced for the opening, report, etc) on the portal.
  - ◊ Engage panelists, participants and others beyond the Symposium to research, reflect and debate on a new paradigm. Those who can will take the talk forward into new processes, structures and institutions mirroring the interests and needs of the peoples of Africa.

Draw on existing African organizations to stimulate further debate and action:

- ◆ African Grantmakers Network (<http://www.africangrantmakersnetwork.org>)
- ◆ Africa Humanitarian Action (<http://www.africahumanitarian.org>)
- ◆ African Union (<http://www.africa-union.org>)
- ◆ African Women's Development Fund (<http://www.awdf.org>)
- ◆ Camerapix (<http://www.camerapix.com>) and A24 Media (<http://www.a24media.net>)
- ◆ Four Rivers Social Entrepreneurs (<http://www.4-rivers.co.za>)



- ◆ INAFI Africa (International Network of Alternative Financial Institutions) (<http://www.inafi.org/where-we-work/inafi-africa>)
  - ◆ InterAid Uganda (<http://www.interaiduganda.org>)
  - ◆ National Institute for Disaster Management (INGC) in Mozambique (<http://www.ingc.gov.mz>)
  - ◆ Relief Society of Tigray (REST) (<http://www.rest-tigray.org.et>)
  - ◆ Trust Africa (<http://www.trustafrica.org>)
  - ◆ Ushahidi (<http://www.ushahidi.com>)
  - ◆ United National Economic Commission on Africa (UNECA) (<http://www.uneca.org>)
  - ◆ USA for Africa (United Support of Artists for Africa) (<http://www.usaforafrica.org>)
- Develop and circulate a list of participants with contact details for the purpose of promoting networking and dialogue among participants.



## **PART THREE: ANNEXURES**

## LETTER FROM USA FOR AFRICA



June 2010

### Background

When the first footage of the 1984 African famine victims appeared on the television some 25 years ago, its images touched the conscience of the world. Across the continents, viewers shared a common outrage at the plight of fellow human beings. The news reports were bleak; the situation was vast and complex.

The immediate response and unprecedented outpouring of generosity emerged from around the world. Everyone wanted to do something to help. Inspired by Harry Belafonte, Artist and lifelong Activist, who long ago recognized the importance of Artists using their status to impact on social change, American celebrities contributed their talents, public visibility and drawing power to spotlight the problems of poverty in Africa and globally.

A major outcome of this celebrity involvement for the African famine and Africa was the recording of "We Are the World" and the creation of the organization United Support of Artists for Africa (USA for Africa). 2010 is a milestone that presents an opportunity to look back and reflect. In what ways did USA for Africa and other international initiatives impact Africa during this 25 year period? What are the implications from these experiences for Africa's future?

Remaining consistent with our funding commitments, aimed at empowering the people of Africa at all levels along with supporting the concepts of self-development, institutional and capacity building, USA for Africa believes this time of reflection is a unique opportunity. Bringing together Africans from diverse sectors to have their voices heard and to give their perspectives on international involvement with the continent along with sharing how they see the future is essential and should be instructive for all engaged in humanitarian interventions.

USA for Africa in collaboration with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and in partnership with Trust Africa is organizing a major Symposium, to be held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 21-23 September 2010. The accompanying document provides more information on the Symposium and related activities and formal invitations will be sent during June and July.

Sincerely,

  
Lloyd Greig  
Board Chair





## **Reflections on International Humanitarian Interventions in Africa: A Symposium**

**21 to 23 September 2010 – Addis Ababa  
Sponsored by USA for Africa**

### **CONCEPT PAPER**

Twenty-five years have passed since the onset of a catastrophic famine across the SAHEL region of Africa. The 'eye of the storm' was Ethiopia. The news and footage of the devastation to human beings caused by the drought and famine spread across the planet. Mohammed Amin's iconic footage captured the suffering and epic character of the event and riveted people in every country to their television screens. The outpouring was massive. Celebrities and humanitarian agencies mobilised millions of dollars in assistance. Many travelled to witness directly and to try to ease suffering of what has been termed 'biblical proportions.'

Africa has experienced multiple, often uninvited, and increasingly aggressive and intensive interventions from the outside. Adventurers seeking to explore an unfamiliar "dark continent"; armies embarking on conquests and building empires; settlers looking for land and opportunities not readily available in their birthplaces; merchants and traders looking for natural resources and markets for their wares; missionaries spreading the word and converting the natives into their religions; and land grabs by foreign countries as they assure their food security needs.

Humanitarian and other forms of development aid can also be seen as external intervention albeit intended to ease suffering on the continent or to influence development trajectories. At times this form of intervention, though usually well intentioned, has unforeseen, even counter-productive and unfortunate consequences. All these interventions into Africa merit interrogation, analysis and reflection by the objects/subjects of the intervention, that is by Africans on the continent and those in the Diaspora.

The proposed Symposium sponsored by USA for Africa will focus on the meanings and impacts of humanitarian interventions in the continent. What have these interventions meant for the Continent? What implications or consequences have they had for the famine of 'biblical proportions' in the SAHEL, the tragedies in Darfur, the genocide in Rwanda, the scourge of racial discrimination and Apartheid? What is the significance of the ties felt by the Diaspora, both old and recent who often mobilise humanitarian assistance, for the future of Africa?

Reflections on the past are indispensable in attempting to chart the future. USA for Africa was part of the intervention in 1985. Twenty-five years later, the time has come to have an informed conversation – a candid reflection- among African thinkers about what happened then and since. What was done to assist? How effective was the assistance? What went wrong or right in the process? In what ways did the intervention in 1985 shape future humanitarian efforts and create a space for interventions with various agendas? How should things have



been done better or differently? And given all these and other important questions that will emerge in the conversations, "Quo Vadis " Africa?

The conversations and dialogue in this Symposium will be led by and among Africans with contributions from significant participants engaged in humanitarian initiatives in Africa. The ultimate objective is to stimulate dialogues amongst civil society, the private sector and the state on policy pertaining to humanitarian assistance as it affects economic, political, social and cultural development in Africa.

### **Objectives**

The Symposium seeks to stimulate a discourse on international humanitarian interventions in Africa among thinkers, practitioners and activists on the continent and beyond. The Symposium creates an opportunity for dialogue and reflection on various key issues related to the impacts and implications of international interventions, namely:

- What have been the historical experiences, current realities and future possibilities of international humanitarian interventions?
- What do international organizations get from intervening?
- What are the influences that are subsumed in international humanitarian interventions?
- What has been the impact of international humanitarian interventions on local organizations, institutions and the state?
- What expectations do Africans have of international humanitarian interventions?
- What have local institutions derived from international humanitarian interventions?
- What has been the role of the Diaspora?
- What impact does the institutionalization of humanitarian interventions have on development in Africa?

### **Format**

The Symposium will be held at the United Nations Conference Centre (UNCC) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 21 to 23 September 2010. USA for Africa is responsible for sponsoring the meeting which includes mobilizing participants, providing the venue, handling logistics, and arranging accommodation for selected participants.

The Symposium will follow an open and interactive format in which all sessions will be moderated by facilitators. Broad and penetrating questions will be posed. Selected resource persons will offer their reflections and perspectives on those issues. These perspectives and reflections will be complemented by contributions from other participants.



## **Conference Organizers**

Dr. Morley Nkosi, Development Specialist & former USA for Africa Advisor  
Dr. Joanna Nkosi, Historian  
Jalal Latif – ECA Staff and former USA for Africa Staff  
Marcia Thomas, Executive Director USA for Africa  
Ruth Maruru, Trust Africa  
Dr. Dawit Zawde, Africa Humanitarian Action  
Bilen Shimelis, Africa Humanitarian Action/Symposium Secretariat  
Amira Ali, Symposium Local Coordinator



## **Elaboration on Questions for the Symposium: *Reflections on International Humanitarian Interventions in Africa.***

### **Panel 1. International Humanitarian Interventions: Past and Present**

International humanitarian interventions as we know them today, in independent Africa, can be traced to the time of the Biafra secession from Nigeria. Whatever humanitarian crises might have preceded the Biafra War in 1968 to 1970 would probably have been the consequence of colonial policies of dislocation and marginalisation of Africans. After Biafra, we had the Sahelian drought and famine in the 1970s which intensified and culminated in the 1984 famine in Ethiopia. Today, several humanitarian crises continue to unfold across Africa: in Darfur, DRC, Niger/Chad, etc.

What constitutes a humanitarian crisis that draws international intervention? Who determines what crises merit external response? Why do some crises attract international attention while others do not?

### **Panel 2. International Interventions**

- **The Players**

International humanitarian interventions come from various sources: non-governmental organisations, foundations, faith-based organisations, multi-lateral and bi-lateral organisations, governments, the private sector, celebrities and philanthropists. These players bring to the interventions different perspectives, experiences, capacity, resources and influence which shape the nature of the interventions.

Who are the players? What are the trends in international interventions? What is content of the interventions?

- **Motivations Driving International Humanitarian Interventions**

Each of the players is driven by their values, interests and agendas. These motivations are sometimes at odds with the best interests of the communities for whom the interventions are meant. Sometimes they are at odds with the local socio-cultural, economic or political contexts.

What are the current trends in the values, interests and agendas of the players? Who shapes what the agendas are? What are their methods of operation and approaches? How do they engage with local structures; government, faith-based organisations, local community-based and civil society organisations and local responders?

- **Interests imbedded in international humanitarian interventions**

There are a variety of interests that exist around international humanitarian interventions. These include:

- faith-based interests
- commercial & procurement interests
- institutions whose survival depends on humanitarian interventions
- foreign policy interests of intervening governments
- recipient government interests.
- This is not to say that there are no organisations and individuals that emerge spontaneously to respond to humanitarian crises with the sole motivation to help.

Specifically what interests are we talking about? In what ways are these interests manifested? Is there anything wrong with self-interest in humanitarian interventions? Is it possible for international humanitarian interventions to be interest free?

- **Influence and Impact of International Humanitarian Interventions**

International humanitarian interventions approach crises with resources, capacity, and authority at a point when local resources, structures, institutions and populations are most vulnerable and where development planning and disaster management is weak or non-existent. What often results is:

- dependency on foreign interventions
- destabilisation of local initiatives and economies
- lack of accountability to local structures and communities
- undermining of security
- fracturing fragile national institutions
- overwhelming of longer term development policies and planning
- distortion of national priorities

Given such negative associations with international humanitarian interventions, what are the positive outcomes derived from interventions? Given the short-lived nature of international humanitarian interventions, how can the positive features be transitioned into long-term development?

### 3. **African Led Humanitarian Interventions**

- On the continent

When a crisis happens the first responders are always on the ground, that is local people, institutions and organisations: that is neighbors, friends, faith-based organisations and then the government of the region. That is to say the victims of humanitarian crises do not just sit back and wait for external intervention. Over the years, some of these homegrown responders have become institutionalised humanitarian enteritis.



- In the diaspora

Africans in the diaspora also play a critical role in mobilising action and resources in the international community.

What forms do African-led interventions take? What have been and are African led institutions operating in this field? How do they sustain or fund themselves? How do they develop their capacity to deliver? What resources are required? What do they do differently or better than foreign humanitarian institutions?

#### **4. The Future: Shaping a New Paradigm**

What limited knowledge production exists around humanitarian interventions in Africa is dominated by writers and theorists from the north. If Africans are going to control the nature and impacts of humanitarian interventions on the continent, Africans must create their own paradigm. How do we do this?

***Reflections on International Humanitarian  
Interventions in Africa: A Symposium***

***21 to 23 September 2010 – Addis Ababa***

***Sponsored and Organized by USA for Africa in  
Collaboration with Trust Africa and Africa Humanitarian Action and Hosted  
by the United Nations Economic Commission on Africa***

**PROGRAM**

**Day One: Tuesday, 21 September**

Program Director: Morley Nkosi

9:00am – 9:30am	Registration
9:30am – 10:00am	Opening Session UNECA Host Welcome Government of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia: Minister of Foreign Affairs USA for Africa: Chairperson of the Board
10:00am – 10:30am	Departure of Dignitaries <i>Health Break</i>
10:30am – 10:45am	Images of Intervention from the last 25 years. A video- produced by Camerapix. Art4life - "We Are the World" - Music session
10:45am – 11:15am	Briefing Session about the Symposium Morley Nkosi on behalf of the Organizing Committee
11:00am – 12:30pm	Panel I: History of Humanitarian Intervention in Africa: Past and Present

Moderator/Facilitator: Willard Johnson

Panelists: Mazide Ndiaye  
Valeriano Ferrao  
Lloyd Grieg  
Haskell Ward  
Tekleweini Assefa

12:30pm – 1:00pm Open Discussion

1:00pm – 2:30pm *Lunch Break*

2:30pm – 4:00pm Panel II: Contours of Humanitarian Interventions

Moderator/Facilitator: Jarrett Max Bankole

Panelists: Liepollo Lebohang Pheko  
Yash Tandon  
Salim Amin  
Ezra Embogori  
Azeb Tadesse  
Abdirisach Hashi

4:00pm – 4:30pm Open Discussion

## **Day Two: Wednesday, 22 September**

Program Director: Morley Nkosi

9:00am – 10:30am Panel III: African Led Humanitarian Interventions

Moderator: Jalal Abdel-Latif, *UNECA*

Panelists: Frank Baffo  
Costantinos Berhé Tesfu  
Soukeyna Ba  
Mamadou Seck  
Mutombo Mpanya

10:30am - 11:00am Open Discussion

11:00am – 12:00pm *Break: Special Event TBA*





12:00pm – 1:00pm	Synthesis of the Symposium Panels
	Facilitator: Morley Nkosi Panel Moderators: Rapporteurs : Mr. Seifulaziz Milas & others
1:00pm – 2:30pm	<i>Lunch Break</i>
2:30pm – 4:00pm	Panel IV: Shaping the New Paradigm
	Moderator: Bertha Amisi
	Panelists: Yash Tandon Emira Woods Dawit Zawde Linda Kamau Bheki Moyo
4:00 pm – 5:00 pm	Discussion

### **Day Three: Thursday, 23 September**

9:00am – 11:00am	Caucusing and Open Discussions
	Field Visitors in or near Addis Ababa (Optional)
TBA	<i>Lunch Break</i>
6:30pm – 9:00pm	Reception at the Sheraton
	USA for Africa Special Announcement

### **Circle of Resource Persons:**

Berhane Deressa  
Peter Gill  
Mark Randazzo  
Charlotte Sarr  
Bak Twendele

## PAPERS SUBMITTED BY PANELISTS AS OF OCTOBER 2010

Dr. B. T. Constantinos	<i>Genesis, Endowment, Capacity and Good Practices for Shaping a New Paradigm</i>
Amb. Valeriano Ferrao	<i>(Summary of) Presentation to the Symposium</i>
Prof. Willard R. Johnson	<i>Comments on the Last Morning</i>
Prof. Mutombo M’Panya	<i>Contribution to a New Design for Humanitarian Intervention in Africa</i>
Dr .Dawit Zawde	<i>Panel Remarks</i>



## African-led Interventions in Human Security:

### Genesis, Endowment, Capacity and Good Practices for Shaping a new Paradigm

BT Costantinos, PhD Chair, African Union Board on the Convention to Prevent and Combat Corruption and School of Post Graduate Studies, AAU

**Panel III: African Led Humanitarian Interventions *Reflections on International Humanitarian Interventions in Africa: A Symposium***  
21 to 23 September 2010 – Addis Ababa

***Sponsored and Organized by USA for Africa in collaboration with Trust Africa and Africa Humanitarian Action and Hosted by the United Nations Economic Commission on Africa***

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2. Methodology and protocols to assess Human Insecurity
3. Genesis of humanitarian operations
  - 3.1. Challenges that lead to the humanitarian crises
  - 3.2. Political foundations of the African CSO Humanitarian Response
  - 3.3. CSO – State relations
  - 3.4. International legal provisions and instruments
  - 3.5. Codes of Conduct (The Sphere Project -- *Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards*)
4. Shaping a new paradigm
  - 4.1. Polarity between historical and 'new' ideological arenas
  - 4.2. Elements of the 'New Paradigm'
    - 4.2.1. Human Security and African CSOs
      - 4.2.1.1. Concepts
      - 4.2.1.2. R2P: from freedom from fear vs. freedom from want
      - 4.2.1.3. R2P, Human and State Security
    - 4.2.2. Rights to Assistance
    - 4.2.3. Good practice notes (AHA/ACHA Cases)
      - 4.2.3.1. Principles for Policy Determination
      - 4.2.3.2. Principles for Humanitarian Policy Determination
      - 4.2.3.3. Research-Outreach Interface (ROI)



### **Abbreviation and acronyms**

ACHA African Centre for Humanitarian Action  
AHA Africa Humanitarian Action  
APSA AU-NEPAD Peace and Security Agenda  
AU African Union  
CD Capacity Development  
COMESA Common Market for Eastern and Southern African Countries  
CSOs Civil society organisations  
ECCAS Economic Community for Central African States  
ECOWAS Economic Community for Western African States  
IGAD Intergovernmental Authority on Development  
NEPAD New Partnership Agenda for African Development  
R2A Right to Assistance  
R2P Responsibility to Protect  
RECs Regional Economic Commissions  
RPM Regional Partnership Management  
SADC Southern African Development Cooperation  
UMA Union of Maghreb States  
UN GA United Nations General Assembly  
UN United Nations  
UNHCR United Nations High Commission for Refugees



### Summary :

The 21st Century has ushered in a time of unprecedented global wealth and extraordinary opportunities; but Africa is mired in forced population movements have yet to benefit from this. Conflicts, corruption, disasters, poverty, and pandemics now threaten the region with a calamity unforeseen even during the Great African Famine of the 1980s that affected 150 million Africans. While many proposals for remedial action have been formulated for vulnerability and poverty that haunt the region, real commitment to collaborative processes at the inter-organizational level has always been limited. Mobilizing the action required has also remained a daunting challenge, as many practical and structural constraints militate against commitment by individual groups to inter-organizational initiatives nationally and regionally.

Many conventional and preconceived notions have been questioned and new ideas proposed. The need for collective learning about our responses, and the responsibility to those whose suffering provided the basis for that learning will never be more urgent than it is now. Unfortunately, such lessons, which may be learned through the shocks administered by an uncompromising reality, are rarely translated quickly into personal or organizational memories and the inherent will to change. The reasons for this are sometimes rooted in human inertia, weakness, and self-interest. They are equally often the products of a genuine confusion about how to act most effectively in an environment that seems to be growing more complex.

**To every human problem in Africa, there is always a solution that is smart, simple, and immoral. Important stakeholders tend to have a linear way of thinking that is inadequate to unravel the many complex inter-relationships underlying people's insecurity. It is neither popular nor scientific. The need for the fundamental change on how the global community deals with the internecine crises must change since places such as Darfur, Somalia, Chad and DRC, have become a new insignia of 'bestiality'. It must take, within the premises of Human Security, R2P and R2A, and encourage appropriate action for promoting and managing an enabling environment for human development; in addition to mainstreaming peace, security and participatory developmental response – people acting as citizens of a political society, reinforcing ownership of security and ensuring livelihood continuity.**

The first set of limitations relate to a tendency to narrow capacity development thought and practice to the terms and categories of immediate, not very well considered, political and social action, a naive realism, as it were. Secondly, the limitations arise from inattention to problems of articulation or production of capacity development systems and process within African polities rather than simply as formal or abstract possibilities. Thirdly, the ambiguity as to whether civil society is the agent or object of CD and a nearly exclusive concern in certain institutional perspectives on CD in Africa with generic attributes and characteristics of political organisations and consequent neglect of analysis in terms of specific strategies and performances of organisations in processes of transition to capacity. In addition, there is the inadequate treatment of the role of international agencies and the relations between global



and indigenous aspects or dimensions of capacity development in Africa. The need for the fundamental change on how the global community deals with the internecine crises must change; hence, the emergence of capacity development strategies, international conventions and humanitarian codes of conduct.

### **1) Introduction**

A quarter of a century after the Great African Famine and Ban Aid, Africa is in the grip of an unprecedented crisis, heightened by the inability of homegrown African organizations to readily engage in the search for solutions to the continent's problems. The UN Special Session on Africa (1986), which resulted in the creation of the UN Programme for Africa's Economic Recovery and Development (UNPAHARD), demonstrated that the international community was committed to helping Africa in its struggle against underdevelopment and poverty. Nonetheless, two decades later, Africa struggles to be at the forefront of the global development agenda.

Across the continent, people are forcibly displaced from their homes and countries for several reasons, the most common being conflict and /or natural disaster related. Whilst some countries are currently emerging from conflict, others such as the Sudan, DRC and Somalia, remain in the throws of violence, causing thousands to flee and seek safety. Elsewhere in the continent, populations continue to suffer the devastating results of natural disasters, such as droughts and floods. In 2007 alone, 18 countries across Africa were severely affected by floods, forcing an estimated 1.5 million people to flee their homes and seek drier ground.

On a positive note, millions of displaced persons have been able to experience a voluntary, safe, and dignified return home. However, with an estimated 22 million people, remaining forcibly displaced across the continent, but significant challenges remain. Due to the protracted nature of many African conflicts, a substantial proportion of those affected have been in displacement for years and in some cases decades. Whilst the need for assistance remains paramount, donor fatigue is placing vulnerable populations at risk of dwindling support. The protection and assistance that people receive is already very basic, a drop in which would be catastrophic. Therefore, it is essential that adequate funds are secured and African organizations are supported to ensure the necessary protection and assistance, and the ability to empower populations in positively contributing to achieving durable solutions to the challenges Africa faces.

Neither international aid nor international interventions on their own have significantly reduced vulnerability nor brought enduring solutions. An enhanced involvement of well-resourced and well-equipped African actors could improve both the effectiveness of interventions and the sustainability of subsequent recovery programmes. It will, however, require a shift of both mindset and approach to humanitarian aid delivery. Today, African organizations suffer from insufficient funding to up-grade competences and structures to a competitive level, missing reliable longer-term institutional development as funding allocated to them is mostly tied to short-term, earmarked service-delivery programmes. They are particularly lagging behind in information technology, which has transformed humanitarian relief beyond recognition in the last decade.

Faced with this situation, Africans have developed their own perception of development, which can help solve the problems facing the continent. The proliferation of organisations of peasant and village women with links to African NGOs and civil society is a good indication of Africa's ability to rely upon itself, something of which African NGOs are well aware.

Hence, this document outlines a transformational change in African led directions towards addressing the root causes of forced displacement and human migration. The directional change entails addressing issues of human security that seeks to protect people against a broad range of threats to individuals and communities and, further, to empower them to act on their own behalf and to forge a global alliance against forced displacement. Human security thus brings together the human elements of security, of rights, and of development; based on the tents of the UN Commission on Human Security and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.

## 2) Methodology and protocols to assess Human Insecurity

**a) Social capital and human security:** There is a vast and growing, if recent, literature on associational life in Africa. Much of this literature is an important and much needed corrective to the afro-pessimism prevailing in policy circles in the West. Having despaired of revamping the supposedly derelict African state, researchers and some policy makers have averted their gaze to social movements and groups, optimistic that these, if re-invigorated, may organically lead to stronger and more democratic states in the continent. Whereas these movements were once perceived as the touchstone of democratic transition and consolidation, their brief has been widened. Researchers and policy makers alike see them as the harbingers of development and the solution to the deep poverty that afflicts the continent.

The need for an assessment of human insecurity in CSOs is all too obvious. CSOs must come forward as a political forum emerging as the regions première think tank that would set the paradigmatic shifts on human security and R2P, human development and popular participation – where people acting as citizens of a political society, reinforce ownership of development and ensure continuity. The prospects, nature and outcomes of human welfare and state sustainability will depend on CSO's ability to help nations and people's of the region to foster the rules of the game (as manifest in political rules) and the configuration of national institutions (as manifest in political institutions) in state and civil society. CSO's visions must be firmly rooted in building pluralism, nations and states governed by justice, and respect for rights of citizens in the Horn of Africa. Its reign must extend from ensuring livelihoods to ensuring human security and R2P, gender equality, advancement in governance, alternative conflict management, and diplomacy.

The overarching goal is to generate information that can be used to review the scale of crime and the criminal justice systems in countries undergoing the APRM. This ultimate goal is to enhance the implementation of NEPAD programmes. Crime is a cross cutting issue in all the four areas identified in the NEPAD Declaration (democracy and political governance, economic governance and management; corporate governance and socio-economic development) and containing it is essential for enhancing human security and R2P as well as achieving the levels of development envisaged by the continent. Different countries



experience different rates of crime and though management of the criminal justice hinges on accepted principles, there are some variations across countries in the levels of performance and the determinant factors equally vary. Participating country partners will thus agree on the methods to be used in each area of study, taking into account each country's specificities, as indicated in the questionnaire. Sharing information would be essential for the success of the project and will enhance the quality of work by the country team.

The study will proceed in a number of stages": "firstly it is the engagement of country partners and preparing the questionnaire for the country's local context. This would be done through the aid of the country background report. An issue paper derived from this document will guide the actual study. Selected Partners will write brief R2P action plans on how they intend to proceed with the study. They will also compile a list of stakeholders and other likely respondents to interviews they will conduct. Intended visits to institutions, e.g. prisons must also be indicated and later documented. Secondly, in country workshop during which studies pertaining to all sections would be discussed, thirdly, fieldwork/data collection by the partners and analysis of the findings, discussion of preliminary report and finally it is to finalise the country report/ drafting of policy documents/ prep for publication and policy briefings with relevant stakeholders followed by general dissemination of the findings."

b) In the following is outlined the kind and types of information to be gathered, data collection techniques to be used and the analysis system that would be utilised to organise, interpret and present findings in HS assessment. For clarity purposes, we have organised the information to be collected in line along the major components of the assignment. Applied data collection will focus on participatory, affordable, easy to understand and useful techniques. Stakeholders at all levels would be consulted for their views, experience, and inputs to the assessment process. They would fully participate in identification of lessons learned and formulation of recommendations. Information gathering/ data collection and analysis would be conducted in close co-ordination and consultation with all stakeholders and regional bureau authorities. In order to obtain the information needed to answer the above questions, the following data collection techniques would be used.

i) SWOT workshops;

ii) Primary and secondary data collection in addition to the primary field data, secondary data would be collected from different organisations to feed in into the peace and security strategy and mechanism development process. A series of interview instruments that reflect the range of issues and questions contained in the strategy and mechanism development process would be developed and administered. The questions would be designed to collect a wide range of factual and attitudinal data on the peace and security strategy and mechanism development process. A series of questions would be asked on issues related to programme objectives, practices and in addition to these factual questions, the survey will consist of certain attitudinal questions, which will probe communities' perception of problems and needs and how the peace and security strategy and mechanism relates and affects these needs and problems;



### iii) Key Informants and electronic Focus Group discussions

iv) Data Analysis: The information collected through review of documents, personal interviews and group's discussions would be analysed within the framework of the study objectives. Data collected through structured questionnaires would be edited, coded, and analysed. Data obtained from official records would be analysed using content analysis techniques. Qualitative data would be used to enrich, illustrate, and elaborate on the quantitative findings. Both the qualitative and quantitative analysis will focus on answering the study questions as specified in the toolkit.

## 3) Genesis

### a) Challenges that lead to the humanitarian crises

African Humanitarian CSOs (HCSOs) face many limitations in the sphere of institutional development. Various recommendations and declarations aimed at addressing people's organisations' institutional problems have been made in recent years. Mobilising the action required has, however, remained a daunting challenge, as many practical and structural constraints militate against commitment by individual groups to inter-organisational initiatives, either nationally or regionally.

- Although they have a lot to contribute as a first line of protecting human security and in their advocacy roles, African HCSOs have been unable to establish a clear and coherent voice nationally on issues, which are crucial to their work or to the interest of the local communities, they serve. While many people's and community based organisations proposals for remedial action have been formulated, real commitment to collaborative processes at the inter-organisational level has always been limited. Closely linked with this is the tendency of voluntary sector groups in the region to place a high priority on their external links. The external focus undermines local organisations' legitimate mission as coactors in the struggle of communities for self-empowerment.
- The absence of effective networks which speak for them, coordinate their relations, represent their interests and advocate their position on important national issues, has hindered their ability to make collective demands on some important issues. On a programmatic level, an effective, well-coordinated body would have allowed them to undertake certain tasks, which are beyond the financial and technical abilities of individual NGOs. Individually many NGOs grapple with similar issues of institutional development and operational efficiency.
- One of the problems, which characterises indigenous people's organisations, is the lack of system programmatic focus and the tendency to go from one sectoral project to another depending on available funding. In addition, once the external support for any project is exhausted the people's organisations take up whatever activities the donors are funding. The inability to specialise in a particular area of competence renders organisational learning irrelevant and makes continuity of a particular agenda



and goals impossible. Moreover, as a sectoral interest group, they remain institutionally weak. This fact compromises the potential for sustainability in their programmes. The external pressures, which often characterise their search for project funds, are partly a result of their institutional incoherence, and their limited capacity for advocacy. A lot of African CSOs invariably lack institutional memories and, hence, the reflective capacity and absence of professionalism in their work and the ability to take stock of where they are going, what they have learned and what lessons can be passed on to others.

- African NGOs and people's organisations have yet to demonstrate capacity to master the technical skills to engage meaningfully in dialogue with governments on these issues. Beyond platitudes and good intentions, many civil institutions cannot participate in dialogue with donors and governments because they lack the personnel with requisite skills and facilities to inform their arguments or present credible data to support their assertions. Far more critical in determining both the level and quality of dialogue between governments and civil society is the political and economic context in which African states find themselves. The context for dialogue, cooperation, and interface between states and people's organisations has so far been determined largely by the pressures of the international community.

Hence, capacity developers of African HCSOs should be determined to change this by taking this first step in the long process of sustainable institutional development, which in the end will reduce Africa's dependence on international charity.

#### **b) Political foundations of the African CSO Humanitarian Response**

i) Analytical problems in current perspectives on CSO humanitarian action capacity development (CD): the theoretical basis for capacity has not been elucidated well in the annals of CD conceptual and analytical process in the international CD system. Indeed, current discussions and analyses of transition to capacity in Africa generally are marked by several limitations. The first set of limitations relate to a tendency to narrow capacity development thought and practice to the terms and categories of immediate, not very well considered, political and social action, a naive realism, as it were. Secondly, the limitations arise from inattention to problems of articulation or production of capacity development systems and process within African polities rather than simply as formal or abstract possibilities. Thirdly, the ambiguity as to whether civil society is the agent or object of CD and a nearly exclusive concern in certain institutional perspectives on CD in Africa with generic attributes and characteristics of political organisations and consequent neglect of analysis in terms of specific strategies and performances of organisations in processes of transition to capacity. In addition, there is the inadequate treatment of the role of international agencies and the relations between global and indigenous aspects or dimensions of humanitarian CD. Let us look at each of these analytical limitations more closely.

- (1) The notion of **naive realism** is invoked here to point to certain conceptual shortcomings in current perspectives on CD reform in Africa. These shortcomings can be seen as outcomes of more or less conscious attempts of indigenous governments and their

international backers to get their hands quickly on "urgent" or "practical" matters of capacity development of politics without worrying much about "abstract" theory. One manifestation of naive realism is the pre-emptive "socialization" of CD ideas and practices. A process, which often spawns an attendant rhetorical over-simplification of difficult concepts, this socialisation is disabling as a method of both grasping capacity development ideas and rules in all their openness and complexity, and making the ideas tractable to transparent and sustainable institutional practice.

Another manifestation of the naive realist approach to transitions to CD in Africa is the simple equation of partisan elaboration of capacity development ideology with the production of ideas, values, and goals in civil society. Here, our attention and thought are diverted from the critical destination between, on the one hand, a system of abstract categories as a construct of an explicit rationalization, a formal conceptualisation and design, and, broad and diverse domains of ideology and purposefulness in the plenitude of social experience, on the other. We are discouraged from acknowledging the distance and tension between these two spheres of capacity development. Instead, one is led to believe that ideological construction in one sphere is reducible to ideological construction in the other.

Still another expression of naive realism in existing perspectives and projects of transition to capacity development in Africa is the common assumption that the proliferation of social organisations, mainly civil society organisations, is in and of itself, an index of capacity development. The assumption seems plausible. After all, what is more obvious in projects of capacity development transition in Africa than the goal of increasing the number of CSOs and other social institutions that will build stronger civil societies that will create favourable conditions for the growth of capacity development in the continent? Nevertheless, the assumption is open to question. The growing number and diversity of CSOs in Africa mean that the organisations have very uneven political and professional capabilities, and differing levels of commitment to processes of capacity development in Africa. They provide a range of social, humanitarian and relief services of varying proximity and relevance to the ends and purposes of capacity development reform.

Nevertheless, they do not function simply as instruments to those ends, but have their own inclinations, concerns and motivations, which capacity builders of African polities and societies must take into account. CSOs may be problematic in that far from contributing to the strengthening of civil society vis-à-vis the state, they can function as instruments for the consolidation of technocratic elite within the non-governmental sector. In addition, it appears that the proliferation of CSOs over the last decade has been more as outcome of funding by external donors than an indigenous "grassroots" phenomenon. Problems such as these constitute significant obstacles to the realization of the capacity development potential of African CSOs.

(2) **CSOs: agent or object of humanitarian action?** In the current drive for humanitarian pluralism in Africa, civil society and institutions within it are "foregrounded" as the arena, agents and instruments of the movement. Internal and external demands for humanitarian governance and the need to reform the indigenous state into a system of



transparent practices have placed a heavy emphasis on social institutions as autonomous actors in these projects.<sup>10</sup> Society yields the spontaneous interests, demands, and institutional mechanisms of humanitarian governance. From this perspective, the state has only a limited role to play. Its function will not be to manage society's humanitarian aspirations and activities, but to create the enabling conditions for their free play. Institutions and groups in civil society must be allowed to form and run themselves. When they begin to address longer socio-economic and political issues beyond their limited sectional concerns, or to co-operate with the state on certain matters, they should be able to do so in terms of their specific interests and competence, not as mere instruments or extensions of governments.

Alternatively, the underdevelopment of civil society in Africa and the incapacities of institutions within it are seen as major barriers to democratisation. The activities of some social institutions may have the salutary effect of bringing into transparency the work of government, and of opening-up state institutions and practices to public suiting.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, the overall weakness of African civil societies is often cited as a fundamental structural constraint on humanitarian governance transformation in Africa. Rather than offering agents and arena of transitions to democracy, African civil societies are generally seen as objects and problems of reform. On account of this view, the state assumes a large role in democratisation. It is assigned the task of nothing less than "cultivating civil society" itself through political education and mobilization and other means. Government is not pushed to the background as society activates itself and leads the struggle for reform. Rather, the former acts on the latter, promotes, and manages the participation of individuals and groups in democratisation. We have here, then, two divergent representations of civil society accompanied by somewhat conflicting conceptions of the role of the state in the African passage to democracy. These are:

- The perception of society as producer of the spontaneous interests, demands and institutional resources of change, to some degree, conflicts with the view of civil societies in Africa as weakly developed social and institutional structures in need of cultivation and support by the state.
- The conception of the state as creator of the enabling environment for the free democratic activities of individuals and groups diverges from the view of government as political educator and mobiliser of civil society.

Moreover, these conflicting perspectives commonly tend to confuse representations of "civil society" and "the state" as conceptual or ideal categories with actual communities and the regime fuelling the transition. The categories are often conflicted into the immediate stuff of African political and social experience. This is not to deny that there are representations of civil society and the state in current perspectives on democratisation in Africa where the elements categorized are more evidently those of really existing African social formations. It is to note a disabling analytical tendency in which the actualities of African politics (tribalism, the

<sup>10</sup>GCA / ALF, (1993) transition to democracy in Africa: a cross-national study.

<sup>11</sup>Costantinos, BT, (1993) "Priming the State". Paper presented to the ALF Forum on corruption. Kampala.



government of individuals and groups rather than the rule of laws and so on) tend to be pre-empted and displaced by the very conceptual categories used to describe them otherwise.

Insofar as existing perspectives on humanitarian reform in Africa neglect to pose the problem of articulation of CD as a relatively autonomous mode of analysis, CD would consist of a set of activities in which universal, mainly Western, concepts and standards of social and economic governance are neatly 'applied to', as distinct from produced or re-produced in African contexts and conditions...

**(3) Inattention to problems of articulation of Capacity Development (CD)**

**Systems:** When it is not dissolved into the immediate reality of political, often partisan, or ethnocentric activity, CD in Africa is likely to be represented as 'pure' principle that needs only proper 'application'. Practitioners and analysts of capacity development in the continent tend to pass over the particular nature of CD quickly in fragmentary presence in much of Africa, "adjusting" it against an ideal-general conception of what it might be. On the implicit, theoretically complacent assumption that formalistic, rhetorical modes of circulation of capacity development ideas and values in Africa nearly exhaust their articulation there, one often rushes to matters of 'implementation'. Consequently, critical problems concerning the philosophical and practical entrenchment of capacity development system and process in Africa receive scant attention. The fundamental issues of how the concepts, standards, and practices of capacity development rule could be generated and sustained under historically hectic conditions, and the manner in which they are likely to gain systemic integrity and autonomy as well as broad social currency are inadequately addressed.

This relative inattention leads analysts and practitioners to make internal observations and assessments in terms of the capacity development performances of African polities without raising the question of setting up or securing the polities as capacity development systems in the first place. Capacity must actually exist, take definite shape and structure, and become a working process, before particular criticisms, claims, and demands can be based on it. Even at the level of application alone, it is largely overlooked that international models may enter Government and societies in Africa through a proliferation of programmes and mechanisms that hinder the growth of open and effective transition process thus retarding the development of indigenous CD-system experience and capacity.

Whether capacity development in Africa is defined in terms of individual action or collective rights, government policy or citizen action, private value or public norm, the upshot of the relative inattention to problems of articulation of open capacity development systems and processes in itself makes CD at once the most concrete of idea systems. Within current projects of political reform, capacity development is either conventionalised or sterilized on terrain of theory and often vacuously formalised on the ground of practice. It enters African polities and society in relatively abstract and plain form, yet is expected to land itself to immediate and vital African polity's socio-political



*experience. It suggests itself, seems within reach only to elude, and appears readily practicable only to resist realization.*

**c) CSO – State relations:**

The long ancestry of the military in African history and its pivotal place in the social fabric was attended by a high degree of militarism. To be a soldier, to bear arms, has always remained a sign of manly distinction. The fact that military service was also rewarded with tributary rights over or outright grants of land gave the ingrained military ethos a solid economic basis. Military discipline and Marxist-Leninist ideology combined to breed a national culture of conformity and uniformity. It was against this background that civic-based liberation forces everywhere in Africa committed to a long struggle and won a war against mighty police and military aristocracies. Recognition of this fact would represent a significant improvement in our consciousness and practice. The passage to democracy in Africa is political development problematic because of the limited “democratic” exposure, “underdeveloped” civil society, and high levels of illiteracy and shortcomings that stem in part from historical and structural conditions marked by authoritarian traditions.

Indeed the end of the Cold War marked the dismantling of these state power oligarchies and the titans who presided on humankind's most appalling era of distress and despair. As we entered the decade of the Nineties, ordinary Africans witnessed a unique era emerging in human history testifying to the systematic disintegration of totalitarianism and with them the miraculous reprieve of humanity that tend to relegate earlier 'great' events in history to the backstage. Advances in human thought and action towards global justice and universalisation of guarantees for human rights, were gathering added momentum with the motive energy contributed by these unprecedented events. The ability of states to strip people of their rights to livelihoods security, behind the thin veneer '**non interference in each other's internal affairs**' was increasingly being challenged.

It is an opportunity for CSOs to marshal their experience and knowledge to play a constructive role in national development; in the same way, CSOs have contributed to build the solid edifice of nationhood and sustainable livelihoods in the North. The requisite commitment to participate in development - to ending poverty and promoting democracy and human rights has never been more opportune and feasible. The fundamental perception, that people, participation, and democracy must be the handmaiden of Africa's development mission and vision is a major underpinning of a paradigm of a negotiating trend towards a total reorientation of national policies. It is also re-imagining the role of civil society in development - for which experiences have already been got -- some exhilaratingly revolutionary and helpful, some of them wrong but unwittingly instructive. States must recognise this constitutive tenet: that development springs from the collective imagination, experiences and decision of people; once more testifying to how critical, it is for development to proceed from the cultural make-up, skills, needs and aspirations of individuals and communities.

The relation between state institutions, civil society organisations and the citizen have hitherto been characterised by invasion of civic space by the state and its structures. Indigenous organisations already present a substantial challenge to the state. CSOs liaise with the state with extreme caution; especially given the growing conviction that they are a component of a cohesive, purpose oriented, social and organisational people's base. Some CSOs are even looked upon in many countries as 'anti-state organisations'. Typically, single-party states neither tolerated nor recognised any other centres of power within society apart from the party and state, which had become almost synonymous. People's organisations were tolerated only as long as they adhered to the State's definition of development or existed to provide alternative conduits of foreign aid. As we stand on the watershed of the Third Millennium, the relations between citizens and state institutions have to be situated within an overall analysis of their roles.

Today, as in the early days right after the 1984 great African famine, states became interested in the NGO movement and began to take them seriously. In some countries, the contribution of the sector reached to more than 50% of foreign earning including ODA. International NGOs and peoples organisations in the form of humanitarian action groups, co-operatives and village help committees flourished; some with genuine interest in civil society empowerment, others under the guise of socialist development. The main issue in state-citizens relations is whether the state has the capacity and the will to relate to citizens and citizens groups based on mutual respect, autonomy, equality, and trust. The relationship between people's organisation and state is characterised by positions of unequal power, making it very tempting for the state to dictate conditions and terms of relationships. The real problem is when the states have to figure out how to relate advocacy, people's organisations which are engaged in championing environmental issues, consciousness raising on the root causes of their problems and institutional development among the indigenous communities. In several countries, the relationship has not been smooth sailing. In the past, the institutional strife between the two actors was quite visible, at times assuming national dimensions, while in Africa; NGOs have been systematically discouraged from building grassroots connections. States have responded to increasing pressure from citizens and people's organisations with intimidation and harassment. The nature of this harassment could be indirect, using existing legal instruments and machinery to serve the interest of the state. The most common state harassment comes in the form of anonymity of CSOs contribution to relief, rehabilitation, and development.

#### d) International legal provisions and instruments:

i) **African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights:** The charter underpins that the African States, parties to the Convention entitled "African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights reaffirmed states' their adherence to the principles of human and peoples' rights and freedoms. These are contained in the declarations, conventions and other instruments adopted by the AU, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and the United Nations.

ii) **Provisions common to the Geneva Conventions:** Extract from "Basic rules of the Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols" (ICRC). 'Field of application, duration of application, general principles of law'. The Conventions and the Protocol are



applicable in case of declared war or of any other armed conflict arising between two or more of the Parties to the Conventions and Protocol I from the beginning of such a situation, even if the state of war is not recognized by one of them. These agreements also cover armed conflicts in which people are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes in the exercise of their right of self-determination. [I, 2; II, 2; III, 2; IV, 2; P. I, 1] The application ceases at the general close of military operations and, in occupied territories, at the end of the occupation except for those categories of people whose final release, repatriation or settlement takes place at a later date. These people shall continue to benefit from the relevant provisions of the Conventions and the Protocol until their final release, repatriation, or settlement. [I, 5; III, 5; IV, 6; P. I, 3]. In cases not covered by the Conventions, the Protocol or other international agreements, or in the case of denunciation of these agreements, *civilians and combatants remain under the protection and authority of the principles of international law derived from established custom, from the principles of humanity and from the dictates of public conscience.* [P. I, 1; I, 63; II, 62; III, 142; IV, 158]

**e) Humanitarian Codes of Practice**

i) *The legitimacy of the provider:* Any discussion on strengthening the right of organizations to provide assistance must at some point address the issue of those organizations' legitimacy and competence. Before pursuing this question, however, there is a more fundamental issue, which both individuals and agencies involved in humanitarian assistance need to recognize. As one writer has put it, the business of humanitarian assistance is driven by two ethics, that of the priest and that of the prophet. In many ways, humanitarianism is a moral code: the priests among the humanitarian community tend to want to codify it, to define the business, set standards, and specify who can and who cannot provide assistance. The prophets, in contrast, believe that providing humanitarian assistance is the responsibility of all people. They seek to spread this message and stimulate humanitarian action at the grass roots level. Of course, both approaches are needed. The creed of the priests can survive only if a certain degree of commitment is generated by the prophets. Moreover, one could legitimately argue that while all individuals have a duty to render impromptu assistance to the best of their ability when they see suffering, once that assistance takes the shape of an organized, professional programme, codes, rules, and standards are needed to safeguard the rights of the individual.

ii) *International mechanisms to ensure quality:* Any system of rights intended to legitimize the role of non-State providers of assistance must devise a way of ensuring that they are legitimate and competent, and work in the interests of disaster victims. No such mechanism yet exists. The code of conduct drawn up in 1994 and widely recognized by both NGOs and States goes a short way in this direction but not nearly far enough. However, a recent initiative, emerging from an extensive coalition of humanitarian agencies, promises to bring us much closer to the goal of objective quality assurance in humanitarianism.



### iii) The Sphere Project

(1) *Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards* is the result of cooperation between various independent agencies engaged in humanitarian assistance, including most major NGOs and the Red Cross and Red Crescent. Its aim is to define basic practical standards that should govern humanitarian assistance, specifically that immediately relevant to saving lives, such as water and sanitation, food, health care and shelter. Such minimum standards already exist for many areas of humanitarian work. The problem is that there are often different standards competing with each other, or that the existing standards are out-of-date or incomplete. The Sphere Project is the first initiative to provide a coherent and complete set of standards to which a wide range of agencies are prepared to agree and against which their performance can be measured. Using basic human rights as its foundation, the Sphere Project seeks to erect an edifice consisting of clearly defined levels of assistance and the competence required to deliver it. This is intended to serve as a yardstick for humanitarian agencies in planning and assessment. Meeting critical human needs and restoring people's dignity are core principles for all humanitarian action and establishing an explicit link between fundamental human rights and humanitarian principles on the one hand, and clearly defined standards.

(2) *Accountability and effectiveness*: The Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards also reflect the determination of humanitarian agencies to make their work more effective and improve the way they report to their sponsors. In agreeing to abide by these standards, humanitarian agencies commit themselves not only to providing defined levels of service but also to being held accountable for their actions. The standards are designed with this in mind and each is accompanied by a series of measurable indicators, which are important for not only planning and implementing programmes, but also for giving disaster victims, agency staff, donors, the wider public and others, the possibility to assess the services provided under those programmes. Thus, the Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards provide a practical framework for accountability.

(3) *Applying the Minimum Standards*: The Minimum Standards apply to any situation in which, owing to natural or man-made disaster, people have lost the means by which they are normally able to support themselves with a degree of dignity. The standards apply specifically to the acute phase of an emergency and describe what people have a right to expect during that period. They specify the minimum acceptable levels for water supply and sanitation, nutrition, food aid, shelter and site selection, and health services. They have been made as specific as possible while remaining widely applicable to different emergencies. Communities hosting those displaced by disasters or conflicts are by definition also affected by such calamities and they too may need assistance. The Minimum Standards therefore apply to both populations. The burden of responsibility for providing humanitarian relief falls on many shoulders. The people directly affected by a disaster are always those who respond first in any crisis. Yet it is the duty of states and aid agencies



to demonstrate political will in preventing, mitigating, and alleviating disasters. When people's support systems are no longer able to cope, assistance from agencies is required.

#### **4) Shaping a new Paradigm**

##### **a) Introduction**

From Darfur to the jungles of the River Zaire, from the Eritrean plateau to South Sudan, from trouble Somalia to the genocidal communities of Rwanda and Burundi, from the violent cities and borders of Kenya to Northern Uganda; new faces and forces of vulnerability and poverty haunt the Greater Horn of Africa sub-region. Conflicts, corruption, disasters, poverty, and pandemics now threaten the sub-region with a calamity unforeseen even during the Great African Famine of the 1980s, so much so, that the G8 has made this a basket case for international action. While many proposals for remedial action have been formulated for such vulnerability and poverty that haunt the sub-region, real commitment to collaborative processes at the inter-organisational level has always been limited. Mobilising the action required has also remained a daunting challenge, as many practical and structural constraints militate against commitment by individual groups to inter-organisational initiatives nationally and regionally.

The tragedy, which took such a heavy toll of life over the past years, has highlighted the fundamental weakness of the peace, security, and development strategies. Many conventional and preconceived notions have been questioned and new ideas proposed. Efforts have also been made to improve one's understanding of vulnerabilities, to estimate the risks resulting there from more accurately and to make adequate preventive measures against insecurity, ahead of time. In this sense, the traditional role of humanitarian organisations has been harshly, even cruelly, tested.

The need for collective learning about responses, and the responsibility to those whose suffering provided the basis for that learning will never be more urgent than it is now. Unfortunately, such lessons, which may be learned through the shocks administered by an uncompromising reality, are rarely translated quickly into personal or organisational memories and the inherent will to change. The reasons for this are sometimes rooted in human inertia, weakness, and self-interest. They are equally often the products of a genuine confusion about how to act most effectively in an environment that seems to be growing more complex. To every human problem in Africa, there is always a solution that is smart, simple, and immoral. Important stakeholders tend to have a linear way of thinking that is inadequate to unravel the many complex inter-relationships underlying people's insecurity. It is neither popular nor scientific. The need for the fundamental change on how the global community deals with the internecine crises must change since places such as Darfur, Somalia and DRC, to name a few, have become a new insignia of 'bestiality'. It must take, within the premises of Human Security,

- the Responsibility to Protect and the Right to Assistance;
- encourage appropriate action for promoting and managing an enabling environment for human development;

- Mainstream peace, security a developmental response in the drive for popular participation – people acting as citizens of a political society, reinforcing ownership of security and ensuring livelihood continuity;

Hence, the need to advocate for the development of think tanks that would set the stage for the paradigmatic development of internal models of growth and human welfare. While member states have put in motion constitutional and policy instruments that ensure human security, nonetheless, real commitment to national and sub-regional action that must foster processes by which nations, communities and individuals grow stronger, are able to enjoy fuller and more productive lives, and become less vulnerable to the scourges of insecurity action is yet to come.

**b) Addressing the paradigmatic crises:**

i) The business of humanitarian assistance is driven by two ethics, that of the priest and that of the prophet. In many ways, it is a moral code: the priests among the humanitarians tend to want to codify it, to define the business, set standards, and specify who can and who cannot provide assistance. The prophets, in contrast, believe that providing humanitarian assistance is the responsibility of all people. They seek to spread this message and stimulate more action at the grassroots level. Of course, both approaches are needed. The creed of the priests can survive only if a certain degree of commitment is generated by the prophets. Moreover, one could legitimately argue that while all individuals have a duty to render impromptu assistance to the best of their ability, once that assistance takes the shape of an organised, professional programme, codes, rules, and standards are needed to safeguard the rights of the individual. In shaping a new paradigm, there is the imperative to address first and foremost the paradigmatic crisis:

- (1) a tendency to narrow capacity development thought and practice to the terms and categories of immediate, not very well considered, political and social action, a naive realism, as it were;
- (2) inattention to problems of articulation or production of capacity development systems and process within African polities rather than simply as formal or abstract possibilities;
- (3) ambiguity as to whether civil society is the agent or object of CD and a nearly exclusive concern in certain institutional perspectives on CD in Africa with generic attributes and characteristics of political organisations and consequent neglect of analysis in terms of specific strategies and performances of organisations in processes of transition to capacity;
- (4) inadequate treatment of the role of international agencies and the relations between global and indigenous aspects or dimensions of humanitarian CD;



## ii) Polarity between historical and 'new' ideological arenas

The polarity between historical and ideological bases of humanitarian interventions can serve the critical purpose of evaluating traditional values and assumptions against the categories and models of modern, libertarian humanitarianism, and of correcting the limitations of those values. It can help to emphasise the important point that our collective memory and experience as a continent should not constitute a drag on our present capacity for change and development. Nevertheless, this is not possible so long as the current trendiness construes, as it does, the relation between historical and ideological bases of humanitarianism in simple opposition terms and attempts to limit our national consciousness entirely to the present.

The problem with the portrayal of the 1984/85 'Band Aid' humanitarian response to the Great African Famine for developmental change, then, is that certain processes, implicitly or explicitly, prevent the tradition from entering into meaningful 'dialogue' with contemporary humanitarian politics. This emphasis or over-emphasis really, is the other side of the equally exaggerated, overly-politicised identification of humanitarian tradition with the emerging paradigm -- hence, the avant-garde demand that humanitarianism be 'born again', and 'born different'.

It would be a mistake, however, to suggest that this demand, along with the highly negative and overly politicised view of the historical process of developing the humanitarianism percept, constitutes the spontaneous response of humanitarian actors to their incorporation into the broader polity. However important these themes are, they do not have monolithic content or absolute form. They are a partial, variable, and potentially negotiable political articulation produced by a particular organisation in a specific humanitarian crisis context. They need not and should not be invoked by anyone in non-negotiable terms. They represent a contingent, contestable closure, which should not be passed off as flat, indisputable necessity. The lessening of the politicisation of humanitarian work and the consequent lowering of the ideological-thematic noise level on the issue, may indeed create a more favourable condition for pluralist thought, discourse and practice. It may make possible consideration of alternative ways of fixing the content and form of humanitarianism. Even if humanitarians agree on the definition of specific problems, their solutions, or mode of concern about will vary considerably. Which raises the questions:

How and by whom are the issues of humanitarian politics framed and identities and differences set?

What effects have such ideologies and practice on indigenous communities and cultures?

The points made above regarding identification of problems of change apply to the setting of goals and tasks and their problem-solving activities. The solutions, like problems, can be seen in large part as elements, features, and effects of an Africanist avant-garde tradition. They have taken shape and come into play as the articulation and operation a particular doctrine. As such, one can say that, in the main, they has been able to set themselves only such goals, to offer only such solutions, as are given or implied by the problems. This means that the

objectives formulated do not represent purely or primarily idiosyncratic agendas. They are conditioned by a set of formulas and conventions belonging to the revolutionary tradition. In large measure, they represent aims and purposes constituted by that tradition according to an internal rationality of its own.

The particularities of deeply felt 'humanitarian' wrongs and of political projects aimed at righting them are important here. Nevertheless, these are so 'mediated' and 'processed' by avant-garde rhetoric, doctrine, and organisational practice that they signify less spontaneous particulars than ideologically loaded and rehearsed elements. Often, they betray little in the contingencies of the lived experiences of humanitarian groups in Ethiopia, but manifest the more or less explicit general forms of the ideology at work, the mechanisms used in operating the ideology, and the character of the operation itself. Yet this intensive process of largely ideological mediation has allowed the humanitarian-*cum*-development stalwarts to transpose uniquely 'humanitarian tribal' projects into concepts, goals, and methods of political work of humanitarianism, ostensibly applicable to all nations and people. In certain of its aspects, the process works as a schematic recreation of 'raw' traditions. It underlies the belief that particular humanitarian projects and experiences can be held out, without imperiousness or monopolisation, as a paradigm for the New Humanitarianism.

Political issues of self-reliance inevitably raise problems, which cannot be neatly enslaved within either any one of these contemporary humanitarian 'ideologies'. While they constitute more or less distinct organisational arenas, one cannot conclude from this that contemporary aspirations can be seen in isolation from or in opposition to issues and problems of the historic tradition of the eighties. They constitute broader elements, intersections, and consequences. The two forms of our experience are not necessarily incompatible; nor need they be in conflict. Rather, they may be mutually complementary, as would two images of the same terrain portrayed from alternative perspectives. This means that our problems need not be defined in terms of individual projects of self-reliance or the aggregate of such projects. They can be defined and addressed within a board-based multi-paradigmatic political process. In the end, the commitment of organisations to progressive ideas of humanitarianism does not compel them to use the categories of modern thought in a way that devalues and negates the collective memory and tradition. Their commitment to change does not necessarily entail a rejection of our collective heritage.

### c) Elements of the 'New Paradigm'

#### i) Human Security and African CSOs:

(1) **Concepts:** Human security, a concept that emerged from a post-Cold War, multidisciplinary understanding of security involving a number of research fields, including development studies, international relations, strategic studies, and human rights. Critics of the concept argue that its vagueness undermines its effectiveness; that it has become little more than a vehicle for activists wishing to promote certain causes; and that it does not help the research community understand what security means or help decision makers to formulate good policies. The 1994 UNDP Report introduces a new concept of human security, which equates security with people rather than territories,



with development rather than arms. It examines both the national and the global concerns of human security and seeks to deal with these concerns through a new paradigm of sustainable human development, capturing the potential peace dividend, a new form of development co-operation and a restructured system of global institutions. Increasing human security entails investing in human development, not in arms; engaging policy makers to address the emerging peace dividend; Giving the United Nations a clear mandate to promote and sustain development; enlarging the concept of development cooperation so that it includes all flows, not just aid; agreeing that 20 % of national budgets and 20 percent of foreign aid be used for human development; and establishing an Economic Security Council.

(2) **R2P -- from freedom from fear vs. freedom from want:** In an ideal world, each of the seven categories of threats would receive adequate global attention and resources. Yet attempts to implement this human security agenda have led to the emergence of two major schools of thought — "Freedom from Fear" and "Freedom from Want." While the 1994 HDR originally argued that human security requires attention to both *freedom from fear* and *freedom from want*, divisions have gradually emerged over the proper scope of that protection (e.g. over what threats individuals should be protected from) and over the appropriate mechanisms for responding to these threats. The Freedom from Fear School seeks to limit the practice of Human Security to protecting individuals from violent conflicts. This approach argues that limiting the focus to violence is a realistic and manageable approach towards Human Security. Emergency assistance, conflict prevention, and resolution, peace building are the main concerns of this approach. "Freedom from Want" school focuses on the basic idea that violence, poverty, inequality, diseases, and environmental degradation are inseparable concepts in addressing the root of human insecurity. Different from 'Freedom from Fear', it expands the focus beyond violence with emphasis on development and security goals. Japan, for example, has adopted the broader "Freedom from Want" perspective in its own foreign policy and in 1999 established a UN trust fund for the promotion of Human Security.

(3) **R2P, Human and State Security:** Human security and state or national security is not mutually exclusive concepts. Without human security, state security cannot be attained and vice-versa.<sup>12</sup> State security is about a state's ability to defend itself against external threats. State security (often referred to as national security or state security) describes the philosophy of international security predominance since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and the rise of the nation-states. While international relations theory includes many variants of state security, from realism to idealism, the fundamental trait that these schools share is their focus on the primacy of the nation-state. Human security also challenged and drew from the practice of international development. Traditionally, embracing liberal market economics was considered to be the universal path for economic growth, and thus development for all humanity. Yet, continuing conflict and human rights abuses following the end of the Cold War and the fact that two-thirds of the global population seemed to have gained little from the economic gains of globalization, led to fundamental questions about the way development was practiced.

<sup>12</sup>UN. (2003) Human Security Now, Chapter 1: Final Report of the Commission on Human Security 2003, p.2-6

Under human security and R2P, poverty and inequality are considered root causes of individual vulnerability. Security and development are deeply interconnected.

*Human security forms an important part of people's well-being, and is therefore an objective of development.* An objective of development is 'the enlargement of human choices'. Insecurity cuts life short and thwarts the use of human potential, thereby affecting the reaching of this objective. *Lack of human security has adverse consequences on economic growth, and therefore development.* Some development costs are obvious. There are four main policy actions related to poverty and inequality that promote human security and R2P, encouraging growth that reaches the extreme poor; supporting sustainable livelihoods and decent work and providing social protection for all situations; children, women and human security and R2P and human Trafficking. The pursuit of human security and R2P begins on a point of principle, and with a hard fact of political life. The principle is that every person has a right to know their rights—and to know how to claim the protection of those rights. The political fact is that the powerless lack the means to make that claim, in part because they lack a voice in the decisions that govern their lives. These are the people at risk in any country, the people who must be empowered. Empowering people at risk answers the human security and R2P imperative by directing corrective policy and action to those whose security is most severely threatened.

**(4) Preparedness, prevention, and humanitarian response:** Prevention is another vital tenant of the human security and R2P paradigm. According to the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, "the international community spent approximately \$200 billion on conflict management in seven major interventions in the 1990s... but could have saved \$130 billion through a more effective preventive approach." The human security and R2P approach advocates that more efforts and resources need to be invested in *accurate knowledge of early warning; understanding of measures for prevention; and willingness to apply those measures*. Many efforts have been made to tackle these prerequisites.

**(5) Small Arms:** Implementing supply/demand strategies and curtailing the misuse of small arms and light weapons—the real weapons of mass destruction. The Track argues for better control and tracking of supply, and for the value of negotiating a global treaty regulating the small arms trade. Demand for small arms can be discouraged—and misuse suppressed—by improving community security, police conduct, and judicial performance. Where rights and personal safety are protected, people are less inclined to take up arms...

**(6) Terrorism:** the global threat of terrorism is an important test case for the Human Security agenda. Proponents argue that a Human Security approach would alleviate many of the deficiencies in a traditional, state-centred counter terrorist approach. Traditional measures use sanctions or military force, against a specific country but not a specific target.



(7) **Diseases:** Human Security has long been argued that the "scope" of global security should be expanded to include the threat of infectious disease. The primary goal of human security and R2P is the protection of individuals, and infectious diseases are among the most serious threats to individuals around the world. Especially with the accelerating speed of globalization nowadays, the outbreak of one infectious disease in one particular country can be bought to the others quickly by the intensification of international transportation. Given the trans-national nature of infectious disease, the traditional unilateral, state-centred policy approaches to these threats by infectious diseases is ineffective over the long run. Therefore, adopting a people-centred Human Security model with its emphasis on prevention, individual empowerment, and treatment strategies delivered by an array of global actors is possibly a pioneering approach to deal with the increasing diversity of contagious diseases. Correcting state failures that lead to health failures, to enhance security especially against infectious and pandemic diseases.

(8) **Global warming:** Environmental degradation and extreme climates has direct impacts on human security and R2P as it means humans are prone to natural disasters and are faced with decreasing resources. In addition, as the earth's climate changes more rapidly, an increase in violent conflict is likely due to resource scarcity and an exacerbated North- South disparity. Sources of possible conflict include wide-spread refugee movement, a fall in global food production and reduction in water supply. Water and energy, for example, are essential resources, which have led to military and political turmoil worldwide. Altered resource availability causing food shortages results in political disputes, ethnic tensions and civil unrests, which in turn is the basis for regional conflicts that eventually goes global.

Furthermore, vulnerability to climate changes can be exacerbated by other non-climate factors such as R2P, poverty, unequal access to resources and economic globalization, making Human Security all the more susceptible. A more recent example of how global warming impacts human security is the Darfur conflict. Climate changes have brought the Sahara steadily into the south and droughts are more frequent in this piece of dry land, wiping out food produce. As a result, there is less arable land with many people fighting for it.

(9) **Rights to Assistance:** Many countries have promulgated a civil protection act in Africa. The acts "establish a civil protection organisation and provide for the operation of civil protection services in times of disaster; to provide for the establishment of a fund to finance civil protection; and to provide for matters connected with or incidental to the foregoing. This paper will analyse policy-level gaps, omissions, and issues in on the right to assistance and a need for policy and directives. The right to assistance policies should be designed in manner that relief assistance is provided to affected population in a manner which ensures that such efforts contribute towards disaster prevention and sustainable growth and development and that disaster prevention activities get due attention in the government's development efforts. This identified gap are be fulfilled by the following basic principles community determination of interventions; clear



responsibility and empowerment at all levels; and relief shall sub-serve the goals of development.

These principles are entirely consistent with the basic themes of participation, empowerment, and responsibility as detailed in the general macro-policies of states. The policy also provides more detailed guidelines reflecting the reality of limited resources, resource allocation, and efficiency. Prioritisation of interventions is to be made on the basis of urgency and relief plans are to be approved at central government level.

Finally, there are policy prescriptions concerning eligibility for participation and the conditions for participation in disaster management activities - in particular relief activities. The policies include prescribing the government management structure, roles, and responsibilities at all levels and activity planning and implementation norms. Operationalisation of the policy requires institutionalisation of the policy at central, provincial, district, and ward and community levels.

## ii) Good practice notes for the emerging paradigm

### (1) Policy imperatives on the CSO right to access – AHA/ACHA cases:

The emphasis on this legal, policy, and strategy analysis and development exercise is on how decisions ought to be analysed and made, rather than on the details of the information that should serve as inputs to the decisions on the R2A. In establishing this framework, we rely heavily on analytic techniques developed in economics, mathematics, operations research, and system analysis. In actual practice, to be sure, policy analysis is much more broadly eclectic, drawing on a great variety of disciplines, including law, sociology, and political and organisational analysis.<sup>13</sup> We have a lot to say about these important complementary disciplines. Our concern here, however, is with how the decision maker should structure her/his thinking about a policy choice and with analytic models that will aid understanding and predication, not with all the disciplines that could conceivably provide helpful information. Questions of values are a critical and inevitable part of policy analysis.

The subject itself, policy analysis, is a discipline for working within a political and economic system, not for changing it and which regards the well-being of individuals as the ultimate objective of public policy. In this sense, we establish a framework for thinking about policy problems and making choices and focus on the use of models to represent real-world phenomena and the more general use analytic methods to assist in the entire process of making decisions. We also provide a background against which policy analysis can be viewed, considering critical ethical questions: who should make those policy choices, and on what basis? It lays out the basic criteria for policy choice, identifies the circumstances in which the government should play a role in allocating the resources of society, and reviews briefly alternative forms that government intervention might take.

<sup>13</sup>Stockey, E. and Zeckhauser, R. 1978. A primer for policy analysis. W.W. Norton and Co. NY



The following five-part framework is suggested as a starting point.

- (a) Establishing the Contest: What is the underlying problem that must be dealt with? What specific objectives are to be pursued in confronting the problem of natural disasters and regional co-ordination mechanisms?
- (b) Laying Out the Alternatives: What are alternative courses of action? A disaster management centre? A regional mechanism for co-ordination? A do nothing new approach? Or a combination of the three? What are the possibilities for gathering further information to determine which scenario is better?
- (c) Predicting the Consequences: What are the consequences of each of alternative actions? What techniques are relevant for predicating these consequences? If outcomes are uncertain, what is the estimated likelihood of each?
- (d) Valuing the Outcomes: by what criteria should we measure success in pursuing each objective? Recognising that inevitably some alternatives are superior to other, how should different combinations of valued objectives be compared with one another?
- (e) Making a Choice. Drawing all aspects of analysis together, a preferred course of action;

This is not to imply that analysis will always proceed in an orderly fashion from one stage of analysis to the next. Real life does not present such an opportunity and rarely operates so neatly. The conduct of an analysis will usually turn out in practice to be an iterative process, with analyst(s) working back and fourth among the tasks of identifying problems, establishing criteria, and valuing trade-offs, to refine analysis. This is an entirely sensible approach. It is easier to keep track of where you are in this iterative process, and to avoid to going around in circles if one keeps in mind a basic framework to which every aspect of analysis must be related.

### **iii) Principles for Humanitarian Policy Determination**

- (1) **Popular Participation:** While popular participation through civil defence organisations is recognised by many African countries, the percept of popular participation is not put within the context of a process of self-empowerment, a transformation in the social milieu, policy dialogue, staff awareness and organisational culture. Participation implies community commitment, mutual decision making, individual and collective innovativeness, local resource generation, contribution, and legitimate community organisations to preside on these collective will and decisions of community members. Inspired by this *new orthodoxy*, an emerging paradigm on the ideals of people centred development, disaster coping mechanisms and prevention, the eighties have provided a fertile ground for the discourse on the subject of human vulnerabilities in Africa.

- (2) **Relief-Development Continuum:** The lessons learned so far has enabled us to break fresh grounds in the new conceptualisation of the *relief - development - sustainability continuum*, paving the way for the furtherance of development preparedness modalities and the practical underpinning of the development-people nexus itself. The new orthodoxy of development demands important attitudinal shifts among thinkers and policy makers to the devolution of decision-making to communities. The desire to address *the new orthodoxy*, assumes that while the severe consequences of economic under development, cannot, in the short-term, be eliminated, their effects can be substantially minimised; by linking, wherever possible, far-reaching development initiatives with short-term preparedness measures at the grassroots.

**Communities shall play the leading role in the planning, programming, implementation, and evaluation of all relief projects, and formal institutions' role in this regard would be subservient to this. Many countries appreciate the fact that relief must be addressed to the most needy at all times and no free distribution of aid is allowed to able-bodied affected population.**

- (3) **Assessment:** This is perhaps where the main weaknesses of policies and strategies of the relief development continuum can be seen. Urgency of different measures is not carefully assessed and resources are not deployed for the more urgent measures and precedence is not given to areas where lives and livelihoods are more threatened.

- (4) **Focal Points:** Many countries have policies that clearly define focal points of action for different tasks at different levels. They have also rules that ensure that centres of coordination are properly empowered. Nevertheless, the main principle of the institutional arrangement is not decentralisation of responsibilities. This is to mean *the transfer of legal, administrative, and political authority to make decisions and manage public functions from the central government to field organisations: subordinate units of government, semiautonomous public corporations, area-wide development authorities, functional authorities, autonomous local governments, or non-governmental organisations is inadequate.*

- (5) **Integration:** There shall be an integrated approach in the formulation and implementation of relief programmes. Relief programmes, touching on different aspects of economic life, shall sub-serve the goals of development and build up assets of the community. Departments dovetail relief projects into their long-term plans and bring a congruence of approach, strategy, and techniques. As part of the long-term development effort, appropriate prevention plans and programmes shall be devised for disaster prone areas in order to eliminate the root causes of their vulnerability. While such policies have been put in motion in many African countries, other bureaucratic entanglements have hampered their implementation. Disaster shall be declared when convincing and complete socioeconomic reports from regional councils and the National Early Warning System are provided. National level declaration for disaster is made by some committees such as the National Disaster Preparedness Committee. The commencement of relief measures shall automatically follow the declaration of disaster in an area.



**iv) ACHA: Research-Outreach Interface (ROI) on Sustainable Livelihoods<sup>14</sup>**

(1) Backgrounder: The African Centre for Humanitarian Action (ACHA) aims to promote the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach through the Evidence-based policy in Development Network as an integrated package of policy, technology and investment strategies together with appropriate decision-making tools which are used together to promote sustainable livelihoods by building on local adaptive strategies. ACHA is targeting the production of knowledge on current and priority issues within ACHA in order to better feed into the requirements of participatory assessment, planning, and research-outreach interface (ROI) in its strategic and programme management, policy formulation and the results-oriented exercise. To meet this goal ACHA has proposed an evaluative research programme designed to be more flexible and responsive and have a shorter turn-around time than the strategic or thematic evaluation formats. Above all, the ROI aims to be a dynamic learning process, feeding knowledge inputs into ongoing advocacy, programme and other processes within the organisation in real time and will tackle large conceptual or thematic issues or more immediate and narrow concerns, depending on what is demanded by the organisation and, more importantly, by the country CSOs.

(2) From this discussion and other consultations, a number of priority topics have emerged for structuring an ROI. The following four topics have been earmarked by the ACHA as the most relevant for study at this time: rules and institutions, linkage between macropolicies and micro-level initiatives, definition and measurement issues and dexterity to meet goals. The Research Protocol for the ROI is intended as a concise statement of what is expected of each in country programme. It presents questions, guidelines, and issues which each study site must address and adhere to. In order to realize the goals and objectives of the adaptive strategy initiative, researchers will seek to capture the synergies arising out of the interaction between contemporary and indigenous knowledge, and the conditions and processes, which produce and reinforce community-based conflict management. The ROI is a large undertaking that provides the ACHA with many opportunities for forming beneficial partnerships and contributing to the learning process of the organisation. As such, the ACHA has devised a potential timetable, which will remain tentative until all consultations and input from partners have been received.

(3) Evaluative Research Programme on Sustainable livelihoods: ACHA aims to promote the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach through the Evidence-based policy in Development Network as an integrated package of policy, technology and investment strategies together with appropriate decision-making tools which are used together to promote sustainable livelihoods by building on local adaptive strategies. ACHA is targeting the production of knowledge on current and priority issues within ACHA in order to better feed into the requirements of participatory assessment, planning, and research-outreach interface in its strategic and programme management, policy formulation and the results-oriented exercise. To meet this goal ACHA has proposed an evaluative research programme (ROI). This programme is designed to be more flexible and responsive and have a shorter turnaround time than the strategic or thematic evaluation formats. Above all, the ROI aims to be a dynamic

<sup>14</sup>BT Costantinos, PhD, (2008). Research-Outreach Interface on Sustainable Livelihoods, 'Locating the Power of In-Between' Conference 'Between Ourselves' Workshop, Centurion, South Africa, July 1st to 4th. The Human Sciences Resource Council with the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex in the UK



learning process.

ROI will feed knowledge inputs into ongoing advocacy, programme, and other processes within the organisation in real time. The programme will tackle large conceptual or thematic issues or more immediate and narrow concerns, depending on what is demanded by the organisation and, more importantly, by the country CSOs. In this sense, ROI is a modular approach with each part being self-contained in scope and composition and making use of the most appropriate methodology. The needs of ACHA will shape the programme itself. Quick turn-around time and addressing the most pressing needs of the ACHA clients, the ACHA country offices, are the prime functions of the ROI. Considerable time often elapses between the formulation of thematic or strategic evaluations and feeding the lessons of the evaluation into the policy/strategy chain. While these evaluations serve a critical purpose in the learning process of ACHA by providing exhaustive studies on a subject, certain emerging demands and pressing concerns in the organisation require a new type of evaluation, which responds in real time to the knowledge needs of the organisation. The ROI, therefore, is designed to provide "just enough knowledge, just in time to those who need it."

The programme will make use of a number of different modalities depending on the needs of the topic at hand – including thematic reviews, rapid appraisals, action research, synthesis notes, tracer studies, as well as workshops, brainstorming sessions and seminars. It will draw on a wide range of resources such as in-house expertise, network-based consultations with well-known scholars and practitioners on the subject, external consultants, outsourcing to credible institutions of both the developing and developed world. The first ROI planned by the ACHA will focus on ACHA's work in sustainable livelihoods. Poverty alleviation has long been an area in which ACHA has been a recognized leader. The organisation has been at the vanguard of theory and practice – advocating pro-poor initiatives, participation, and good governance. Furthermore, this issue is particularly timely. The organisation is seeking to narrow its focus to areas in which it can demonstrate a comparative advantage. Therefore, the ROI will be conducted in such a way as to contribute to each of these processes and events and will provide some important lessons in the critical area of sustainable livelihoods. ACHA, therefore, found it particularly opportune to examine sustainable livelihoods now and ensure that ACHA moves forward by bringing its experience and theory together and continuing to provide the best programmes possible for the poor.

ACHA engaged in a number of discussions in order to identify key issues in sustainable livelihoods that could be examined in an ROI. The first formal discussion took place in 2006. Participants included members of the ACHA, other AHA and poverty experts from major universities and development institutions. The brainstorming raised a number of questions that warrant further probing and assessment in order to bring clarity to ACHA's approach to poverty. The conceptual debate at the meeting revolved around four major research-outreach interface issues:

- **Conjectural versus effective:** ACHA has contributed to the field of sustainable livelihoods through complex conceptual ideas but has not as clearly defined an operational strategy for sustainable livelihoods. More attention needs to be paid to operationalising the poverty related concepts of ACHA.



- **Dexterity to meet objectives:** The goals and targets set by the ACHA sustainable livelihoods strategy documents (e.g. the Strategic Results Framework) do not always take into account ACHA staff's skill capacity. An examination of ACHA skills and proper alignment of this capacity with the organisation's goals is needed.
- **Capacity Issues:** While the notion of Human Poverty has contributed to the field of sustainable livelihoods greatly, it still loses ground to income poverty notions at the operational level due to difficulties in measurement. While a broad, multidimensional definition of poverty is clearly necessary – measuring this notion is highly complex. An operational measurement of human poverty is needed.
- **Comparative SWOT:** Given a limited amount of funding and capacity, ACHA needs to properly assess its strengths and focus on them. One area of strength for ACHA that was identified was pro-poor governance. This broad area, which encompasses both policy definition and advocacy at the national level as well as support for participation and social mobilisation at the local level, is an important area of ACHA work.

The following four topics have been earmarked by the ACHA as the most relevant for study at this time. An examination of these topics can contribute to the current debate within sustainable livelihoods, which has provided ACHA with a country-based analytical perspective on the issues in sustainable livelihoods: rules and institutions: institution building, linkage between Macro-policies and Micro-level Initiatives, definition and measurement issues and skills to meet goals.

## Reflections on International Humanitarian Interventions in Africa

*Symposium held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (21-23 September 2010)*

*A presentation by Amb. Valeriano Ferrao of Mozambique*

Mozambique has always been prone to a range of natural disasters such as drought, floods, cyclones, epidemics, pest infestations and landslides occurring regularly. Further, throughout the 80's, Mozambique's economy and infrastructure was decimated by the civil war sponsored by the Apartheid regime. The country has lost over one million lives due to war and disasters which affected more than six million people over the last two decades including internally displaced people and refugees in the neighbouring countries. Like in many other countries, poverty in Mozambique is considered the key source of vulnerability and exposure to disaster risk. The signing of a peace accord in 1992 and the resulting political stability facilitated a process of recovery and reconstruction.

The humanitarian assistance granted to Mozambique by foreign governments, international agencies, organizations and NGO's mitigated in some way the impact of the effects of the disasters but it did not solve the issue of disaster management.

Although Mozambique had a comparatively long experience with managing disasters, for many years the country was acting on an emergency response mode. There was an evolution of disaster management structures. As early as 1981, the Department of Prevention and Combating of National Calamities was established with the objective of promoting early warning and mitigation activities. In the 90's, a variety of mitigation measures were instituted. There was a transition from emergency response to a more comprehensive and integrated disaster risk management approach through the establishment of National Institute for Disaster Management (INGC). UNDP supported this transition from emergency response to a more comprehensive and integrated disaster risk management approach.

The INGC has the role to coordinate all phases of disaster risk management, even though its functioning has been constrained to some extent by the fact that disaster management legislation is still pending for approval. Also established were an interministerial council for coordinating disaster management bringing together about 15 Ministers; and a multi-sector technical committee for Disaster Management chaired by a National Director, ensuring a coordination and collaboration in multi-sector planning of mitigation and response activities.

The National Contingency Plan is a yearly, multi-sector and multi-level plan carried out in a participatory and consultative manner. The process begins at the sub-regional level with the establishment of a consensus on climate outlook for the coming seasons. Early warning information is then gathered from communities, districts and provinces with technical support from UNDP, other UN agencies and NGO's, and finally processed at the national level by the INGC. The analysis feeds into the National Contingency Plan which is carried out every year beginning of October simultaneously by different sectors and affected districts and provinces.



Even though there is high commitment within government towards the democratization process and decentralization of decision making to local authorities, progress with decentralization of disaster management functions has been slow. Provinces lack resources and technical capacity; communication between the centre and provinces needs strengthening; and structures at the district and community level remain relatively under developed. Also the situation at the central level requires further investments in human resource capacities and financial resources to enable implementation of plans and policies already in place.

The main lesson learned in all the process is that the creation of comprehensive disaster risk management structures requires time and experience and may sometimes follow an almost 'evolutionary path' from a focus on response to a more pro-active risk reduction oriented approach. Another lesson learned is that there is the need for basic stability in order to enable governments to move out of the 'emergency mode'.

Several African countries have come to Mozambique to visit the INGC and learn from its experience. Some lessons can be learned but let me make it clear that one cannot photocopy INGC's experience and just transfer it to another country. A lot of experience is required to fit the local conditions.

Thank you for your attention.





### Willard R. Johnson's comments on last morning of the Africa Symposium, based on his "Moderator's Report"

Congratulations to the organizers for a very stimulating and useful experience!

We have heard a lot talk about a "new paradigm" of international humanitarian interventions. I sense that what is meant to constitute this new paradigm is a move by Africans toward: a. self **assertion**, and b. self **control**, and c. self **development**, and d. self **reliance**. ("acdr" for short, which might be pronounced in the southern US as if "actor" - smiles) That is all to the good!

But, in emphasizing something "new" we should be very, very careful not unintentionally to repudiate the wonderful work that was done by the USAFA, for which I and I am sure many here are really very proud.

Is this really NEW. If there is a paradigm shift, it did not start this week. My panel pointed to a number of important developments that reflect this fact of agency by Africans and African organizations:

Mr. Assefa pointed out the really very significant and impressive accomplishments of the Tigray relief efforts, where they cared for very large numbers of people, over onehundredeighty thousand, I think he said. And they moved from relief to development activities, and sustained them.

Mazide Ndiaye pointed out the many Senegalese NGOs that they RESPONDED to with help, and by giving them initial financial help for a limited time, nudged them to think in terms of self reliance. Many of those organizations have survived.

Haskell Ward mentioned efforts at the Ford Foundation to start an African Foundation. I also had the experience of working with Ruth Engo at the UN and Wilbert LeMelle at the Phelps Stokes Foundation, to get an African Foundation started. Neither of those particular efforts succeeded. But, today there is the TrustAfrica foundation, and it was helped by the Ford Foundation. And there are now a number of smaller African foundations. So, perhaps those early efforts did spawn something!

Ambassador Ferrao pointed to the local peace and reconciliation efforts and experiences that made such a difference to Mozambique.

So, IF there is a paradigm shift of the sort I mentioned above, it is not NEW -. I think it was discernable in the move from LiveAid/BandAid to USAFA. We really did seek out, find, and in many cases prompt the organization of local, African NGO and African organizations.

The USAFA Board President, Dr. Grieg, said that "they did not know what they were doing" That is a most unwarranted act of self depreciation (worse than for Chinese currency). That Board committed the USAFA from the start to move beyond relief to development. They



sought out and supported local actors, especially NGOs. They brought in advisors who did know about development planning, and about Africa. There were continental born Africans, like Ayensu, and Morley Nkosi-- you were there! We, the Advisors, pushed to support local actors and we were supported by the Board in doing that. Even the somewhat controversial decision that I pushed for, to pass a substantial amount of money through the African Development Bank (and it really was a 100% "pass through" because they paid all of their administrative costs did bring support to local initiatives. The move was controversial mostly because the ADB was already a big organization, and a governmental organization. But, I won that argument because it was an African organization, and got the bank into relationships with African NGOs.

So, when we talk of a "new paradigm" let us not forget this record of the USAFA-- let us not use language that might unintentionally repudiate the advances that record represented. The shift started 25 years ago!

Also, let us recall what Yash Tandon, and Mr. Moore both so brilliantly pointed out yesterday – the ontological issue as Yash put it, of knowing just what is meant by the "WE." Just who are WE. How will we define the scope of "AFRICA" as we discuss and develop these new plans. Let us not diminish Africa. As I said in my own opening remarks on the first panel, Africa is everywhere. Its peoples are so widely dispersed around the globe – perhaps more so than any other people. Let us not amputate these extensions of the African body. As August Wilson's play in New York, *Fences*, reminds us – you can build a fence around your yard to keep intruders out, but also be mindful that you may be fencing yourself in, imprisoning yourself. We do not want an African version of a Berlin Wall, or an Israeli barrier.

We really are the world! "We are one big family... We are saving our own lives...It is time to make a brighter day, for you AND ME."

## Contribution to a New Design for Humanitarian Intervention in Africa

by

*Mutombo M’Panya*

*Sonoma State University*

*September 21, 2010*

I have been associated with humanitarian intervention in several capacities: as a refugee in a war situation in the Congo; as a board member of several non-governmental organizations; and as a researcher. I have worked on issues such as transportation and logistics during the African hunger crisis of the 1980s, and the use of African stereotypes in the media for fundraising purposes during hunger campaign appeals. Let me start with some thoughts about mortality rates during an emergency/crisis.

The structure of mortality is close to the logistics curve, and this means that initially, the mortality rate grows slowly. Later on, it increases sharply, then tapers off, then declines to pre-emergency levels. This means that often, what happens is that many foreign interventions come in at the height of the mortality rate, and by that time it is “too little, too late” because the majority of the people who need help may have died. Paradoxically, some of these organizations claim that the mortality rate went down because of their intervention, when in fact, mortality was already decreasing because those in need of the most urgent help had already succumbed. The moral of the story is that for emergency aid to be effective, it has to be quick, which means localized and close to the people. If it has to come from far away, it had better be fast and plentiful. With this in mind, I would like to propose a number of steps as to how we should rethink humanitarian interventions.

First, it is important that we begin with an understanding of the complex nature of the emergency situations which lead to humanitarian interventions. Most of the African emergency situations have a broad and a deep causal web; we have to take a systemic, dynamic, and critical perspective in order to determine the underlying factors. There is always a history, colonial and non-colonial, to understand about the place where the disasters have occurred. Along with history, we need to take a critical look in order to expose existing contradictions within the emergency situation itself. This includes analyses of power, gender, class, and race and the role they play in the immediate crisis. Most emergency situations do not just occur; they have natural and human factors, and these human factors can be economic, technological, and political, and they can be both local and global. For example, we know that the emergency situations in Sudan, Congo, and Somalia are not due simply to squabbles between local tribes, even if they are often portrayed as such in Western media. In fact, Western economic and political interests have played a major role in creating the conditions that lead to these crises. This is not to diminish the fact that there are natural causes such as drought, as in the Sahel, and flooding, such as what happened in Mozambique. But because there are many interrelated factors, it is important that we take a global view and put an emphasis on long-term results.

Second, we must keep the focus on the local people and their needs. This means that we have to include them in the definition of what constitutes an emergency, and in the decision-making



as to what should be done locally, nationally, and internationally. Unfortunately, in many non-profit organizations and international governmental organizations, it is often expatriate foreign staff who control the funding and make the major decisions. The local people are perceived as incompetent, untrustworthy, and corrupt. Some foreigners feel that local people are entirely responsible for their suffering, and they need an outside agency to set things right. Actually, we know that in Africa, the most help to refugee groups often comes from the local population of the areas into which the refugees move. Ultimately, it is the local absorptive capacity that helps refugees in the long run. There are many examples of this: refugees from South Africa moved into other southern African countries; refugees from Zimbabwe into Mozambique and vice versa; and the case of refugees from Rwanda into Uganda, and Rwanda into Congo and vice versa. In general it is the immediate neighbors that help in case of crisis.

Including local people also means having an inventory of the local resources and local skills in dealing with the emergency situation when it happens. Among these skills and resources may be the ability to build shelter or to cultivate additional land. We must remember that refugees themselves are not just passive victims of the circumstances. They possess their own skills as well, and are able to rebuild their lives when things stabilize. By doing an inventory of these local resources and skills, one is able to leverage them against the additional resources that national governments or international organizations may be able to provide. Within these resources, one should also include some ways of communicating within the local community and outside in the broader world. Specifically, today, the use of computers and cell phones can help people to be informed and therefore be mobilized to deal with their own local situations, or to appeal for outside help.

Third, following the assessment of local resources, one has to think in terms of building and developing local capacity to respond to emergency situations. For many regions in Africa, it is not a matter of whether a hunger crisis will happen, it is a matter of when. So, it is important to establish some kind of planning and management organization with clear priorities which would be responsible for humanitarian intervention. In this way, local communities should always be ready to intervene in their own area once an emergency situation arises. For example, it could very well be that African regions in general may be vulnerable to famine due to drought. Today, we know that global warming is very likely to have a negative impact on African food production systems. This means that we should plan for these kinds of conditions in order to be ready to intervene when crises happen.

If it is true that knowledge is power, then it is important for Africans at the local level to develop knowledge bases for their own communities, rather than allowing this to be the prerogative of outside agencies. The building of local capacity should include the gathering of information into specific research projects, along with setting up rapid information diffusion and control systems. There has been a problem in developing such a knowledge base in Africa because most of the information about the regions is generated by foreign agencies. These agencies unfortunately have used this information to keep their power over the continent. The information they gather goes into reinforcing some of the stereotypical representations and images of Africa, which in turn perpetuates specific policies toward the people of Africa. It often happens that when researching data for a project, local people have to depend on outside experts who may know very little about local conditions to tell them what is happening



within their own region. This information inevitably reflects the biases and purposes of the collecting agency. On the other hand, local people are able to collect information that would be useful to them as a community. When information is gathered and reviewed by Africans, it can allow local communities and governments to have control over what they want the Western world to know, or what kind of assistance they need to cope with the emergency. [A technology assessment sensitive to local conditions that will anticipate unintended consequences.]

Fourth, it is essential that a new perspective about humanitarian intervention in Africa is concerned with strengthening local institutions. This means that there must be some collaboration between local communities and national governments, and between outside helpers and the local governments. In many cases, local and outside non-profit organizations have marginalized local governments and reduced their ability to intervene in an emergency. Cooperation with the government should also foster the development of a specific humanitarian intervention code of behavior. There has to be some sense of coordination in order to use resources efficiently and avoid duplication. When organizations intervening in a given situation are worried too much about their own turf, this cannot be helpful to the local people. These organizations are often given carte blanche without any constraint. Cooperation between outside organizations and the local people should also include other African and African diasporic peoples, in order to tap into their wealth and their wisdom.

As in the case of any collaboration or cooperation, one has to anticipate difficulties and develop skills for negotiation, cross-cultural understanding, and more importantly, deep understanding of humanitarian politics and how those politics may be related to the global dominance of the West or the role that the local government may want to play in local communities. Whatever is being done to strengthen local institutions, it is important that local people keep the initiative and the control. It is extremely important that we take time to put together a conceptual model to guide us into an approach that meets the real needs of the African continent.

Fifth, there have been a number of reactions about our discussion, specifically that some of our colleagues feel that any attempt by Africa to come up with its own approach to humanitarian intervention runs the risk of isolating Africa, or alienating the Western world. From my point of view, the notion of a global village and world interdependence can be quite appealing because of the sense of togetherness that they evoke. Unfortunately, we also know that this is a co-optation of the notion of village solidarity to mask the way that international politics can be quite exploitative to Africa. One has to distinguish between the good and the bad kind of interdependence. A horse and a rider are interdependent, but the rider is always on top. One may argue that Africa is not a horse, and we know that is the case for most Africans, but it is not clear that this is obvious to those who exploit Africa.

It is enough simply to show that even with so many calamities and economic difficulties, when you compare the amount of aid that Africa receives from the West to the amount that Africa pays out as debt service, one cannot but conclude that the dying children of Africa are supporting rich Western countries. This is done with the cooperation of African governments who must ignore the welfare of their people in order to serve the interests of Western financial institutions.



Along this same line of thinking, it is also felt that Africa has to conform to the way things are being done in international organizations. Any thought that challenges this would be regarded as unrealistic and simply indulging in rhetoric rather than cold analysis. And yet, it seems to me that it is more rhetorical to describe as rhetorical the efforts of Africans who seek to define what Africa can accomplish on its own. While it is the case that many African organizations today depend on some kind of outside aid, it is just as important that we also think in terms of how many resources Africa could manage to mobilize for itself. We must challenge the idea that Western ways are better, and that we are beggars who cannot choose the kinds of assistance we want. All this suggests that the ways of thinking that are behind these worries are geared to accommodate the ongoing Western colonial project, which has created both the mindset and the conditions under which we live today. This hinders what we as Africans can do for ourselves.

It was also suggested that we must pay attention to the tone and the language that we use so we do not alienate potential Western donors. But that caution itself raises the question of whose language should we conform to? If we conform to the established way of talking about Africa that the West has imposed on us, in what way is that language able to express the kind of reality that we as Africans are living? To the extent that language is not innocent but is actually constitutive of the reality in which we live, is not such conformism another way of continuing the domination of the outsider over Africa? Because we live in a so-called global world, if we want to influence this global village, then we must also state clearly what our needs are, where we are coming from, and how we may be able to meet our needs to the best of our abilities in a way that fits with our political, economic, and cultural objectives. If we as Africans do not have a sense of what we need, and how we want to take care those needs, then the West will perceive a power vacuum and do whatever it pleases.

Finally, all this discussion reminds me of someone who told me once that Frederick Douglass often said that your ideas come from where your money comes from.



## SYMPOSIUM ON "REFLECTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTIONS IN AFRICA"

*Addis Abeba, 21-23 September 2010*

*Panel remarks - Dr Dawit Zawde, President, Africa Humanitarian Action*

International discussions and consultations about responses to disasters and conflict in Africa have long been distinguished by differences. These differences spin around who is responsible for the slow pace forward - a never-ending dispute over intentions, performances and resources between, in short, the South and the North.

I will make a few, brief remarks as some of these differences apply to humanitarian assistance in Africa. The aim being to reduce stalemate and to be effective and efficient for those whose plight we claim to serve.

Humanitarian assistance has made a difference to many people around the globe, particularly in the emergency phases. However, while some good has been done - much more should and could be achieved. So far we all agree, but when it comes to the causes and remedies we differ, and begin to lay blame on each other.

Today, official humanitarian operations largely remain within a small group of actors who are often far removed from the ground and its realities and from the people whose predicament they claim to look after. They set the rules and practices. The course of action is dictated by institutional and individual interests of governments, a variety of international and civil organisations, mostly in the northern hemisphere.

Political and military alliances and networks are ever more trying to integrate humanitarian aid into their strategic agendas. Equally the United Nations' integrated missions are heading the same way. Humanitarian aid has become politicised and militarised, putting in danger the fundamental humanitarian principle of free and open access and assistance to victims in need everywhere and at all times. Aid, to a high degree is interlinked and serves financial, political, and military interests. These interests play out and interact at global, regional and national levels.

The unprecedented growth of the humanitarian enterprise and the development of standards, procedures and techniques have led to a prompt and large-scale presence of aid organisations on the ground, remaining as long as media helps their fund-raising.

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The many set-ups of co-ordination, the numerous workshops, all the initiatives to create standards for good humanitarian behaviour and complementarities of actions all serve the *system* well – but not necessarily the recipients of aid.

This mode of operation has resulted in a business-like approach - amateurish though - it has also reduced creativity and flexibility with regard to ever different events. Short aid cycles and unrealistic time-frames have led to unfinished business being left behind.

Over the last four decades, the aid world has spent billions on humanitarian and development assistance and on co-ordination and partnerships. Northern agencies don't really have to earn the money; it comes free and repeatedly - and with big bonuses. The reasons for this money being put forward vary, but its usefulness is severely hampered by the gap between what funds are being made available for and authentic needs and priorities. And if a programme does not take place, the chosen target group is unlikely to find out.

A too large share of the funds have become self-serving, spent on the aid mechanisms along the enigmatic roads to the vulnerable communities. And this despite seemingly in-built control mechanisms of internal and independent audits and evaluations - also firms, individual consultants and auditors have got caught up in keeping the business alive.

Today it is the same people who invent and design programmes and projects, and then vouch for them as robust and valid products. They also implement and monitor them, and then verify results and performance; and finally it is still the same people who establish the narratives that are helpful to their causes.

Having indicated the reality of aid, what are the grievances in the North-South interdependency? In simplistic shorthand, the South's chief point is that the North must, and is morally compelled to continue to make larger financial resources available. And it should be done more swiftly and with fewer conditions. The South also grumble that the North has an unfair influence and powers of academia, media and communication resources, and hence dominate and dictate policy and the thinking about aid.

On the other hand, the North complains about the insufficient capacity in the South to absorb funds in a constructive and timely manner, without giving though to the need to develop the requisite capacity in the South. The North also points to the lack of good governance, of unethical behaviour, and of financial corruption. Hence, it considers stringent controls necessary, and prefers to act in its own rights whenever possible.

I am deeply convinced that until we stop to repeat ourselves and blame each other, and start to come up with tangible and practical proposals for changes that make sense - not just serving ourselves but those in whose name we gather - we will not make much progress. I will now indicate some of the paradigms which might help to take us forward in the African context.

My *first* suggestion concerns how to improve results, and make more of the funds reach the communities and people in whose name we justify ourselves. We claim to know what they need and what is good for them. Sometimes we even decide in our self-rightness to represent





them. But they are rarely included in our discussions, our structures or our decision-making. So one improvement would be to move beyond consulting with our clients and *include their representatives* in all processes and activities.

I am a firm believer in the key role of *developing capacity* in all we set out to undertake. The *second* initiative I would like to share with you therefore concerns a common, homogeneous, and systematic education of the policy and executive leadership in the African aid world. Aid has become a career removed from personal engagement and volunteerism which piloted humanitarian work well in the past. We need to fortify leaders and staff in aid work with integrity, competence and energy.

In 2004, *Africa Humanitarian Action* took an initiative to create an *African centre for Humanitarian Action (ACHA)*, as an education and information centre which, at a symposium similar to this one, met with enthusiastic support. Unfortunately this keenness was not followed up with the signal funds. It is in this context, I conclude that we, as Africans, need to create our own resources and stop looking North to fund our own institutions. Only once this is done will we be able to talk and act with our Northern partners on a level playing field in the humanitarian arena.

My *third* point is therefore to call for our pan-African institutions - and I think in particular of the African Union, the African Development Bank Group, and the UN Economic Commission for Africa - to provide *institutional funding* to ensure the presence and the quality of home-grown African humanitarian and development organisations in the international *fora*. It is both feasible and realistic that they should and can be funded as organisations from African sources. Pan-African institutions should also use and promote them as flagship agencies in African disaster and conflict situations on a regular basis.

*Finally*, it is likely that we all would be helped by an institution which would oversee the humanitarian aid world in a positive, helpful way in both the North and the South. It could set norms, regulate and validate actions, and produce non-partisan views on results and performances. This institution could perhaps also issue a clean sheet every two or three years, and express opinions on who is best-suited to provide the humanitarian services and eligible to receive funds based on results obtained on the ground. It should integrate and use the work of many already existing set-ups.

The closest I can come when trying to give a name or sum up such an institution is to use the word "*Humanitarian Ombudsman*". The key to its usefulness is two-fold. One is that everybody buys in to the idea, and secondly that it becomes to the largest extent possible *independent*.

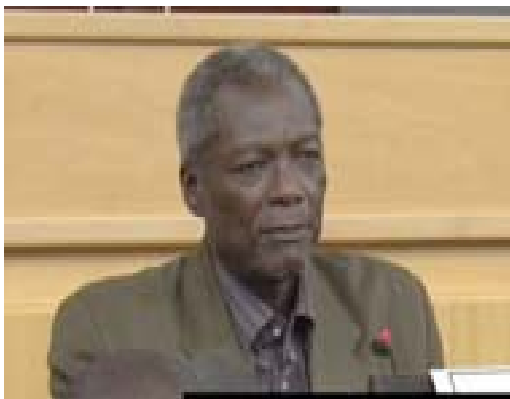
I thank you.  
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# Participants Group Picture



## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF SYMPOSIUM, PARTICIPANTS, ORGANIZERS AND SPONSORS

### Abdou El Mazide N'diaye



**Mazide N'diaye**, is a graduate of Institut d'Etude du Développement Economique et Social at the University of Paris (Sorbonne). From 1970 to 1974 he was teaching Applied Economy in two Institutes for social workers. In 1980 he was deputy director of OFADEC an NGO specialized in rural development; in 1982 he created the Council of NGO working in Senegal CONGAD, which still active with 400 NGO members. In 1985, he formed and was Director General of the African Network for Integrated Development, based in Dakar, and since 1992 he has been the Executive President of the Forum of African Voluntary Development Organizations (FOVAD), with members in 36 African countries. In 1987-94, he was Co-president of South- South Solidarity Network based in New Daly and vice president, following president of the African NGOs Environment Network (ANEN), based in Nairobi. From 2001 to 2009, he served as a member of the International Advisory Group on the Chad-Cameroon Petroleum Development (IAG). Currently, he is the CEO of the well known Engineering Development Company active in all French speaking African Countries and on all aspects of economic and social development.

### Dr. Abdirizak M. Hashi



**Dr. Abdirizak M. Hashi**, is of Somalian origin who now resides in South Africa. He is currently the operational manager with gift of the givers. Dr. Hashi is also a member and founder of Kwa Zulu Natal Refugee. He also works as a volunteer, assisting vulnerable refugees in KZN. Dr. Hashi has previously worked as a programme director in Cross Boarder Operations at Solidarity Goodwill and with UNHCR. From 1993 - 1994 he was with the International Rescue Committee as a Medical Officer in Bardhere District; 1992-1993 with Medecins Sans Frontiers as project consultant in Somalia; and in 1998-1990 he was with International Christian Aid as the health project co-ordinator of health in the Hirran region of Somalia. Dr. Hashi earned his doctorate at Somalia University School of Medicine.



**Azeb Tadesse**

**Azeb Tadesse**, is currently the Deputy Director of the African Studies Center at the University of California, LA where she oversees administration and programming. She was born in Ethiopia and grew up in Africa and Europe before arriving in the US. Tadesse earned a BA in History with a focus in African History from UCLA as well as an MA in African Studies where her research focused on politicized ethnicity, federalism and development. Her work includes teacher training, internationalization of school curriculum and the intersection of development and higher education in Africa. She is a recipient of two

Fulbright-Hays GPA awards for Morocco from the US Department of Education. Prior to coming to UCLA, she worked with immigrant and refugee youth developing training curriculum and organizing after school tutoring programs, support groups, and field trips to facilitate adjustment to US. She has been active in Los Angeles developing programs for African immigrant communities and has served on various committees and boards. She is founding member of Ethiopian-American Advocacy Group an all female community advocacy group, which in 2004 successfully worked with the Los Angeles City Council in designating an area heavily populated with Ethiopian businesses known as "Little Ethiopia".

**Bakengeshi Twendele Back**

**Bakengeshi Twendele Back**, Since 2002 I has been involved in human rights defense in Kinshasa/DRC. In 2007 he became the chair of the good Governance Commission of the Forum of Congolese organizations in South Africa (FOCAS) and cofounder of Africa Awake/ NPO. A qualified lawyer from the Protestant University of Congo/DRC, he is currently acquiring his Master in Law with a specialization in Information Technology Law, at the University of South Africa (UNISA). He has worked for 4 years in the DR.Congo Government, especially in

the Mining and Hydro Carbone Department.

**Bertha K. Amisi**

**Bertha K. Amisi**, is an independent researcher currently completing doctoral studies in political science at the Maxwell School of Citizenship, Syracuse University. Her research focuses on the dynamics of state – society relations in political conflict and peace-building in Africa. She has also taught at the Syracuse University and recently at the New School Graduate Program in International Affairs in New York City. Prior to undertaking graduate work Bertha was Programme Advisor at the Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa, a pan-African peace resource organization. She also worked

with the Africa regional office of the UK charity, ActionAid, where she provided policy and programme support to country Programmes in conflict and disaster prone situations. She has an M.A. in International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame, Indiana.

**Dr. Bhhekinkosi Moyo**

**Dr. Bheki Moyo**, is the program director at TrustAfrica. He joined TrustAfrica in March 2007 as a research fellow and became Program Director in May 2009. Known for his expertise in philanthropy, civil society, and governance, he holds a doctorate in political science from the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa. He previously worked at the Africa Institute of South Africa and at the Institute for Democracy in South Africa. He has written and published more than 15 conference papers, journal articles, and book chapters and co-edited *What About the Children: The Silent Voices in Maintenance* (2004), which explores issues of poverty, abuse, and the social security system in South Africa in the 21st century. His latest

collection of edited articles, *Africa in the Global Power Play: Debates, Challenges and Potential Reforms* (Adonis & Abbey, London, 2007), addresses the current position of Africa in international political and economic relations.

**Charlotte Sarr**

**Charlotte Sarr**, is a social worker at bureau d'orientation social, she works in the capacity of advising and looking for solutions for refugees. She specializes in social inquiries to know the conditions of refugees, their background and what they are able to do in order to succeed in life, and offering any special needs of protection. In 1987, Charlotte earned her license in social work from ENTSS, a national school for social training. Charlotte received her licence in 1994 and is also a member of the west african refugees and internally displaced persons (WARIPNET) founded in

2000. She is responsible for the communication in OFADEC.

**Dr. Costantinos Berhe Tesfu**

**Dr. Costantinos**, trustee of Africa Humanitarian Action and chairperson of the African Union Board on Anti-Corruption for Africa, has served as a Senior Policy Advisor on Sustainable Development for Africa with the UN in New York. He has worked as a team leader on many international programs in many countries, extensively involved in policy research work in governance, humanitarian emergencies, poverty, environment and sustainable livelihoods. He has also served and continues to serve as a board chairman and member of major African networks and research institutions. He is the author of several books on state fragility and collapse and climate change adaptation and

numerous papers published in professional journals, and presented to workshops and symposia. Dr. Costantinos is also serving as a professor of Public Policy, School of Post Graduate Studies, AAU, current Chair of the Ethiopian Management Professionals Association and of the Ethiopian Centre for Strategic Studies.

**Dr. Dawit Zawde**

**Dr. Zawde**, is the founder, president and CEO of Africa Humanitarian Action (AHA) which was founded in 1994. AHA is a pan-African non-governmental organization providing effective humanitarian assistance to reduce human suffering, building on the strength of African people to solve African problems. His services to refugees and the underprivileged started early in his professional career. As a young medical graduate in 1970 he volunteered to serve among the then forgotten and neglected tribes in the most remote and arid Gambella province in south western Ethiopia.

He was among the first group of UNHCR and Red Cross professionals who established one of the first refugee camps and the first hospital in the village of Itang. In 1973 Dr. Zawde's work career moved on to the teaching hospital in Addis Ababa, when a devastating famine "the Wollo Famine" struck northern Ethiopia a year later. He was asked to coordinate the health and nutrition services in all famine relief centers and take charge of the biggest shelter in Bati. As a result of his distinguished services in the Wollo region of Ethiopia, Dr. Zawde was elected to the Board of Directors of the Ethiopian Red Cross Society and subsequently to its Executive Committee, as Chair of its Relief subcommittee. In 1982 he became Chairman of the Society. He initiated numerous developments in: humanitarian relief; disaster prevention; blood transfusion; essential drugs; logistical services; institutional development; demobilisation and education and training. Dr Zawde served as the representative to the International Conference, the Council of Delegates, the League/International Federation's General Assemblies and its Advisory Commissions. His involvements encompassed negotiations, visits and cooperation with the UN system, international and bilateral aid agencies, governments and societies. Dr. Zawde earned his M.D. with honors at the First Moscow Medical Institute, completed his residency at the Addis Ababa University; Faculty of Medicine, Department of Internal Medicine, and his Master of Sciences in Clinical Tropical Medicine at the London University. As assistant and associate professor at the Faculty of Medicine of Addis Ababa University, from 1975 to 1992, he was involved in teaching post-graduate and under-graduate medical students; in clinical care and research. Dr. Zawde has authored a number of academic publications within his professional expertise. He participates in and conducts numerous national and international seminars and workshops.

### Emira R. Woods



**Emira Woods**, US/Liberia, is the Co-Director of Foreign Policy In Focus at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. Emira holds a BA in International Relations from Columbia, a certificate in Public Policy from the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton, a Master's in Government from Harvard, and is ABD in Political Economy and Government at Harvard. She recently was Program Manager for the Committee on Development Policy and Practice at InterAction, serving as a principal staff contact for advocacy at the UN, the international financial institutions, USAID and Treasury. She designed and implemented a strategic campaign around the

Monterrey Financing for Development conference, working with both InterAction members and a broader coalition of Southern and Northern agencies. Prior to this position, she served as Program Officer of Oxfam America's Africa program, which involved outreach to the heads of major international institutions and grassroots groups in the most remote communities. Ms. Woods has recently been interviewed on BBC, CNN, CBC, NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, the Diane Rehm Show, on Liberia and US-Africa Relations. She has hosted a WashingtonPost.com online chat and has published pieces in the *Nation*, the *Baltimore Sun*, and the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*. She has been deeply involved with Foreign Policy in Focus and their Stop Firestone Campaign about human rights violations surrounding the rubber industry in Liberia.

### Ezra Mbogori



**Ezra Mbogori**, is the Executive Director of Akiba Uhaki Foundation – a relatively new human rights and social justice fund for eastern Africa. In a previous life Ezra was the founding Executive Director of MWENGO – a reflection and development centre for NGOs in eastern and southern Africa, with offices in Harare, Zimbabwe and served in this position for 14 years. Before relocating to Harare in 1993, he had headed up an urban poverty focused organization working in Nairobi for over six years. Ezra Mbogori has always worked in the voluntary sector over the entire duration of his working life. Besides employment in the sector, Ezra has also served in a

voluntary capacity on the leadership and/or advisory organs of numerous organizations. Some of the more notable of these include the: Founding Chairperson of the Kenya NGO Council (1992-1993); Member of the Commonwealth Foundation NGO Advisory Committee; Member, Board of Trustees – The Resource Alliance; Member, Board of Directors, Montreal International Forum; Member, Board of Directors, Charities Aid Foundation, South Africa; and Member, Board of Directors, CIVICUS. Ezra is currently a member of the International Board of PLAN International and a member of the ACBF network VOICENET. Ezra Mbogori got his undergraduate education in Nairobi, Kenya and has an MPA from Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. He is a Fellow of the Kellogg International Leadership Program and the Kennedy School's Mason Fellows Program.



**Frank Baffoe**

**Frank Baffoe**, is the Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Baffoe Sankofa Trustee which owns four family companies: Baffoe & Associates Consulting, B & A Informatics, B & A Properties and Total Solar Solutions.

Frank has been a Rotarian since 1983 and he is a five Sapphire Paul Harris Fellow and a Benefactor. He has been a President of the two Rotary Clubs in Lesotho and he is currently the District Governor (2010 - 2011) of District 9320. Rotary is an organisation of business and professional leaders united worldwide to provide humanitarian service, encourage high ethical standards, and help build goodwill and peace in the world. Frank passionately enjoys Rotary, and to him Rotary gives individuals opportunities to be of service to humankind irrespective of creed, gender, race or social standing".

**Haskell Sears Ward**

**Haskell Ward**, was born in 1940 in the small town of Griffin, Georgia. As a student at Clark College in Atlanta in 1960, he was an active participant in the student sit-in movement carried out by college students during the civil rights movement. He has over 40 years of experience in public and international affairs. Mr. Ward has been an officer of two major African infrastructure investment projects. He was for nearly a decade an officer in Global Alumina, a major energy and mining company. At Global Alumina, he was responsible for managing the company's relationships with

key government officials and non-governmental organizations including the U.N., USAID and the World Bank. He is currently Senior Vice President of SEACOM. It developed and launched in July of 2009 the first sub-marine fiber optics communications system linking Eastern and Southern Africa with Europe and Asia. Mr. Ward began his professional career as a volunteer in Kenya in 1962 with a non-governmental organization, Operation Crossroads Africa, for which he later became a staff member. In 1963, Mr. Ward was a member of one of the first groups of Peace Corps volunteers, posted to Ethiopia. He also worked for the Ford Foundation (in New York City and Lagos, Nigeria), where he specialized in economic development programs and strategies for the Middle East and Africa. He served on the Policy Planning Staff of the State Department during the Carter Administration under Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. With the rank of Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, he was the responsible officer on the Policy Planning Staff for the development and oversight of the Department's Africa policies. Following his tenure at the State Department, he served as Deputy Mayor of The City of New York in the Administration of Edward Koch.

Mr. Ward served on the board of directors of the American Council on Germany and was a long-time member of the Trilateral Commission. He currently serves as Vice Chairman of the Board of the Corporate Council on Africa, the largest institution in the United States promoting business and trade relationships with Africa. He serves as the American chairman of the United States/South

African Business Forum, an initiative established this year to promote and expand business relationships between the United States and South Africa. He is also a member and chairman of the Global Advisory Committee of the American Cancer Society. He is the author of *African Development Reconsidered: New Perspectives from the Continent*. It is widely used as a college textbook on African development issues. Mr. Ward received his undergraduate degree from Clark College in Atlanta and his graduate degree in African Studies from the University of California in Los Angeles. He is married to Leah Sears, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia. He currently resides in Atlanta, Georgia.

#### J. Max Bankole



**Max Bankole**, since 2001 has worked with the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) in Addis Ababa as a speechwriter and communication officer in the Office of the Executive Secretary.

Prior to the UN, Mr. Jarrett worked 11 years as a senior broadcast journalist with the BBC World Service, editing, producing and presenting *Network Africa* and *Focus on Africa*, the BBC's daily news and current affair's radio programmes for its African audience. He received his B.Sc (Hons) in Economics from the London School of Economics and his M.A, with a concentration in Political Economy, from London University's School of Oriental and African Studies (Dissertation: Civil War in Liberia: A Manipulation of Chaos?).

#### Liepollo Lebohang Pheko



**Liepollo Lebohang Pheko**, is a policy analyst, social entrepreneur and social activist. She serves as Policy and Advocacy Director at an NGO/Think Tank called the Trade Collective, Four Rivers, in South Africa. She is the Africa co-convenor of the World Dignity Forum and is part of the African Social Forum Secretariat. She was formerly Senior Policy Specialist for the Gender and Trade Network in Africa (GENTA) and was on the organizing committee for the 2007

World Social Forum (WSF), held in Nairobi on 20-25 January 2007. She is part of the organizing committee for the upcoming World Social forum to be held in Senegal in 2011. At the Trade Collective Liepollo Pheko is exploring social accounting tools for measuring institutional behaviour as it affects women, the environment, low-income communities, employees and other social & development indices. Additionally, she is also exploring different models of citizenship, social inclusion and human dignity. She has worked on aspects of social, development and trade policy and their intersection with gender, race and class for almost 15 years. She uses feminist and development economics as an entry point of analysis. Pheko also conceptualizes and designs training curriculum on a range of economic and social development issues, conducts research and analyses on development and socio economic policies and supports networks and movement building across Africa as well as with international partners. She has trained and facilitated

workshops and seminars on the same across the world, primarily across Africa. Current campaign programmes include *'Africa is not for Sale', Migrant Rights and Anti Xenophobia/Afriphobia*. Ms Pheko anchors academic research in grass roots activism and movements. She is a visiting lecturer at CIDA University Johannesburg teaching Business students on alternatives to current Trade and Investment models. In addition Ms Pheko is a regular media commentator and writes freelance; her poetry has been published, she has two columns, and is respected as part of a new generation of thought leaders, locally and internationally.

#### Linda Kamau



**Linda Kamau**, is currently a developer – software developer - at Ushahidi organization; an organization that started off as a website that was developed to map reports of violence in Kenya after the post-election fallout at the beginning of 2008. Since then it has grown from an ad hoc group of volunteers to a focused organization; its goal is to create platform that any person or organization can use to set up their own way to collect and visualize information. She earned her degree in Business Information Technology. She develops both web and mobile applications. Before joining Ushahidi, Linda worked as a software developer with IT firms such as Ibidlabs, Ltd. and Mobile Pay, Ltd. Linda is based in Kenya.

#### Ambassador Mamadou Mansour Seck



Gen MM Seck was former Ambassador to the US, Argentina, Jamaica, Haiti, Trinidad and Tobago and Mexico with residence in Washington DC. He was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the the Senegalese Armed Forces (1988-1993) which were the first sub saharan force to participate in the first Gulf War (1990-1991 Desert Storm). After the Eight-Year War ( 1980-1988) between Iraq and Iran he inspected the Senegalese observers sent by the UN to monitor the truce between the 2 countries. He then met with President Saddam Hussein in Baghdad. During his tenure in Washington he worked with the Department of State in conceptualizing the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI). As the leader the " African Ambassadorial Task Force " he fought successfully for the enactment of the African Growth Opportunity Act by the US Congress (2000). Heralded for his military accomplishments, Seck has received many decorations from France (Legion d'Honneur, Medaille de l'Aéronautique), Holland, Gabon, Luxemburg, etc..and Senegal, during his nearly 35 years of service. He was the first Senegalese officer graduated (concours direct) from the French Military Academy in 1961, equivalent of US Westpoint. Seck holds a degree from the University of Strasburg (Grandes Ecoles) and won (first Senegalese) the French Air War College degree. He is an accomplished jet and propeller pilot (7000 flight hours ). He was the first Senegalese head of the Air Force 1972-1980). He led the UN Nigeria-Cameroon mixed Commission (2005) dealing with the border rectification between the 2 countries.

**Mark Randazzo**

**Mark Randazzo**, is currently the coordinator at the Funders Network on Transforming the Global Economy (FNTG). Mark has organized the work of FNTG since 2001. Mark obtained a Master's degree from the School of Development Studies at the University of East Anglia in England in 1986. He has worked since 1977 to strengthen social movements and international civil society networks through organizing, program management and grant-making in Africa, Asia and the U.S. He has worked for many non-profits, including SANE, USA for Africa, Oxfam America and JustAct/Youth Action for Global Justice. Positions held by Mark include Executive Director, JustAct: Youth Action for Global Justice (1997-2001), West Africa Regional Director, Oxfam America (1991-1997), Grants Manager, United Support of Artists for Africa (1987-1990), Canvas Team Leader, Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (1987), Asia/Pacific Assistant Director and Africa Program Advisor for Save the Children (1981-1985) and Teacher/Community Development Worker in the Central African Republic (1977-1980).

**Milas L. Seifulaziz**

**Milas L. Seifulaziz**, worked with UN Environment Programme 1980-89; and had the occasion to understand and explain the problems of drought, desertification, and related issues underlying famine, poverty and conflict across Africa. Thereafter, he worked with UNICEF/OLS, UNICEF Somalia; and CSOs, focusing on humanitarian response and post-conflict reconstruction and development in the Horn of Africa.

**Mutombo M'panya**

**Professor Mutombo M'panya** is originally from Congo. He was educated in Western Europe and in the US at the University of Notre Dame and the University of Michigan. He currently teaches at Sonoma State University where he is Director of the Science and Humanities Integration Project. Professor M'panya has also been teaching at the California Institute of Integral Studies for over 14 years in the areas of postcolonial theory, environmental studies, systems thinking, and representations of the "Other". Professor M'panya is on the US Advisory Board for International Rivers. He is also on the Educational/Consulting

Advisory Board for Governance, Change Leaders, and Workgroups at the Acceleration Studies Foundation, and a member of the World Academy of Art and Science. He is the co-author of *We Are the World: An Evaluation of Pop Aid for Africa*.

#### Peter Gill



**Peter Gill**, is a campaigning journalist who has worked in India on AIDS-awareness and leprosy projects and whose recent work has focused on the global disaster that is AIDS. Specializing in developing world affairs, he had first travelled to Ethiopia in the 1960s and in 1984, he was the first journalist to reach the epicenter of the famine in Ethiopia and he returned at the time of Live Aid to research the definitive account of the disaster. He has also made films in and has reported from Gaza, Lebanon, Afghanistan, South Africa, Uganda, and Sudan. His new book is *Famine and Foreigners: Ethiopia Since Live Aid*, which is the story of what has happened in the country since the famous music and television events 25 years ago.

#### Roselynn Musa



**Roselynn Musa**, is the Information and Documentation Officer at African Women's Development Fund, an Africa-wide grant making foundation for women. She has a wealth of knowledge and experience in advocacy on gender justice and governance issues having worked in this area for the past eight years. She has greatly contributed to women's rights advocacy at the national, sub-regional and regional levels in Africa as the Advocacy Officer at African Women's Development and Communications Network (FEMNET) Kenya and before then Research, Documentation and Capacity-

Building Programme officer at BAOBAB for Women's Human Rights, Nigeria. Roselynn has extensively worked with multilateral and bilateral agencies as well as Government, NGOs and INGOs on various development and human right projects. She draws from a history of women's right activism, advocacy, research and capacity- building around social justice, particularly on women's human rights. In the course of her working career as an educationist and researcher, she has gained useful experience in administration, counseling, advocacy, communication, planning and analysis. Apart from being an international advocate on women's rights Roselynn has published several papers, training manuals and books on gender and diverse subjects relating to women's rights in Africa. Roselynn holds a Master of Arts degree in International Relations and Strategic Studies from the Lagos State University, and a Masters Degree in International Law and Diplomacy from the University of Jos, Nigeria. She is



currently a PhD student in Gender and Development Studies at the School of Humanities, Kenyatta University, Nairobi, and Kenya.

#### Salim Amin



**Salim Amin**, is CEO of Camerapix, founder and Chairman of The Mohamed Amin Foundation and Chairman of A24 Media. Camerapix employs over 30 media professionals who operate out of its headquarters in Nairobi and an office in London. Camerapix offers its clients a wide array of media services including television production, publishing and photography. It is also home to 4 million images of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, and over 8000 hours of unique and historic video footage. The Camerapix Archive is the largest visual resource of its kind in Africa. In 1998, The

Mohamed Amin Foundation was launched to provide would-be African journalists with the tools and knowledge to tell local stories to an international audience. In 2004 Pete Murimi of Kenya was the first graduate of the "MoForce" to win the prestigious CNN African Journalist of the Year Award, a shining example of the quality of training provided at the Foundation. As Executive Producer and Presenter, Salim finished a documentary chronicling his father's life in March 2006 entitled "MO & ME" which has to date won nine Awards for Best Documentary in the United States, Canada, India and on the African Continent, including the Grand Jury Award at the New York International Film Festival. The documentary achieved a successful theatrical release in Kenya and was screened at the prestigious British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA), as well as the Cannes Film Festival in 2007. In December 2005, Salim began work on the launch of the first 24-hour pan-African News and Current Affairs Channel. Africa 24 Media, a precursor to the Channel and Africa's first online Agency for video and stills content, launched in September 2008 ([www.a24media.com](http://www.a24media.com)). In January 2007 Salim was named a Young Global Leader by the World Economic Forum in Davos. He is a fellow of the African Leadership Initiative and a member of the Aspen Global Leadership Network.

#### Scholastica Nasinyama



**Scholastica Nasinyama Lyaka**, is the Executive director of Urban Refugees in Kampala. She has worked with Urban Refugees in Kampala as a Counselor from 1990 to date. She moved the ranks to Senior Counselor in the organisation, to acting Executive Director in 2002 for six months when the Board of Directors InterAid (U) appointed her to the post of Executive Director a position she currently holds. As Chief Executive InterAid, she has gained

experience in managing the organization and spearheaded the development of the organisations strategic plan. Scholastica has earned a Masters Degree in Social Sector

Planning and Management from Makerere University, Certificate in Finance Management and Accounting for Non – Financial Managers by the Uganda Management Institute, Certificate in Effective Leadership Skills and Management for Young Executives, Makerere Business School, Certificate in Refugees and Humanitarian Law, School of Forced Migration, University of Dar-es-Salaam and Certificate in Mental Health and Psycho-social issues of Forced Displacement from Makerere University.

#### Hon. Soukeyna Ndiaye Ba



**Soukeyna N'diaye Ba**, Graduated in Sociology from Sorbonne University in Paris, she was Senegalese Minister of Decentralized Cooperation and Regional Planning, from 2002 to 2005. She has acquired more than thirty years of professional experience in management of development organizations, projects design, Women Economic empowerment, and gender mainstreaming, business development, monitoring and evaluation, Microfinance expert; she has good capacities on fundraising as well as in lobby and advocacy. She worked in many countries in Africa

and around the Globe, as consultant or as professional. She is actually, the Executive Director of INAFI International Foundation, and the Chair of FDEA-Microfinance, (A Microfinance organization based in Senegal). She was nominated as Board member of the **Grammeen Credit Agricole Foundation**, member of **AIR France Foundation**, board member of the Association of Microfinance Professionals, and member of the Steering Committee of the **Africa Middle East Micro Credit Summit**, member of the **Presidential Council for Investment**. Mrs Ba was born in November 4<sup>th</sup>, 1950 in Kaolack Senegal, she has two children, one boy, one girl.

#### Tekleweini Assefa



**Tekleweini Assefa**, is the General Director of Relief Society of Tigray (REST) and also the Central Committee member of the now-defunct Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), a delegate of the Eritrean Solidarity and Cooperation Association (ESCA), and the National Confederation of Eritrean Workers (NCEW) of the ruling People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ).

**Ambassador Valeriano Ferrao**

**Ambassador Valeriano Ferrao**, is the former Ambassador of Mozambique to the United States of America. Mr Ferrao joined the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) in 1963. Shortly after that, in 1965-1970 he studied in Neuchatel (Switzerland) where obtained a diploma of mechanical engineering. After his studies, he participated in several activities of the liberation including one year in Algiers (Algeria) as FRELIMO Representative. Since 1975, he has worked as an engineer in the Mozambique Railways Company, he was appointed Secretary of the Mozambique Cabinet,

Secretary of State of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ambassador of Mozambique to the United States of America; he retired from the Foreign Service in 1991. Since, he has worked in the General Union of Cooperatives of Maputo and from 2007 onwards has been a consultant for International Relations of the Mozambique Railways Company. Ambassador Ferro is an honorary recipient of the Medal of Veteran of the National Liberation Struggle and Medal of Bagamoyo which is awarded to teachers during the national liberation struggle.

**Dr. Willard R. Johnson**

**Dr. Willard R. Johnson**, Dr. Willard R. Johnson is a Professor of Political Science Emeritus. Professor Johnson's interests cover a broad range of African and African American studies, from the politics, policy strategies, and role of external human and capital resources in African development, to aspects of African and African American history, culture, philosophy, and inter-ethnic and foreign relations. Professor Johnson is co-author of *West African Governments and Volunteer Development Organizations*, and the author of *The Cameroon Federation: Political Integration in a*

*Fragmentary Society*, as well as articles and book chapters on issues of African development and foreign relations, and economic and political development of American inner-city areas. His current research and activism concerns promoting understanding and positive relations among Americans and peoples of African descent, as well as patterns of historic relations between Africans and Native Americans. Professor Johnson was one of the several founding leaders of the national TransAfrica and TransAfrica Forum organizations, and he founded and continues to be active in the leadership of The Boston Pan-African Forum, which is a local organization devoted to promoting mutually beneficial relations between the United States and the countries and peoples of Africa and the African Diaspora. He founded and is the current President of The Kansas Institute of African American and Native American Family History (KIAANAFH) which is a non-profit membership organization to commemorate pioneer African American families of the Mid-West, to document the historic ties between African- and Native-Americans, and to promote their collaboration and common interests.



**Dr. Yash Tandon**

**Professor Yash Tandon**, is from Uganda, born in 1939. He was the Executive Director of the South Centre until February 2009, and is presently Senior Advisor to the Centre. Dr Tandon's long career in national and international development spans as a policymaker, a political activist, a professor and a public intellectual. He has written over one hundred scholarly articles and has authored and edited books on wide ranging subjects including on African politics, Peace and Security, International Economics, South - South Cooperation and

Human Rights. Prior to the South Centre, he served as the Founding Director of the Southern and Eastern African Trade Information and Negotiations Institute (SEATINI). He has also served on several national and international advisory committees. In 2009 he held the Claude Ake Chair at the University of Uppsala and the Nordic Africa Institute in Sweden. Presently, he and his wife spend time between Oxford (UK), Kampala, (Uganda) and Harare (Zimbabwe).

## USAFORAFRICA BOARD MEMBERS

**Dr. Edmond J. Keller**



**Dr. Edmond J. Keller**, is professor and Chair of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), Department of Political Science, Director of the UCLA Globalization Research Center-Africa and former Director of the UCLA James S. Coleman African Studies. He specializes in comparative politics with an emphasis on Africa. Keller received his B.A. in Government from Louisiana State University in New Orleans, and his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He has taught at Indiana University, Dartmouth College, the

University of Wisconsin-Madison, Xavier University (New Orleans), and the University of California-Santa Barbara. Keller has been a visiting research scholar at the Institute for Development Studies (Nairobi, Kenya), the Bureau of Educational Research (Nairobi), the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, the Africa Institute of South Africa, and the University of California, Berkeley Institute for International Studies. Also, he has consulted widely on issues relating to African development, public policy, and more recently on the process of political transitions in Africa, and on African regional security issues. Among his professional activities, Keller served on the Council of the American Political Science Association (APSA), 2000-2002; Executive Committee of the Comparative Politics Section of the APSA, 1996-98; and in 2007-8 he was co-program Chair (with Jane Junn), for the APSA 2008 Annual Meeting. He has also served on the Editorial Board of the Western Political Science Association and the National Journal of Political Science; as Editor of the Journal of African Policy Studies, as treasurer for the North American Chapter of the African Journal of Political Science, and as vice president and president of the African Studies Association. Keller was the recipient of the African Studies Distinguished Africanist Award for 2008. Keller is the author of two monographs: *Education, Manpower and Development: The Impact of Educational Policy in Kenya* (1980) and *Revolutionary Ethiopia: From Empire to People's Republic* (1988). Professor Keller has also written more than 50 articles on African and African American politics, and has co-edited four books: *Afro-Marxist Regimes: Ideology and Public Policy* (with Donald Rothchild, 1987); *South Africa in Southern Africa: Domestic Change and International Conflict* (with Louis Picard, 1989), *Africa in the New International Order: Rethinking State Sovereignty and Regional Security* (with Donald Rothchild, 1996) and *Africa-US Relations: Strategic Encounters* (with Donald Rothchild, 2006). His most recent publication edited with Robert Hill is: *Trustee for the Human Community: Ralph J. Bunche, the United Nations, and the Decolonization of Africa* (2010). Keller's main research is on issues of political transitions in Africa, cultural pluralism and nationalism, conflict and conflict management in Africa.

**Edward Rada**

**Edward Rada**, is President of The Music Center Foundation, a \$300 million endowment that supports the performing arts at The Music Center in downtown Los Angeles, including the Frank Gehry-designed Walt Disney Concert Hall. He previously served as Chief Financial Officer of Center Theatre Group, the theatrical producing entity at The Music Center. While there, he managed all financial, information systems and human resources operations, overseeing a \$50 million annual budget. Prior to joining CTG, he was Director of Finance at Old Globe Theatre in San Diego, California. His accounting career began at Ernst & Whinney, where he was a supervisor in its Entertainment Business

Management practice. He moved from there to serve as Controller for Hands Across America, a project of USA for Africa that produced the largest participatory charitable event in history by creating a human chain stretching across the United States to raise awareness of the issue of hunger and homelessness. He then established a public accounting and business management practice, Rada & Associates, with an emphasis on not-for-profit/non-governmental organizations. Mr. Rada is a Certified Public Accountant and a member of the California Society of CPAs. He received an A.B. in Economics from Occidental College and completed The Executive Program in Management at UCLA's John E. Anderson Graduate School of Management. He serves on the Boards of Directors of USA for Africa, Theatre @ Boston Court in Pasadena, California, Friends of Soochow University, Taipei, Taiwan, and is past chairman of Project Angel Food in Los Angeles. He was awarded a Certificate of Appreciation from Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley for his work as a Business Volunteer for the Arts. He is a native of Pasadena, California, and currently resides in Hollywood.

**Dr. Lloyd Greig**

**Dr. Lloyd Byron Greig**, is an Obstetrician/Gynecologist in private practice in Los Angeles, California. Originally from Jamaica, Dr. Greig came to the United States in 1961 to attend Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, where he earned a Bachelor's Degree. He then attended Meharry Medical College also in Nashville, where he earned his Medical Degree in 1969. Dr. Greig went on to complete his residency in obstetrics and gynecology at St. Joseph Mercy Hospital and the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1973. He then spent a year doing clinical research in prostaglandins working for the Upjohn Company in Kalamazoo, Michigan in 1974. In 1975 Dr. Greig moved to Los Angeles, where he



established and still maintains his Obstetrics & Gynecology practice. Dr. Greig is a founding and present Board Member of United Support of Artists for Africa (USA for Africa), a Los Angeles based grant making foundation that is dedicated to providing Aid in Africa and in the United States. He also serves as a Board member of the International House of Blues Foundation and the Cedars Sinai Health Associates. He serves on the Overseer's Committee for Tufts University's Scholl of Science and Policy. Dr. Greig was also on the Board of Directors of Oxfam America and served as the Chair of the Africa Subcommittee. He has also served as a Trustee of the Los Angeles Children's Museum. In 1992 and 1997, Dr Greig led a team of Medical Specialist to Maputo, Mozambique, where they lectured and treated patients at the Eduardo Mondlane University Medical School and at the Maputo Central Hospital. He has been honored by the Tigray Development Association in Ethiopia, July 1996 for his work related to fighting hunger and community building. He has also been honored by the Shelter Partnership a Los Angeles based organization that works to assist the homeless. He also received a Commendation from former President Bill Clinton for his work in assisting with the development of the Clinton Health Plan.

## ORGANIZERS

### Amira Ali



**Amira Ali** is an Ethiopian poet, creative writer and world citizen. She received her BA in International Studies and Political Science and her MS in International Relations and Conflict Resolution. She has been involved with various projects concerning international conflict. She is currently focused on using the arts - poetry, creative writing and performance arts as an instrument for development communications and social transformation.

### Jalal Abdel-Latif



**Jalal Abdel-Latif**, is currently chief of the Civil Society Section, Governance and Public Administration Division, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Prior to that he worked at the World Bank Group Office Sudan and Ethiopia Office. He has had over 20 years of professional experience in the areas of grant making, project design and enhancing the capacities of civil society organizations. He earned his Master's in African Studies and Urban Planning at UCLA, and his undergraduate Bachelor of Arts in Business Administration and Arabic Studies from the

American University in Cairo. He is actively involved in a number of African CSO initiatives in peace building, and good governance at the pan African level. From 1985–1990 he was the Africa Grants Manager for United Support of Artist for Africa, which was responsible for managing the grant award and disbursement process and for providing overall supervision of a 20 million USD grants program. He has developed procedures for financing community organizations and indigenous NGOs in 12 countries. Between 1995 - 2000, Jalal Abdel-Latif served as Co-convenor and Co-chair with the World Bank Africa Region Vice President, series of Africa-wide consultations on the WB, its performance and poverty issues in Africa; developed issue and strategy papers to build partnerships; played catalytic role in the improvement of civic engagements between Africa Region VP and African CSOs; and was responsible for raising all the funds and overseeing preparations and logistics of the consultation. From 1992 – 2000 Jalal Abdel-Latif was the founder and CEO of InterAfrica Group (African Regional Think-Thank), working on humanitarianism and peace Projects in the

Horn of Africa as well promoting participatory governance. During this period he managed over USD 2 million in grants from multiple donors for Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia programs, which included support to an InterAfrica Group-sponsored expert group that provided considerable support to regional efforts at peace in Sudan. A series of issue papers on ways of advancing the peace process, under the auspices of Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD), were commissioned and published. As an African civic activist, he is constantly seeking creative ways to foster a dynamic learning environment and to promote consensus by promoting effective civic engagement. He has written scholarly papers, articles and reviews on topics ranging from role of CSOs in good governance and applications of IT on community based organization. He occasionally gives public lectures on the state of Civil Society in Africa. Lately, Jalal Abdel-Latif was instrumental in organizing a 4 day visit for American Business, political and media personalities in their effort to evaluate President Bush's health initiatives to Africa.

#### **Dr. Joanna Nkosi**



**Dr Joanna Nkosi**, is an academic, a researcher and a businessperson. She was born in the United States and has lived and worked in South Africa, Zimbabwe and other African and European countries. She was educated in the United States where she earned a doctorate in history in 1991 while teaching at the City University of New York. As a student and then a young academic in New York City, Dr Nkosi was a progressive activist and supporter of the civil rights movement in the United States, the efforts to end the war in Vietnam, the anti-dictatorship struggle in Greece

and the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. In 1989, along with her life partner and children, Dr Morley Nkosi moved to Harare, Zimbabwe in order to be as close as then-possible to South Africa and the struggle to end apartheid and create a democratic South Africa. Dr Nkosi has worked for a number of years with organisations and initiatives advocating race, gender and class equity within the social science research establishment in South Africa. Since 1999, Dr Nkosi has worked with her life and business partner in Morley Nkosi Associates, a business and economic development consultancy. She has facilitated employment equity and gender equality projects at various South African companies and in government. More recently she has done research and project management for non-profit organisations and for social projects in the business sector. With business colleagues from other African countries, she has worked on economic and business development projects in the Southern Africa region.

**Marcia Thomas**

**Ms. Thomas**, has been an Executive Director, Manager, Consultant and organizer for efforts located on both the East and West Coast of the United States. She has worked for organizations such as USA for Africa and Oxfam America, which is where most of her international and Africa related experience was developed. She has also been associated with several big project events such as Hands Across America and 1984 Olympic Games. Ms. Thomas served as a consultant on the Jubilee 2000 Debt Relief Campaign. She provided

networking and outreach services for the campaign's UK office. Ms Thomas has a Masters Degree in Education and worked for a number of years for the Boston Schools, in various capacities during the 1970s when the system was under a federally mandated desegregation order. She has served on a number of Boards and Advisory Committees for Africa focused, women and youth organizations. Ms Thomas was a Founding Board member of the National Summit on Africa (Africa Society) and is presently on UCLA's James S. Coleman African Studies Center Advisory Board and is a member of the Pacific Council on International Policy, Los Angeles.

**Dr. Morley Nkosi**

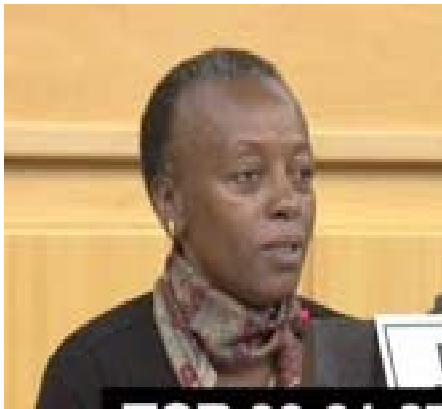
**Dr. Morley Nkosi**, Dr. Morley Nkosi was born in Johannesburg, South Africa and his early education was completed in South Africa. In 1960 he left for political reasons and he earned his BS in Economics from New York University, his MBA from Rutgers University, and his PhD in Economics from the New School for Social Research. Dr. Nkosi's career has spanned over forty years and he has served in academics, and as an economist and business person. He has served on the board of many companies, has

directed the National African Chamber of Commerce, and was the first consultant to the African Capacity Building Foundation based in Zimbabwe. Dr. Nkosi's extensive business background also includes establishing a health center in rural Namibia, consulting and working with NGOs and in areas of reconstruction, development, strategic planning, and policy. During his distinguished career he also served as Associate Professor of Economics and Chair of the Department of Economics at Upsala College; as associate professor of Economics and Director of Africana Studies at Hofstra University; as assistant professor of Economics at the Graduate Business School at Rutgers University; and as Vice Chancellor at the University of Transkei [Walter Sisulu University for Technology & Science, Eastern Cape]. Dr. Nkosi is the author of publications on transnational corporations, the South African economy, and the labor structure



in South African gold mines, American mining engineers and the mining industry, and regional economic integration in southern Africa. Dr. Nkosi is currently a managing associate in Morley Nkosi Associates, management and development consultants. Additionally, Dr. Nkosi served as the Executive Chairman of Ferrostaal Investments Southern Africa, managing the company's Offset Programme and developing new business in the SADC region. Dr. Nkosi is also an early member of USA for Africa and a member of its Advisory Council.

#### **Rose Maruru**



**Rose Maruru**, is the director of operations at Trust Africa. Ms. Maruru joined TrustAfrica in December 2009 as Director of Operations, a new position created in response to the phenomenal growth of TrustAfrica's work. Originally from Kenya, she brings 18 years of experience in international development and nonprofit management. Ms. Maruru has worked at the Population Council in New York and Dakar, the Coalition for Children's Rights in Yemen and Save the Children in The Gambia, Egypt and Westport, Connecticut. She holds a Masters degree in development management and planning from

L'Institut Africain de Développement Economique et de Planification (IDEP) in Dakar, a post-graduate diploma in American Studies from Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, and a BA (Honors) in government and literature from the University of Nairobi in Kenya.





## SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS

### UNITED SUPPORT OF ARTISTS FOR AFRICA (USA for AFRICA)

USA for Africa is a Los Angeles, California based Foundation, created in 1985 to distribute funds raised from the historic recording of the song, "We Are The World". Inspired by Harry Belafonte, over 40 US artists came together to record "We Are The World" in an effort to do their part to help the victims of the 1984/85 famine that was gripping Africa.

**Our Mission:** To demonstrate the power and importance of individual participation and collective action in solving the problems of our time.

To date, USAforAfrica has raised over \$63 million; and has distributed over \$63 million to over 1,000 projects and programs located in various countries in Africa; implemented by African, US, European and Canadian Africa focused organizations, including the United Nations. USAforAfrica has funded the following Types of Projects/Programs Funded: Emergency Relief; Recovery & development; Health/Medical; Agricultural; Water/Wells; Education/Training; Women in Development; HIV/Aids/Malaria; Revolving Loans/Micro-credit; and Capacity Building/Brock Grants. The current funding programs that is being extended is "by invitation only" Request for Proposal (RFP) that is targeting Increasing Community Responses to Climate Change in Africa.

### TrustAfrica

First known as the Special Initiative for Africa, began in 2001 under the aegis of the Ford Foundation. Our premise was that Africans need a greater voice in the international donor community as well as philanthropic resources that Africans control. During our pilot phase, we conducted a series of workshops that drew 160 leading figures from across the continent to set priorities and map out strategies for funding. After inviting our partner organizations to submit proposals to implement these recommendations, we made exploratory grants to fund approximately twenty projects. In 2006 TrustAfrica became a truly African foundation with the opening of our new headquarters in Dakar, Senegal. The Ford Foundation continues to provide support, but we are now an independent organization governed solely by Africans. TrustAfrica is recognized in the United States as a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt organization. TrustAfrica works principally through collaboration and partnership with like-minded institutions and donors. As a catalyst and convener, we are committed to generating and testing new ideas. We also strive to practice good governance and promote it among our grantees. It seeks to strengthen African initiatives that address the most difficult challenges confronting the continent.



## CO-SPONSORING ORGANIZATION

### **Africa Humanitarian Action**

Africa Humanitarian Action was launched by Dr. Dawit Zawde in 1994 with several like-minded individuals, in response to the atrocities of the Rwandan genocide. More than a decade later AHA continues to provide life saving humanitarian assistance to refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and local communities across Africa. To date more than 12 million people affected by crisis have benefited from the support of AHA, in 16 different countries: Algeria, Angola, Burundi, Chad, Congo (DR), Ethiopia, Guinea (Rep), Kenya, Liberia, Namibia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda and Zambia. Our work has seen us deliver multi-sectoral programs in diverse, difficult and sometimes dangerous situations. This experience, along with our physical, social and cultural proximity, knowledge and understanding of local context, has led us to play an ever increasing role in international advocacy. We have partaken in numerous forums and network meetings around the world, often participating as the only southern NGO. Over the years we have built up many strong and effective partnerships and we continue to emphasize the importance of a common effort to prevent suffering and affect positive change for vulnerable communities. We continue to be UNHCR's largest indigenous partner in Africa. In addition, we work closely with the African Union and many other humanitarian actors. As we continue to grow and develop as an independent organisation, our focus remains on best serving the affected populations to whom we are ultimately accountable. Excellent communication, impartiality and transparency are key to the positive relationships which we have established with vulnerable populations and donors alike. We are proud to report that for the 15th consecutive year we have received a clean bill of health for our programs from our partners and auditors, attesting to our high standards and abilities. Our long term plan for the future sees us developing strategies that provide sustainable responses to Africa's changing needs. In this light AHA continues to work confidently in the belief that Africans have what it takes to effectively address the problems facing the continent – proximity, ownership, local knowledge and expertise.

### **United Nations Economic Commission for Africa**

The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) was established by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the United Nations (UN) in 1958 as one of the UN's five regional commissions. ECA's mandate is to promote the economic and social development of its member States, foster intra-regional integration, and promote international cooperation for Africa's development. ECA's dual role as a regional arm of the UN, and a part of the regional institutional landscape in Africa, positions it well to make unique contributions to member States' efforts to address their development challenges. Its strength derives from its role as the only UN agency mandated to operate at the regional and subregional levels to harness resources and bring them to bear on Africa's priorities.

# Art for Life





## *Art Students: Addis Ababa University*

