



Federal Ministry  
for Economic Cooperation  
and Development



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# REGIONAL TRAINERS' FORUM

'Preventing Natural Resource Conflicts in West Africa  
through Training/Capacity Building'

**28-30 NOVEMBER 2011 | BUSUA BEACH RESORT,  
WESTERN REGION, GHANA**

A joint event organised by the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping  
Training Centre (KAIPTC) and sponsored by the German International  
Cooperation (GIZ)



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## List of Abbreviations

ADDR	Advanced Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration
CM	Conflict Management
CPX	Command Post Exercise
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DDPS	Development Diplomacy for Peace and Security Programme
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EITI	Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
EMP	École de Maintien de la Paix (Bamako, Mali)
FTX	Field Training Exercise
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIZ	German International Cooperation
TCE	Training Centres of Excellence
FGN	Federal Government of Nigeria
JTF	Joint Task Force
ICGLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
KAIPTC	Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (Accra, Ghana)
LEITI	Liberia Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
MNOCs	Multinational Oil Companies
NDC	National Defence College (Abuja, Nigeria)
NRM	Natural Resource Management
NRG	Natural Resource Governance
PCNA	Post-Conflict Needs Assessment
PWYP	Publish What You Pay
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons

# 1.EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## 1.0. Background and Rationale for the Forum

The relative stability in West Africa after the wave of independence in the 1960s gave way to some large-scale, violent conflicts and civil wars from the 1990s onward. Especially in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire, the region increasingly faces an array of emerging threats, mostly relating to creeping state fragility and including a 'democracy deficit', deteriorating socio-economic conditions, recurrent sectarian violence, corruption and transnational criminality, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW), and conflagrations linked to poor natural resource governance. These threats have had grave repercussions on national and regional peace and security, prompting a renewed awareness of the need to mobilise national, regional, continental and global efforts to tackle them.

The 15-member Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has addressed the multiplicity of peace and security challenges by adopting the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework. Key institutions mostly within the region are also actively involved – often in collaboration with external partners – in the effort to build regional capacity for the delivery of integrated peace support operations through innovative research and training at tactical, operational, and strategic levels.<sup>1</sup>

The growing instances of conflict arising from the mismanagement of natural resources have posed new challenges to peace and security in the region. Rather than becoming a blessing, Africa's vast resources seem to have empowered only a few while disenfranchising and alienating the majority; including those who bear the direct burden of resource exploitation. The abundance of diverse natural resources has not translated into food on the table, gainful employment, improved socio-economic conditions and overall national development.

Instead, it is evident that weak natural resource governance (NRG) has become a major driver of violence. For instance, competition for access to high-value natural resources such as oil and gas (Nigeria), timber (Liberia), diamonds (Sierra Leone) and coffee (Côte d'Ivoire) escalated into vicious conflicts and full-blown civil wars. In some cases, it is cut-throat competition for control of resources such as land and water. In other cases, the mismanagement of such resources either contributes to the outbreak and exacerbation of new conflicts, or simply obstructs

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<sup>1</sup> Examples of institutions actively involved in identifying and enhancing capacity for preventive diplomacy and integrated peace support operations in West Africa include the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC), Accra, Ghana; l'École de Maintien de la Paix (EMP), Bamako, Mali; and the National Defence College (NDC), Abuja, Nigeria.



the peaceful resolution of old and long-drawn ones.

When natural resources are found in or near marginalised communities, unequal relations established by a wide range of local and external actors, make such places fertile breeding ground for organised transnational crimes such as human, drug and firearms trafficking, armed robbery, smuggling and piracy. These are threats to society and state in Africa.

However, it is important to acknowledge that natural resources by themselves do not precipitate conflicts; the question is how they are exploited, how the sector is managed and how the revenue is distributed. The sharp contrast between Botswana and Sierra Leone, both rich in diamonds, is a profound lesson on natural resource governance – it can either enhance or stall development.

In view of the ugly problems associated with mismanagement of natural resources in West Africa, it has become an imperative to identify and develop a toolkit of creative solutions. To this end, a three-day maiden Regional Trainers' Forum (RFT) took place at the Busua Beach Resort, Western Region, Ghana, from 28-30 November 2011, on the theme 'Preventing Natural Resource Conflicts in West Africa through Training/Capacity Building.'

The overall objective of the inaugural RTF was to enhance collaboration among experts from the Regional Training Centres of Excellence (TCEs), ECOWAS, and civil society organizations in dealing with the critical challenges of natural resource governance in the context of peace and security policies in West Africa. The specific objectives included;

- To strengthen capacities and deepen understanding of participants through expert presentations and discussions on thematic issues of natural resource governance;
- To explore how stakeholders can contribute to mitigating natural resource conflicts through research, training and policy advocacy; and, in doing so, enhance sub-regional capacity for robust conflict prevention, management and resolution; and
- Through capacity building and training, to help implement the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework mandate which identified good natural resource governance as central to conflict prevention and enhancement of human security in the sub-region.

## 1.1. Summary of key issues discussed

Discussions were based on three sub-themes:

1. The Dimensions and Ramifications of Natural Resources in the Political Economy of West Africa;
2. Natural Resource Governance and Conflicts in West Africa; and
3. Preventing Natural Resource Conflicts – Lessons Learnt, Options for Training and Capacity Building.

The first thematic issue explored the extent to which natural resource-related conflicts are determinants of broader conflicts, conflict prevention and development challenges? This question arose in part from evidence that natural resources cannot be taken for granted as a key factor in growth and development for a number of reasons, including:

- a) the volatile nature of global market prices compounds the lack of control most countries have over their natural resource and export sectors, and their inability to spread the benefits for sustainable development;
- b) profit-driven external involvement in natural resource exploitation is often at variance with the priorities and aspirations of resource-rich developing countries; and
- c) overwhelming dependence on natural resources raises the stakes for the distribution of benefits and can precipitate a vicious cycle of violence and stalled development.

The second theme explored the links between issues of natural resource governance (NRG) and the inception and prolongation of conflicts in selected West African countries, noting the ‘grey area’ of precise triggers. Participants discussed (1) the root causes of natural resource management-induced conflicts in West Africa; (2) the dimensions and complexities of natural resource governance; (3) how to design a useful framework for explaining the nexus between natural resource governance and conflict; (4) the role(s) of a multiplicity of stakeholders – government, external interests, local communities, national elites, etc. – in the outbreak and exacerbation of such conflicts; and (5) the changing patterns, impacts and consequences of natural resource-induced conflicts, including their trans-boundary and criminal dimensions.

For the final theme, participants identified the key lessons learnt to date in NRG and the management of resource-induced conflicts, and discussed how these lessons might be mainstreamed in training and capacity building for conflict prevention and management. Among the questions that arose were the following: What are the minimum requirements for the prevention, management and resolution of natural resource-induced conflicts regardless of their convoluted root causes, manifestations and impacts? At what point during such conflicts should these minimum requirements be deployed, and by who? What policy options should be mobilised (by governments and ECOWAS) when faced with budding or acute natural resource-induced conflicts?

The Forum raised other issues relevant to understanding the contradictions of natural resource governance in West Africa. There was a consensus that the obvious problem of wealth distribution is complicated by the bigger challenge of strengthening the capacity of local institutions, civil society and government institutions for effective governance of natural resources. This point was considered a strategic priority but opinions differed as to what governments should do. One proposal was that governments that cannot implement 'home-grown' exploitation of natural resources should wait until the necessary human and institutional capacities are fully developed locally.<sup>2</sup> Another viewpoint was that countries must first establish legal, institutional and policy frameworks to guide operations in the extractive sector so as to contain or minimise the adverse consequences of their absence.

The question that inevitably arose was whether or not West African countries could genuinely consider these options in the face of their myriad development problems and priorities. At the same time, it was noted that some governments are themselves implicated in the brazen mismanagement of resource wealth.

Vigorous debate on the implications of over-dependence on natural resources in West African countries included the suggestion of some sort of 'mental fixation' on the part of state actors that control of key natural resources can only be guaranteed by using force. When this proves difficult, the authoritarian disposition of the state comes to the fore. In the end, the state that should protect and defend the citizenry becomes overly intrusive and predatory.

Participants questioned the dominant development paradigm in many countries in West Africa that sees planning as a series of disconnected and wishful shopping lists rather than a continuing proactive process with a human face - whereas the former is short term and driven by the whims and caprices of those in power, the

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<sup>2</sup> This proposal dovetailed with the decision of Bangladesh not to exploit its proven natural gas resources until the country is able to harness the requisite human capacity to do so, independent of external actors.

latter is driven by the need to put the people and the society at the centre of the development enterprise.

Some cross-cutting issues were identified as being closely linked with the outbreak and prolongation of conflicts related to natural resource exploitation. First, they are usually associated with the growth of parallel underground economies driven by the logic of greed. Secondly, most resource-related conflicts occur in the context of deepening social exclusion of individuals and groups, routinely ignored or poorly managed by the central government. Thirdly, the growing militarisation of natural resource exploitation is seen in the heavy presence of military/police units at extraction sites and the transformation of security institutions into major accomplices in the exacerbation of conflicts.

### **1.3. Highlights of Key Findings and Recommendations**

Participants declared that it was high time that the growing importance of natural resource governance (NRG) issues was factored into community-level advocacy, national planning and regional action across West Africa. Key recommendations included:

- Gather country-level empirical baseline data on availability and shortages of human and material resources to identify and build national capacity in natural resource governance as a critical step towards a vibrant and successful regional initiative.
- Forge closer linkages between institutions actively engaged in issues of natural resource governance and conflict mitigation. Appropriate training modules could be integrated into existing programmes run by the three Regional Training Centres of Excellence (Abuja, Accra and Bamako), but duplication must be avoided.
- Document and disseminate throughout the region NRG issues and solutions, beginning at primary, secondary and tertiary education levels.
- Civil society and community-based organisations should play a pivotal role in designing a region-wide framework for the effective management of natural resource-induced conflicts. Complementary roles for CSOs and CBOs could include serving as repositories of international best practices; acting as credible interlocutors between stakeholders (i.e. host communities, the government and transnational companies); and as public watchdog drawing attention to conditions in the sector. However, CSOs need more training to

help play a more visible and proactive role in early warning, conflict analysis and conflict transformation.

- Develop a robust, region-wide approach to meeting the challenges of natural resource governance and conflict. Key roles for ECOWAS include promoting sustained regional awareness, advocacy and action on NRG issues and developing a protocol on NRG, even though its ability to muster the required political will is uncertain.
- Hold an annual regional trainers' forum on NRG with wider participation (including from ECOWAS and major CSOs) to build a critical mass of professionals with expert knowledge and skills to articulate natural resource governance issues and concerns.

## **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

The objective of the Regional Trainers' Forum was to enhance collaboration and share experiences among experts from various backgrounds. Specific objectives of the meeting, the first in the series of planned annual regional fora, included:

- To strengthen capacities and deepen the understanding of participants through expert presentations and discussions on thematic issues of natural resource governance and conflict prevention; and
- To explore how stakeholders can contribute to curbing natural resource conflict in the sub-region through their research, training and policy advocacy and thus contribute to enhancing sub-regional capacity for conflict prevention, management, resolution and peace building.

In all, 18 presentations were made, five by the Resource Persons, 11 were the product of group work activities, while two presentations were made by alumni of the 2010 and 2011 DDPS Courses run at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KA IPTC). (See Annex 2 for workshop agenda)

## **3.0 OPENING SESSION**

The workshop opened on Monday, 28 November 2011, with a brief address by the Lead Facilitator, Dr. Charles Ukeje, of the Department of International Relations at the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria. He made critical remarks on natural resources and the potentially harmful consequences of their exploitation for developing countries, particularly those in Africa. In setting the tone for the workshop and engaging participants' attention, the Lead Facilitator raised the often over-looked but key point that natural resource governance/management issues are not just 'domestic' but are also closely linked to other countries within the continent and beyond. Accordingly, in seeking to broaden understanding of the dynamics of the conflicts associated with natural resource governance in Africa, the contrasting roles played by external actors, state and non-state alike must be acknowledged. For instance, while the continent is sometimes touted as the last frontier of vast natural resource endowments, neither the human and technological capabilities to exploit them nor the power to determine the prices of these commodities are in the hands of Africans. It is increasingly evident that the thin line between what is local and what is international is not only becoming blurred, but also has profound implications for the continent and its peoples.

The introductory remarks by the Lead Facilitator touched on the appropriateness of the forum's theme for the continent's peace and security. For example, mismanagement or weak governance of these resources can lead to extreme poverty and mounting grievances and consequently, provide a cocktail of opportunities for violent conflicts and wars. A sobering corollary to this point is that many of the continent's natural resources are non-renewable and, therefore, under threat of depletion due to reckless exploitation. This is as true of timber, diamonds, gold, oil and gas resources as it is of land and water (e.g. Lake Chad). The Lead Facilitator also laid emphasis on the nature of insecurity associated with poor natural resource governance, especially in areas that straddle contested boundaries, whether local (between different ethnic groups within a country) or national (borders between countries). In both cases, tensions often brew between individuals, groups, and governments that can degenerate quickly (for example, the crisis over the Bakassi Peninsula between Nigeria and Cameroon; and the budding controversy between Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire over their oil-rich maritime boundaries).



*An overview of participants at the forum*

### **Welcome remarks by Colonel Aliyu Abdullahi (KAIPTC)**

In the welcome address which he gave on behalf of the KAIPTC Commandant, Air Vice- Marshall Christian Dovlo, Colonel Aliyu Abdullahi, a Course Director

at KAIPTC, welcomed all resource persons and participants to the pioneer Regional Trainers' Forum and stressed the importance of sound natural resource management for ensuring national and regional peace and stability. He noted that all over the world, and particularly in Africa, violent conflicts have been among the greatest threats to human security. Conflicts have inflicted massive destruction of vital infrastructure, displacement of millions within and outside their countries, disruption of livelihoods, and severe damage to the environment. While there may be no visible, large-scale conflicts within West Africa today, the sub-region nonetheless remains relatively unstable and fragile due to threats associated with deplorable socio-economic conditions, bloody sectarian violence, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, and of course, widespread corruption that disenfranchises the vast majority of citizens in many countries and bars them from equitable access to socio-economic opportunities.

With rich and proven reserves of extractible natural resources -- and new discoveries in a growing number of countries -- Africa faces grave dangers to peace and stability, making the Forum's theme both apt and timely. Col. Abdullahi ended by reiterating that the purpose of the meeting was to enhance awareness and collaboration among experts from the regional Training Centres of Excellence (TCEs), ECOWAS, think tanks and civil society groups in dealing with the critical challenges in the implementation of peace and security policies in the sub-region.

### *Introductions and Expectations*

Following these remarks, a brief familiarization session was held, during which where participants introduced themselves, with a few sharing their expectations of the Forum. One participant hoped that the workshop would generate useful ideas and insights on the similarities between the experiences of West Africa and other regions of Africa -- especially the Great Lakes Regions -- with regard to natural resource management (NRM). In the same vein, there was some expectation that lessons had to be learnt from past and current management of natural resources in the West African sub-region in order to avoid the types of protracted conflict that besiege the Great Lakes region. Particularly concerned with how to manage resource-induced conflicts, especially in Nigeria, one participant hoped to learn from the wealth of experience of the facilitators and participants, while another expected to see how the outcomes of the Forum might be mainstreamed in the curriculum and programmes of the TCEs in general, and the National Defence College in particular.



*Keynote address by Dr. Thomas Jaye, Deputy Director of Research, KAIPTC*

Dr. Thomas Jaye reiterated the timeliness of the workshop as well as the significance of the meeting's location in the Western Region of Ghana where commercial production of oil recently began. He acknowledged that the idea of enhancing collaboration was indeed vital as it gives the Forum a nuanced understanding of the relationship between natural resource governance (NRG) and conflict prevention, particularly since the region has gone through terrible experiences of conflict partly due to poor NRG. According to him, it was crucial for the Forum to adopt an open and frank approach in its deliberations and experience sharing about NRG in order to establish best practices and put forward innovative strategies for conflict prevention in the region. Moreover, many of the region's natural resources (oil, iron ore, bauxite, diamond, timber, etc.) are non-renewable, hence the need to ensure that they are effectively and efficiently managed so that rather than a handful of the power elite, the vast majority of people can gain maximum benefit. One way of ensuring this is to invest the proceeds of the sub-region's natural resources mainly in building and improving infrastructure such as roads as well as improving access to quality services such as health care and education for ordinary people.

Dr. Jaye noted the paradox of a region rich in diamond, iron ore, oil and gas, bauxite and marine resources, yet grappling with excruciating poverty and the contribution of poverty to the aggravation of violent conflict. He urged participants to ask critical and relevant questions such as why and how this has been the case; who is responsible for what; what can be done to resolve the situation and what can be done to ensure prosperity for future generations. Finding answers would help to rethink not only NRG but also its implications for Africa's future politics. Other key issues he felt participants should interrogate in their deliberations on alternative futures for NRM included the continuing dominance of foreign companies in West Africa's natural resource exploitation. This is illustrated by the increasingly intense 'new scramble for Africa' by Western countries, India and China and the perennial issue of the cumulative impact of illicit financial flows out of Africa. This is because the new type of interventionism has implications for NRM even as they have undermined regional and continental efforts towards preventing, managing or resolving conflicts and those aimed at democratic consolidation in Africa.

*Overview of Forum's Rationale, Goals, Objectives and Deliverables by Ulrike Haffner, (DDPS Project Manager, GIZ)*

Ms. Ulrike Haffner, DDPS Project Manager, Competence Centre Human Capacity Development in the Africa Department of GIZ, said that the Regional Trainers' Forum was the fruit of the unique cooperation between KAIPTC and GIZ (then known as German Technical Cooperation, GTZ) which commenced in 2004. By 2008, the former InWent (Capacity Building International) launched the Development Diplomacy for Peace and Security Training programme. Besides the financial and technical support towards training and organizational development, activities under both programmes (recently merged into GIZ) have enhanced regional collaboration and networking—first, among the three West African TCEs (National Defence College, Abuja; KAIPTC, Accra; and Ecole de Maintien de la Paix, Bamako), and secondly, between them and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) - to develop joint and harmonized approaches to regional conflicts within the context of the ECOWAS conflict prevention framework.

This is how the idea of a Regional Trainers' Forum was developed and launched in conjunction with the KAIPTC, with the aim of holding it at least once a year in rotation among the three, West African, Training Centres of Excellence, ECOWAS and other important stakeholders, to focus on critical challenges facing peace and security policies in West Africa. With regard to expected outcomes of the Forum and the way forward, Ms. Haffner hoped that the forum would not be a one-off event but one that might lead to cumulative and sustainable results, especially to inspire the TCEs to develop and mainstream innovative curricula and training courses on key aspects of NRG and the management of the conflicts that natural resources induce.

## **4.0 CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS AND PRESENTATIONS**

### **4.1 Day One – Monday, 28 November 2011**

#### ***Theme: Natural Resources in the Political Economy of West Africa***

The goal of the sessions and group activities for Day I was to map the natural resources available in West Africa, the extent to which conflicts arise from their exploitation, and the central and the key determinants of broader conflicts, conflict prevention and development challenges in the sub-region.

#### ***Presentation 1: “The Political Economy of Natural Resource Management in Africa” (Mohammed Amin Adam, Coordinator, Africa against Poverty Programme, IBIS West Africa)***

This presentation focused on definitions, and classification of natural resources, and also examined issues relating to their exploitation. It highlighted a number of extractive and non-extractive resources in Africa. A range of mineral resources such as petroleum, diamonds, manganese, gold, aluminium, salt, copper, iron ore, bauxite, water (hydro), coal, clay, nickel and steel, were classified as the most exploited across the continent while limestone, uranium, zinc, cobalt, rubies, gypsum, graphite, titanium, lead, and asbestos were identified as those relatively less exploited. From the agriculture sector, resources such as cocoa, coffee, cotton, sorghum, fish, timber, rubber, and cashews were mentioned. Focusing on non-renewable resources, Mr. Adam highlighted two important features of these resources: (a) their exhaustibility, and (b) the volatility of their pricing and production. He examined the developmental features of natural resource-endowed countries in terms of resource dependence and resource curse, as well as the effects of the so-called “Dutch disease”<sup>3</sup>. The presentation linked natural resource governance to the wider context of the political economy and explained why it is important that the management of natural resources be tagged with a range of activities linking government with multinational companies and the society at large.

In concluding, Mr. Adam raised the critical questions of whether or not African countries should extract their natural resources or not; whether to spend the wealth from such resources or not; and finally, how to spend the money and on what? In other words, should spending be on consumption, investment, or accumulation for future generations?

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<sup>3</sup> ‘Dutch disease’ describes the situation of a country facing the prospect of a reversal on its path to industrialisation and national development consequent upon the growing reliance on natural resource exploitation and revenue to the detriment of other sectors.

In response, some participants felt that the way to go would be to invest, as this would have a multiplier effect if investment went to the right sectors or projects. In Ghana, for instance, human capital development and agriculture were mentioned as examples of sectors to invest in as they could bring maximum and widespread benefits. Other noteworthy points were made on the value chain model and approach to natural resource governance in the context of development; the problem of distribution; the most appropriate policy environment for effective natural resource governance; the nexus between resource endowment and growth (for instance, the example of Equatorial Guinea, which represents one of the worst tragedies of resource endowment and squander mania in Africa); political economy issues in natural resource contracts (negotiations, licensing, stabilization clauses, confidentiality clauses, windfall taxation, domestic supply requirement, and so on) as well as issues pertaining to sustainable policies, transparency and parliamentary oversight, international governance initiatives at regional and global levels; and the centrality of human and institutional capacities in the management of natural resources.

## ***GROUP WORK ACTIVITIES***

Based on the presentation and discussions of the day, participants were divided into four groups, each focusing on different sub-themes around the broad subject matter for the day: “Natural Resources and Conflicts in West Africa – Roots, Triggers, Actors, Dimensions, Impacts, etc”

**Group I:** This group was tasked with mapping natural resources in Africa and the stakeholders involved in exploitation, production and export activities. The group began its presentation by defining and categorizing natural resources. As expected, this exercise generated a lot of controversy over the taxonomy of natural resources, for example, whether or not a commodity such as timber should be included. Some of key points made in the group presentation and the robust discussions that followed were:

- Land is perhaps the common denominator for all natural resources even though it is also the least talked about; it is taken for granted, or ignored outright. Land is both a natural and a cultural resource that has also become one of the most potent sources of contention between individuals, groups and states; a situation that makes it imperative to factor in land as a major factor for peace and security in Africa, as elsewhere.
- Water resources are another critical factor often overlooked in the natural

resource governance discourse, especially where there is heavy dependence on it for needs such as irrigation farming, human and animal nutrition, transportation and navigation, or the generation of hydroelectricity. Another challenge for water resources is the harsh climatic conditions which either dry them up or shrink their size and volume.

- The plenary discussion ended with a short but insightful discussion on the role that the media play in terms of mobilising and whipping up sentiment on natural resource management issues, particularly between antagonistic groups.

**Group II:** This group was to prepare a table showing the extent of dependence of any five West African countries on natural resources, and identify the key political, economic and social implications.

- For Côte d'Ivoire, the group identified cocoa, gold, diamonds, cotton, coffee and oil; Ghana, oil, gold and cocoa; and Liberia, diamonds, iron ore and rubber. For Guinea, bauxite alone accounts for 40.5 percent of the country's gross domestic product (GDP); and for Niger, oil and gas. Significantly, most West African countries are heavily reliant on one or a handful of non-renewable mineral resources, with production and pricing completely outside their control.
- There was a consensus among participants that the economic, political and social implications of the exploitation of natural resources are deep and far-reaching; especially during conflict and the immediate, post-conflict periods when lax controls facilitate the looting and indiscriminate exploitation of natural resources.
- Economic implications: Apart from price and revenue volatility as recurrent aspects of the economic implications of natural resource exploitation, other pathologies evident in many countries include widespread corruption; over-reliance on revenue from one source to the extent that price fluctuation makes planning difficult; and the neglect of other key sectors due to 'Dutch disease'.
- Political implications: These include incessant inter- and intra-governmental conflicts over NRM, political corruption, coup d'états; electoral violence, political instability, and the emergence of a small and rapacious elite group that pockets fat revenues from natural resources.
- Social implications: The major implications include high income disparity, perennial citizens' uprisings, heightened rural-urban migration, acute poverty,

unemployment, high numbers of internally displaced persons, and intra- and inter-group conflicts.

- There was debate on the implications of over-reliance on external sources for information about Africa with the attendant biases, inaccuracies and tendency to paint a doomsday picture. Participants decried this situation but also acknowledged the paucity of relevant data generated by African institutions and sources.

**Group III:** This group identified four conflict hotspots directly linked to natural resources, and four common triggers (denominators) for those conflicts. The group identified Nigeria's Niger Delta region, South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Angola, and in each case catalogued which natural resources were at the heart of the conflicts.

- Nigeria's Niger Delta: Protracted conflict centred on the distribution of oil revenue, oil-related environmental degradation, and palpable underdevelopment despite vast oil wealth. Trigger: Widespread unemployment; deepening poverty; inadequate and controversial corporate social responsibility practices by multinational oil companies, the insensitivity of successive governments; the quest for resource control, or at least a say in how the benefits of vast oil and gas resources should be allocated to improve the lives and well-being of the inhabitants of the region.
- South Sudan: The most recurrent source of conflict has been land, pitting mainly Arab pastoralists against the largely sedentary southern farmers. The conflict was exacerbated by adverse climatic conditions that accelerated desertification. In recent times, questions of who should get what, when and how have intensified over crude oil production and revenue. While rebels in the south were united in fighting the central government in Khartoum over several decades, with heavy casualties, the independence of South Sudan on 9 July 2011 has introduced a new phase: new rebel groups are now taking up arms against the new government, particularly over the status of the oil-rich border region of Abyei. Triggers: Oil, land.
- Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC): This conflict, mostly centred on partaking in the exploitation of the vast natural resources of the DRC, is unique in that at different times all the country's neighbours (nine in all) as well as key non-African countries, were neck-deep in their involvement. Although it is the country with easily the greatest natural resource endowment in Africa,

long years of war and pockets of insurgency have seriously damaged the prospects for stability and good governance. Triggers: Unstable and weak government, to the extent of using the Rwandan currency; inaccessibility of vast portions of the country outside the capital, Kinshasa, along with poor infrastructure linking the vast country, resulting in widespread social and political marginalisation; the role of neighbouring countries and foreign interests as spoilers; the heavy presence of rogue business and mining interests along with over 300 unofficial airstrips in operation across the country.

- Angola: The conflict derived from decades of failed attempts by rebels in the oil-rich Cabinda region (sandwiched along a tiny strip of land between Angola and DRC) to secede from Angola. Trigger: long years of marginalisation by the central government in Luanda, poverty and lack of development in contrast to the huge oil wealth.

**Group IV:** The group was asked to outline the various impacts of natural resource exploitation, production and revenue sharing on state and society in selected West African countries: Major points included:

- The need for conceptual and contextual clarification of the key terms (exploitation, production and revenue sharing), along with a short but cogent insights on their varied impact on state and society in West Africa.
- Exploitation: Liberia and Sierra Leone - timber, diamonds and rubber. Impact: heavy revenue loss, especially during the long civil war and immediate post-war era.
- Production: Nigeria (oil and gas) and Niger (uranium). Impact: widespread corruption, weak legislation and poor implementation culture.
- Revenue sharing: the need for a regional framework through ECOWAS to ensure appropriate multilateral responses to issues of corruption, weak institutions and intra-state power tussles, and to close the yawning gap between the rich and poor.

## *Plenary*

Following the presentation of group work outcomes, the Lead Facilitator opened the floor for discussion. Of the wide range of issues raised by participants, five are highlighted below:

- There was a consensus among participants that apart from the obvious problem of wealth distribution, another big challenge is how to build and strengthen the capacity of institutions, state and civil society alike, to promote effective governance of natural resources. Given the current weaknesses of most institutions, some participants proposed that it should not be automatic that when natural resources are found, their exploitation should proceed immediately regardless of whether or not the country has the human resources and institutional capacity to produce and manage them effectively. Other participants suggested that the issue of wealth production and distribution often dovetails with the excitement and expectations among the people on whose land such resources are located. If this expectation gap is not filled quickly, the potential for the outbreak of violent conflict increases. It also appears that when the environment for efficient resource management and wealth distribution is constrained, growing demands for transparency and accountability produce results that might further provoke public anger.
- The centrality of the government's role, especially in relation to revenue sharing, also provoked keen debate among participants. At the heart of the matter is how governments in different countries have (mis)managed wealth and opportunities from natural resource exploitation, or how access to and control of such resources have become unduly politicized. Although examples abound in Africa, participants returned to the starkly contrasting experiences of Sierra Leone and Botswana, two major diamond exporters that have followed opposite trajectories – the former, characterised by failure to harness, manage and distribute wealth effectively from that precious stone. What seems to have made the difference for Botswana is the central role of a government strongly committed to enforcing the rule of law and ethics of business, with effective regulatory agencies and appropriate legal regimes, in a conducive operational environment.
- There was vigorous debate on the implications of over-dependence on natural resources, a situation that creates a sort of 'mental fixation' on the part of the state and the people on gaining control of key resources. For instance, because those who have 'captured' the state quickly realize that their survival



is dependent on control of certain natural resources, they do everything possible to retain their grip on power. This tends to sharpen the authoritarian disposition and actions of the state, creating a disconnect between the people and the state. In that situation, the state that should protect and reflect the interests and wishes of the people ends up becoming predatory, which makes the prospects for sustainable development very difficult.

- Participants questioned the development paradigm that is dominant in many natural resource-endowed countries. This paradigm makes development planning a series of disconnected and wishful shopping lists rather than one that defines the development priorities and goals of a polity as a guide for investment decisions. Whereas the former is short term, and sometimes driven by the whims and caprices of different governments, the latter is driven by a broader imperative that puts the people and society at the centre of development discourse and praxis. In other words, instead of wishful thinking and capricious expectations of those in government, a developmental enterprise that puts the people at the epicentre is more likely to succeed and advance the public good. This imperative comes into sharper focus when it is related to the management of natural resources to serve public as against parochial interests.
- Finally, the presentation and discussions, it was evident that there were a number of cross-cutting factors associated with the outbreak and prolongation of natural resource-induced conflicts across Africa. First, such conflicts are often associated with the growth of illegal resource exploitation driven by greed and rapacity. Secondly, most of these conflicts occur against the backdrop of festering social exclusion routinely ignored or poorly managed by the central government. Lastly, they are all associated with the proliferation and use of small arms and light weapons that eventually becomes open warfare and total insecurity of persons and property.

### **Summary of Key Issues from Day One**

- The issue of governance (political, environmental) comes out clearly, while the nexus between governance and conflict becomes even more profound and clear.
- The external issues related to revenue distribution and wealth sharing; for instance, how international agendas such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) fit into national planning in individual West African countries.

- The role and capacity of local elites to serve as effective intermediaries between the state and the people as well as between foreign governments and external economic interests and the people is critical in terms of articulating and pursuing a development agenda at national level.
- There are recognised global best practices in terms of the extraction and management of natural resources, but weak governance regimes in West African countries make their application less robust, effective and sustainable.
- Overdependence on natural resources has been known to have adverse consequences. Overdependence on one particular resource (the ‘Dutch disease’) becomes detrimental to the development of others, undermining balanced and qualitative growth in developing countries where legal and institutional regimes are weak.
- Poor but natural-resource endowed countries tend to lack the skilled human resources to exploit them without external involvement. In the few instances where local capacity leads natural resource extraction, such effort was not rewarded by the volatility of global market prices over which they do not have any control.
- Such resource-rich countries are also unable to develop long-term plans for targeted investments and employment creation. The case of Bangladesh was particularly instructive – it decided not to extract its proven natural gas resources until it developed the required human capacity. The bigger questions are: can West African countries follow this path, and in doing so, can they meet their immediate and long-term development needs?

## **4.2 Day Two – Tuesday, 29 November 2011**

### ***Theme: Natural Resource Governance and Conflicts in West Africa***

The overall objective of the second day’s session was to address key issues in natural resource governance (NRG) and how these are linked with the outbreak and prolongation of conflicts in selected West African countries. In themselves, natural resources do not cause conflicts. However, research has shown that the mismanagement of natural resource exploitation has the potential to trigger conflicts and allow them to fester. While it may be easy to conclude that governance issues are at the heart of resources-induced conflicts, there remains a notable ‘grey area’ – precisely how one triggers the other.

Presentations and discussions of the day therefore aimed to identify the root causes of conflicts in natural resource-endowed West African countries, and to examine local and trans-boundary patterns, impacts and consequences of such conflicts. To these ends, participants examined the parts played by stakeholders (government, external business interests, local communities, national elites, etc.) in the outbreak and exacerbation of conflicts. Participants also highlighted some of the key indicators and complexities of natural resource governance, further clarifying the nexus between natural resource governance and conflict in West Africa.

***Presentation 1: ‘Understanding Issues in and Complexities of Natural Resource Governance and Conflicts in West Africa’ by Professor Augustine Ikelegbe (Nigeria)***

The presentation captured the characteristics of natural resource-endowed countries, including the following: poor economic growth, massive corruption, pervasive security state. Using Nigeria as a case study, Prof. Ikelegbe identified some major challenges in natural resource management: (a) corruption in revenue management; (b) intensifying struggles for access to and control of natural resources; (c) revenue utilization and the peculiar types of intractable grievances that arise; (d) environmental challenges and the weak law enforcement that allows transnational oil companies to get away with irresponsible operational practices.

***Presentation 2: ‘Managing Nigeria’s Niger Delta Resource-Induced Conflicts – Lessons Learnt from Coercive and Non-Coercive Responses’ by Brigadier-General N.W Rintip, (rtd.) (Nigeria)***

The second presentation explored the root causes and effects of the Niger Delta crisis before examining the repertoire of coercive and non-coercive approaches adopted by the government. Quoting Omo N’Oba Erediauwa, the Benin Monarch, Brig.-Gen. Rintip said the Niger Delta crisis partly hinged on ‘the fact that the people’s major sources of livelihood being land and water have been adversely affected by government policies and the operations of the oil companies’. He identified the following key components:

- A long-drawn quest for resource control by indigenes of resource-rich areas seems to precede issues of environmental degradation, social exclusion and political marginalization widely touted in the literature.
- Poverty and the erosion of means of livelihood are rampant in the Niger Delta, an oil-rich but largely impoverished region in Nigeria. The oil and gas

extracted from the region have been used to develop other parts of Nigeria, including the Federal Capital Territory, and in the name of equity, Delta indigenes have been demanding recompense and restitution to communities whose means of subsistence (small-scale farming and fishing) continues to suffer due to environmental pollution.

- Although environmental degradation – caused by oil spillages, gas flaring and illegal bunkering – is rampant and has had adverse effects on the livelihoods of the Niger Delta inhabitants, there is controversy over who is culpable, with transnational oil companies accusing host communities of partial responsibility for leaks from damaged pipelines.
- The Niger Delta is characterized by difficult water-logged terrain, high rates of unemployment, corruption and bad governance which make the goal of sustainable development hard, but not impossible.

Gen. Rintip acknowledged the multidimensional and multifaceted effects of the crisis on the Niger Delta, in particular, and Nigeria, at large. These include the frightening proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) and the continuing environmental pollution and degradation, both of which are not confined to the local community level but also pose dire threats to national and regional peace and security. Most importantly, he observed that political rather than military solutions are vital for managing complex natural resource-induced conflicts. He highlighted the various types of coercive and non-coercive measures taken by the government to manage the Niger Delta crisis. The presentation emphasized that coercive responses have been dominant and have succeeded in militarizing the people of the region, making sustainable peace and development difficult to achieve. The persistence of armed conflict in the Niger Delta clearly indicates the failure of community, local and federal government policies to respond effectively to the Niger Delta crisis.

In conclusion, Gen. Rintip made the following proposals which would require the active involvement of major stakeholders (state, multinational companies, international community): heavy investment in job creating development programmes; effective legislation and strengthening of regulatory and enforcement institutions; broaden the effective participation of the people in all issues of natural resource governance through dialogue and participatory activities; transparency in the allocation and spending of oil revenue; eradication of corruption; an effective regime for sound environmental impact assessment; commitment by local and foreign oil companies to implement best practices in corporate social

responsibility; elimination of gas flaring; and enforcement of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act. Oil companies in the Delta region would also have to implement action plans to accelerate the development of host communities, and to partner with the government to respond promptly to environmental challenges arising from oil exploration and production.

## **Plenary**

After an exhaustive question-and-answer session, most participants seemed to agree that coercive (military) interventions in natural resource-rich regions, especially those aimed at dousing local discontent, cannot be the foundation for peaceful resource extraction. Many felt strongly that using coercive methods invariably makes military and police actions part of the problem rather than the solution to conflict based on natural resource issues. Some argued that the military, in particular, had been implicated in several atrocities committed in such regions. Subsequent discussions raised debates and questions in the following areas:

- Complicity of the military authorities deployed to the Niger Delta under the auspices of the Joint Task Force (JTF) in the political economy of perverse accumulation and conflicts in the region.
- The role of the local community, especially the elites, as part of the cause or part of the solution to the problems facing the oil region of Nigeria?
- The role of the state either in exacerbating violent conflicts around natural resources, or in terms of being a strategic partner in finding creative solutions to development problems facing the region. This is complicated by the close relationship between the state and foreign capital.

### ***Presentation 3: 'The Management of Natural Resource-Induced Conflicts' by Nyukalu Paul Bemshima (Nigeria)***

Mr. Nyukalu discussed the background to persistent competition for natural resources in Africa, with particular emphasis on the nexus between natural resources, the environment and conflict. He demonstrated how some conflicts erupt either as a result of natural resources becoming scarce due to pressures from rapid environmental changes and excessive demand (e.g. the quest of Fulani nomad pastoralists for green pastures for their herds) or the abundance of resources without equitable sharing of the derived wealth. The natural resources in question provide the means of sustaining conflicts (e.g. Sierra Leone, Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire) by financing renegade groups such as militias, rebels and lawless national armies. Furthermore, the involvement of a variety of actors in natural

resource-induced conflicts tends to undermine peace-making efforts, especially when some of them profit from such conflicts and are, therefore, reluctant to see them end. A case in point is the Niger Delta.

In the light of the above, Mr. Nyukalu stressed the need to take conflict management (CM) seriously in the context of natural resource management (NRM). He said natural resources, including the environment, can have far-reaching implications for all phases of the conflict cycle. For instance, the environment often suffers during prolonged violent conflicts, with the environmental damage in turn having direct and indirect consequences on populations whose conditions perpetuate the vicious cycle of violent conflict. He concluded by noting that the CM-NRM nexus can also lead to a situation where natural resources can contribute to peace building through economic development, job creation and sustainable livelihoods.

For effective management of different types of conflicts associated with natural resource management, Mr. Nyukalu pointed to the need to first of all conduct a post-conflict needs assessment (PCNA). He said that intervening without a baseline for the priorities and dynamics of conflict and post-conflict situations can produce adverse results. Since no single person or group can claim to hold the ‘magic wand’ of creative solutions, he emphasized the need to adopt an integrated, concerted and holistic approach bringing together all stakeholders. Other key recommendations include: strengthening institutional and legal frameworks; attenuating adverse economic, social and environmental effects; and bringing civil society organisations (CSOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs) back into the dialogue for setting the agenda for and pathways towards lasting solutions. This final point on the role of civil society eventually served as the basis for the subsequent plenary discussion.

## **Plenary**

A lively discussion ensued on what creative role(s) CSOs and CBOs might play in designing a framework for the effective management of natural resource-induced conflicts in West Africa, and serving as the moral guarantors of the process. This debate was quite instructive since, up to that point, there seemed to have been a ‘conspiratorial’ silence among participants on the concrete roles that civil society and CBOs can or should play in this regard. Unfortunately time did not permit much in-depth interrogation of the following issues that came to the fore by way of recommendations:

- The urgent imperative of enhancing the capacity of the various actors, especially those from civil society, involved in the process of establishing a

sound regime for natural resource management, and ensuring that they are involved right from the start.

- The need to intensify efforts to support regular and broad-based advocacy and interventions that fit neatly into the core mandate(s) of CSO.
- Scale-up the knowledge base and capacity of CSOs to serve as effective interlocutors between host communities and transnational companies exploiting natural resources.
- Identify and work with credible and independent CSOs to deliver community-focused interventions and encourage problem-solving networking and collaboration between them. (This contrasts with the many ‘CSOs’ operating for selfish, pecuniary gain.)
- Train CSOs in skills that enable them to play pivotal roles in conflict analysis and sustained conflict transformation processes, especially on issues of efficient natural resource management for overall public good.

### ***GROUP WORK ACTIVITIES***

Participants were divided into four groups for in-depth, national-level case studies on contentious natural resource issues in Nigeria, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Ghana. The focus of this group work was on ‘what has worked or not in terms of their management, and why’? In addition, each group was given a unique scenario which required them to come up with proposals on the way forward in each of their individual country case studies. The highlights of the exercises are summarised below:







*Sections of participants engaged in group work discussions*

### **Group 1 – Case Study: Resource Curse in the Niger Delta (Nigeria)**

*Scenario Question: You are on a UN delegation to the Niger Delta to assess the situation. What would be your recommendations towards managing the crises and preventing further escalation?*

- Major resources: Oil and Gas
  - What has worked and why?
  - Oil Production
  - Revenue Generation
  - Relationship between Multinational Companies (MNCs)
  - Divide-and Rule-Policy of the Government and MNCs
  - OPEC Membership.

UN delegation recommendations to OPEC

- Establish strong regulatory frameworks to check the disastrous environmental impact of the activities of multinational oil companies, MNOCs.
- Ensure transparency and credibility, especially in terms of what is received as revenue, what is paid, and to whom?
- Why it has worked:



- Low Costs of Production
- Rise in Global Prices
- Social License
- What has not worked and why?
  - Employment of Local People
  - Accountability and Transparency
  - Transformation of Oil Wealth into Growth and Development
  - Development of Other Sectors of the Economy
  - Oil Independence
- Why it has not worked:
  - Little or no Employment of Local People
  - Lack of Accountability and Transparency
  - Non-Transformation of Oil Wealth into Growth and Development
  - Non-Development of Other Sectors of the Economy
  - Oil Colonialism.

## **Group 2 – The Liberian Experience**

*Scenario Question: You are members of a presidential technical committee. Make recommendations to the President of Liberia on how subsequent MDA's would benefit the people and give the Government a better deal.*

- Major resources: diamonds, timber, rubber, iron ore and gold
- What has worked and why?
  - Control of exploitation and export of diamonds; establishment of the Liberia Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (LEITI) which has

gained EITI compliant status within a short period of coming into force

- What has not worked and why?
  - Structures and mechanisms to control illegal smuggling and the export of diamonds because of the rent-seeking culture and patronage networks;
  - Combating corruption effectively with weak institutions, particularly the judiciary
  - Control over natural resource exploitation characterized by the proliferation of illegal operators
  - Involvement of CSOs in monitoring compliance by companies in the extractive sector
  - Prevention of exclusion of vulnerable groups such as women and youth, stemming from the impact of protracted civil war..
- The ways forward:
  - Formulate effective policies and strengthen existing initiatives that compel multinational companies to comply with international best practices under the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, EITI, or the Kimberly Processes for stricter control on diamond exports and other ‘lootable’ natural resources from conflict zones.

### **Group 3 – Ghana’s New Oil: Cause for Jubilation or Prelude to Resource Curse**

*Scenario Question: You are members of a Civil Society Network interested in influencing Government’ oil related policies. Advise the Government of Ghana on how to prevent Natural Resource induced conflict and demonstrate what strategies you will adopt to influence the policy making process*

- What has worked, and why?
  - Existence of operational mechanisms and business models dating back to the colonial era
- What has not worked, and why?

- Corporate social responsibility (CSR) has not really worked due, for the most part, to low capacity within the industry and country
- How can Ghana avoid the problems that hinder other natural resource-rich countries regions, especially in terms of managing the new oil resources in the Western Region?
  - Advocacy in terms of CSR so that resource-endowed regions are not marginalized
  - Effective parliamentary oversight
  - Diversification away from key natural resources such as oil and gold in order to avoid the ‘Dutch disease’

#### **Group 4 – Sierra Leone and Liberia**

**Scenario Question:** *You are members of the International Community. What agreements and instruments would have been more effective in mitigating the illicit diamond trade? Suggest practicable strategies in managing this negative trend in future.*

- What has worked, and why?
  - International sanctions
  - Indictment of key beneficiaries of diamond and timber smuggling
  - Registration and marking of diamonds
  - Transparency and accountability in the management of revenue from key resources, and in wider governance.
- What has not worked, and why?
  - Coherence within the United Nations system with regard to the enforcement of sanctions
  - Strong institutions for interdiction and effective border control (to prevent easy diamond smuggling )

- Preventing widespread marginalization of the citizenry
- Unbridled authoritarian disposition and corrupt excesses by those who control the state
- Effective oversight
- Developing the best agreements to govern operations in the extractive sector
- Creative use of CSOs such as Revenue Watch, and of key initiatives such as the Kimberley process; Concrete commitment to genuine CSR on the part of multinational corporations.
- Instructively, when the issue was raised as to why most of the interventions identified by Group 4 for Sierra Leone were externally driven, the explanation was that the country was still going through a post-conflict transition phase fully supported and implemented by key donor countries and international agencies. Generally, however, it remains a major source of worry that even countries that have been comparatively stable have found it difficult to slacken the firm grip on their key natural resources of foreign companies who are there for profit rather than local development.

#### **4.3: Day Three - Wednesday, 30 November 2011**

##### ***Theme: Preventing Natural Resource Conflicts – Lessons Learnt, Options for Training and Capacity Building***

Participants focused on answering the questions: ‘what are the key lessons learnt from Days One and Two in terms of the management of resource-induced conflicts in West Africa?’ and ‘how might these insights be mainstreamed to enhance training and capacity building for conflict prevention in West Africa?’ After a recapitulation of the previous days’ sessions by a few participants, the forum watched a short, thought-provoking documentary by the international news network, Al Jazeera, titled: ‘Sierra Leone Timber: A Story of Corruption that is Stripping the West African Country Bare.’ The documentary was straight to the point and helped participants to put into better perspective the challenge of natural resource exploitation in the context of widespread corruption among government official and their local and foreign collaborators. It also showed the connivance, sometimes inadvertent, by local communities who must eke out a living at the risk of destroying the environment and their livelihoods.

## ***Presentations by DDPS Alumni Participants***

In further preparation for the final group work tasks, two alumni of the Development Diplomacy for Peace and Security Programme (DDPS) of KAIPTC presented aspects of their past work germane to the subject of natural resource endowment and conflict.

1. *Inabeza Yuhire (Burundi; DDPS Alumnus, 2010), on the ‘Promotion of Diplomatic and Political Approaches among International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) Member States in the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources: Case Study of Coltan in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo’.*
2. *Dr. Ibrahim Dinju Choji (Nigeria; DDPS Alumnus, 2011), on ‘The Implications of Climate Change on the Environment and Its Challenges to Peace and Environment in Plateau State, Nigeria’.*

Inabeza Yuhire began by asking participants to hold up their mobile phones, then asked if anyone could boast of not carrying the blood of innocent citizens of the DRC on their hands. This, for her, is the truth about coltan (a mineral that many participants were obviously hearing of for the first time), also known as columbite–tantalite. A dull black metallic ore from which the elements niobium and tantalum are extracted, coltan is mostly used to manufacture the capacitors in such products as mobile phones, jet engines, cutting tools, camera lenses, x-ray film and ink jet printers, to name a few. She said studies have shown that the export of the resource from eastern DRC to Europe, the United States and China contributes substantially to financing continuing conflict in DRC. Similarly, it has been alleged that the widespread smuggling of coltan has generated millions of dollars in income for Western mining companies and the various national armies, including those of Rwanda, occupying sections of the DRC, and using prisoners of war and under-aged children to work in the coltan mines.

Ms. Yuhire presented the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) as a regional mechanism for peace, security, stability and development among the core countries of the region. She explained the backdrop to and modus operandi of the ICGLR Special Summit on Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources, as well as the tools approved to curb the situation through Regional Certification Mechanisms. According to Ms. Yuhire, some of the challenges to effective implementation of the mechanism are the following:

- Illegal trading in precious minerals/metals continues to provide funding for

most rebel groups in the Great Lakes Region that are intent on making a profit at all costs.

- Companies registered in Western nations, and probably paying taxes back home, are making huge profits by using every means necessary to remain in the illegal business.
- Some local, provincial, and national authorities, civilian and military alike, are involved in the illegal exploitation and illicit trade of minerals.
- Some ICGLR member states already at an advanced stage of setting up a system for tracing minerals have expressed their commitment to implementing the certification system but are yet to take concrete action.

Ibrahim Choji's discussed the implications of climate change for the environment and for peace in Plateau State, Nigeria. as well as the broader ramifications of the nexus between environment (as a natural resource) and conflict. He said the increasing rate of global warming continues to have an adverse ecological impact on most parts of northern Nigeria. The conditions include a drastic reduction in rainfall, increase in the rate of dryness and heat, depletion of water bodies as well as of flora and fauna on land. One consequence for the inhabitants of the region (mostly pastoralists and farmers) has been continuous population drift southward, a development that interacts with other social and economic factors to put a lot of pressure on scarce resources thereby exacerbating violent conflicts. He talked about the causes of climate change and the immediate and long-term consequences. He noted Nigeria's vulnerability to climate change problems (particularly rising sea levels) due to its long coastline stretching over 800 kilometres. While it has population density – over 150 million people in about 923,000 square km) it also has low technological capacity to combat the negative impact of climate change. Dr. Choji concluded by explaining the different phases of environmental change in relation to the conflicts in the once peaceful but increasingly volatile Jos Plateau, and discussed some creative methods to curb the conflict.

### ***Summary of Plenary Discussions and Key Recommendations***

Key points made in the plenary in response to the presentations by Ms. Yuhire and Mr. Choji included:

- In most cases, problems associated with poor natural resource management

cannot be addressed by any single country, precisely because their ramifications may involve several countries.

- Most types of conflict supposedly unique to one country or locality are replicated in other contexts and countries (for instance, the conflict arising from the movement of Fulani herdsmen in search of pastures in northern Nigeria is also very common in Ghana and throughout the Sahel belt of West Africa). Thus, there are important cross-country lessons to be learnt by different countries regarding how to manage conflicts.
- One of the key reasons that sustainable solutions to protracted natural resource-induced conflicts are difficult to find is simply that honest people cannot be found in the right places where their intervention can make a qualitative difference. This, in turn, raises fundamental questions about the nature and limitations (or even, failure) of leadership in terms of integrity and accountability.
- Despite the growing global awareness of the adverse impact of climate change, there is still little knowledge at local and grassroots levels. In view of this gap, there is urgent need for mass education on climate change issues, beginning from elementary schools. This implies a major overhaul of the curriculum to mainstream climate change sensitization at all levels.
- Problems associated with natural resource-induced conflicts are not exclusive to Africa; it is a global concern, given the complicity of transnational companies and foreign governments in the illicit trade in natural resources that fuels most conflicts.
- Since it is obvious that a multilateral and integrated response involving key actors is essential for effective natural resource governance, regional institutions such as ECOWAS must play a leading role in governance of the extractive sector in West Africa.
- The growing involvement in Africa's extractive sector of natural resource-hungry countries such as China and India, along with continuing activity by Western interests presents challenges as well as opportunities for Africa in terms of redesigning and re-focusing attention to issues relevant to the governance of that sector.

***Presentation on Best Practices in Curriculum Development and Delivery – Natural Resource Governance Issues and Challenges by Dr. Memunatu Pratt***

Dr. Memunatu Pratt of the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies of Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierra Leone, gave a presentation on efforts by her home institution to design and mainstream natural resource governance and conflict into teaching and research curricula (a project proudly sponsored by GIZ Sierra Leone). Dr. Pratt discussed how the modules were designed, the target group, modes of delivery, recommendations on curriculum content, challenges in teaching and training on natural resources, and recommendations for improved teaching. Her presentation set the tone for subsequent group work on the issue of curriculum development: what should the training involve; who should be trained; and with what resources?

***GROUP WORK***

The central theme of the group work and discussions that followed was *‘Mainstreaming Resource Governance, Conflict Prevention and Management into the Curriculum of Training Institutions for the Prevention and Management of Natural Resource Conflicts in West Africa’*. The first group focused on the type of curriculum and the reasons why. The second group was to identify the type of people who should be trained and the reasons why. The third group examined how the training should be done and with what human and material resources. Below are the key insights and outcomes of the group work.

***Group 1***



The group identified the following themes for inclusion in the proposed curriculum:

- Natural resource governance;



- Legal frameworks for natural resource governance;
- Nexus between natural resources and conflicts (case studies);
- Management of conflict related to natural resources;
- Security sector reform and governance in the context of natural resource management;
- Global best practices in managing public expectations from natural resource endowment;
- Natural resource exploitation versus sustainability;
- CSOs/CBOs and natural resource management.

For each of these, justifications were provided for their inclusion in a course outline designed to address the critical issue of natural resource governance/management.

## *Group 2*



The second group identified seven key categories, sectors, or persons who should be trained and why. They are: government officials, community representatives, media practitioners, educators, law enforcement officers, peace support operatives, and civil society actors.

### *Group 3*



Asked to outline how the training should be conducted and with what human/material resources, the final group examined how EMP, KAIPTC and NDC, the three training centres of excellence (TCEs) on peace and security in West Africa, should proceed with training at the tactical, operational and strategic levels, respectively. In terms of human and material resources, the group said the human resource component should be expanded to bring in a broad spectrum of experts from academic institutions, civil society, the armed forces, and private consultants. Regarding how they should be trained, the following proposals were made:

- Command post exercises (CPX);
- Field training exercises (FTX);
- Case study analysis;
- Brainstorming/mini-lectures;
- Use of documentaries;
- Group work;
- Simulation exercises (crisis management exercise, role play);
- Conferences and seminars;
- Invitation of civil society actors to add value to training courses; and
- Field visits to elicit situational reports.

Among their recommendations was ensuring the mainstreaming of civil society institutions to support and complement the training activities of the three TCEs.

## **5.0 CONCLUSION: THE WAY FORWARD**

After three days of intellectually rewarding brainstorming and shared learning, participants were unanimous in drawing the broad conclusion that it was high time the growing importance of natural resource governance issues – particularly their role as sources of violent conflicts in many countries – was acknowledged and mainstreamed into curriculum and programmatic policies in West Africa. The following were among the key points made:

- On the status of the TCEs, participants noted that it might be useful to begin with region-wide baseline studies on the availability of human and material resources in order to save costs and prevent duplication of efforts;
- Inter-institutional linkages must be forged in order to tap into critical resources for developing and strengthening capacities in specialized subjects related to natural resources;
- There is an urgent need to identify and build national-level human resource capacity in natural resource governance as a critical mass for any regional initiative;
- Initial efforts should be geared towards the development and inclusion of modules on natural resource governance, bearing in mind that mounting full-scale courses is more costly in terms of funding, human and material resources. In other words, modules on natural resource governance and conflict should be mainstreamed into existing courses such as those on Advanced Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration (ADDR); Negotiation; SALW, etc;
- In order to avoid duplication and take advantage of economies of scale, each of the three TCEs should focus on the different aspects of natural resource governance issues that suit their individual mandates at strategic, operational and tactical levels;
- Awareness of natural resource governance issues should be made to percolate downwards to the grassroots level so that many more people become aware of the critical issues and their implications;
- There was consensus on the need to build a regional approach to the problems of natural resource governance and conflict, hence the need to adopt a broad-based approach that not only focuses on the three regional TCEs but also on other institutions in West Africa. It was in this respect that participants

envisaged several key roles for ECOWAS in ensuring sustained and robust regional awareness on natural resource governance issues:

- ECOWAS could organize a series of fora to draw attention to natural resource governance issues, including those relating to the dimensions and implications of climate change vis-à-vis resource conflicts or environmental degradation.
- Encourage ECOWAS to be at the forefront of region-wide discussions and eventual adoption of an appropriate protocol on natural resource governance.
- Build the capacity of regional CSOs such as the West Africa Civil Society Institute, along with their national-level counterparts such as Revenue Watch, Publish What You Pay (PWYP) etc. which can provide the initial baseline from which appropriate policies on natural resource governance can be developed.
- Finally, participants underscored the need to organise this type of Forum on an annual basis, and to widen the range of participants to be invited (including from ECOWAS, which did not send any representative despite several requests to the Commission).

## 6.0 ANNEXES

### Annex I: List of Participants

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## **Annex II: Workshop Agenda**

### **Saturday 26 November 2011**

Arrival of participants and resource persons<sup>4</sup>

Meeting with all resource persons

### **Sunday 27 November 2011**

07:30 Departure for Busua

1200-1300 Lunch at Elmina Beach Resort

1600 Arrival and check-in at Busua Beach Resort

1900 Dinner

### **Day 1: 28 November 2011**

**Theme:** Natural Resources in the Political Economy of West Africa

**Question of the Day:** What types of natural resources are available in West Africa, and to what extent are the conflicts arising from the exploitation of natural resources central to and key determinants of broader conflicts, conflict prevention and developmental challenges in the sub-region?

**Rationale:** West African countries have rich and diversified natural resources and they depend – to varying degrees – on natural resource exports for much-needed foreign exchange for national development. However, the importance of natural resources as major determinants of development should not to be taken for granted for a number of reasons: First, because international market prices are volatile and make realistic planning for sustainable national development very difficult. Secondly, the exploitation of natural resources in West Africa, as elsewhere across Africa, is still dominated by foreign companies and countries, external interests whose business models tend to be at variance with the developmental priorities of host countries and communities. Thirdly, and invariably, growing dependence on natural resources implies that the distribution of benefits accruing from them can become dangerously politicized and could eventually trigger violent conflicts. In this session, we shall be grappling with the various ways in which

<sup>4</sup> Lunch and dinner to be provided at the La Palm Beach Hotel

over-dependence on natural resources continues to define the peculiar character of political, economic and social relations in different ECOWAS countries.

## **Schedule**

0900: Welcome remarks, familiarization; expected outcomes: Col. Aliyu Abdullahi, KAIPTC

0930: Keynote address: Dr. Thomas Jaye, Deputy Director of Research, KAIPTC

1000: Overview of the Forum's Rationale, Goals, Objectives and Deliverables – GIZ-KAIPTC/Lead Facilitator

1030: Tea/coffee break

11.00: Presentation 1 (**Mohammed Amin Adam, Ghana**): **'The Political Economy of Natural Resources in Africa'**. (Also focusing on definition, classification and/or types of natural resources, historical and contemporary issues in the exploitation of natural resources, etc.)

1130: **Q and A/ Plenary Discussion** (moderated by Lead Facilitator (LF), Dr. Charles Ukeje)

1230: Lunch

1400: **Group Work Activity: Natural Resources and Conflicts in West Africa – Roots, Triggers, Actors, Dimensions, Impacts, etc.**<sup>5</sup>

Group I: Mapping natural resources in Africa and the stakeholders involved in activities surrounding exploitation, production, exportation, etc.

Group II: Prepare a table showing the extent of dependence of five selected West African countries on different natural resources, and identify the key political, economic and social implications.

Group III: Identify five conflict hotspots in Africa that are linked directly to natural resources, and five common triggers (denominators) for the conflicts.

Group IV: Document the various impacts of natural resources exploitation, production and wealth-sharing on state and society in the selected West African countries

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<sup>5</sup> Participants shall be divided into 4 groups to carry out the under-listed activities. The goal of the exercise is to build group rhythm on the first day; encourage participants to acknowledge the centrality of natural resources to the survival of West Africa; help them to recognize the role of national and external actors in the extractive sector; and set the tone for presentations and discussions on Day 2 around the nexus between resource governance and conflicts in West Africa. **Resources Persons shall interact with each group to guide the exercise.**

1500: Group Work Presentations (moderated by LF) [15minutes x 4= 60minutes]

1530: Coffee break

1600: Summary of key issues of the day (moderated by LF and RPs)

1630: **Closing**

1830: **WELCOME DINNER**

**Day 2: 29 November 2011**

**Theme: Natural Resource Governance and Conflicts in West Africa**

**Question of the Day:** What are the key issues in Natural Resource Governance (NRG) and how are they linked with the outbreak and prolongation of conflicts in selected West African countries?

**Rationale:** In themselves, natural resources do not cause conflicts. However, research has shown that the management of natural resources has the potential to trigger conflicts and allow them to fester, especially if they are not initially well managed. While it may be easy to draw the conclusion that governance issues are at the heart of resource-induced conflicts in Africa, there remains a wide ‘grey area’ on how precisely one triggers the other. Besides, generalizations about the type(s) of governance issues that degenerate into protracted conflict in one instance may not be applicable to others. Today, the focus of the presentations and group activities is on the following:

- (1) Trace the root causes of natural resource management-induced conflicts in West Africa;
- (2) Identify the key indicators and complexities of natural resource governance in the sub-region;
- (3) Determine a framework for understanding the nexus between natural resource governance and conflict in Africa;
- (4) Account for the role of key stakeholders – government, external business actors, local communities, national elites, etc. – in the outbreak and exacerbation of conflicts; and
- (5) Examine the patterns, impacts and consequences of natural resource-induced conflicts, including their trans-boundary dimensions.

## Schedule

09.30: Welcome and Recap of Previous Day

10.00: Presentation 2 (**Prof Augustine Ikelegbe, Nigeria**): **‘Understanding Issues in and Complexities of Natural Resource Governance and Conflicts in West Africa.’**

10.30: Q and A/ Plenary Discussion

1130: Tea/coffee break

12.00: Presentation 3 (**Brigadier-General N.W. Rintip (rtd.) Nigeria**): **‘Managing Complex Resource-induced Conflicts – Lessons Learnt from Coercive and Non-Coercive Responses.’**

12.30: Plenary Discussion (Moderated by LF)

12:30: Q and A/Plenary (Moderated by LF)

### **13.00: Lunch**

**14.00: Group Work Activity** (To be preceded by a 15-minute presentation by **Nyukalu Paul Bemshima, Nigeria**): **The Management of Natural Resource-induced Conflicts – Selected Case Studies (4)** <sup>6</sup>

1500: Coffee break

1530: Group Work Presentation (moderated by LF) [10minutes x 4= 40 minutes]

1610: **Panel Discussion ‘When is Prevention Better Than Cure? Alternative Preventive Actions to Mitigate Natural Resource Conflicts’ (All Resource Persons, LD, Participants)**

1700: Q and A/ Plenary Discussion

18.00: Summary of key issues of the day/closing

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<sup>6</sup> (Here, participants are divided into FOUR groups based on case studies drawn from Nigeria, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Ghana. The focus here should only tangentially be on the background and trigger factors but more of an exploration of ‘what has worked or not, and why’. Participants are to identify for discussion five examples each of what has worked, and why, as well as what did not work, and why?)

### **Day 3: 30 November 2011**

**Theme:** Preventing Natural Resource Conflicts – Lessons Learnt, Options for Training and Capacity Building

**Question of the Day:** What are the key lessons learnt so far in the management of resource-induced conflicts in West Africa, and how might these experiences be mainstreamed to enhance training and capacity building for conflict prevention?

**Rationale:** There are minimum requirements for the prevention, management and resolution of natural resource-induced conflicts, even though they have different root causes, manifestations and impacts. What are these minimum requirements, and at what points during conflict should they be deployed? Because governments tend to use a repertoire of non-coercive and coercive options when faced with natural resource-induced conflicts, there is a need to document what works in different circumstances along with what does not seem to have worked, and why. Furthermore, given the grave implications of such conflicts (especially the fact that they invariably also serve as a trigger for other threats to effective governance and stability within countries and across borders) what cumulative knowledge can we harvest and mainstream into training and capacity building, especially for actors involved in designing and implementing conflict prevention, management and resolution?

08.30: Welcome and Recap of the Previous Day

08.50: Presentation by DDPS Alumnus Participant I: **Promotion of Diplomatic and Political Approaches among ICGLR Member States in Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources: Case Study of Coltan in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo** (Inabeza Yuhire, Burundi)

09.10: Presentation by DDPS Alumnus Participant II: **The Implications of Climate Change on the Environment and Its Challenges to Peace and Environment in Plateau State, Nigeria** (Dr. Ibrahim Dinju Choji, Nigeria)

10: 10: Q and A/Plenary Discussion (moderated by LF)

10.40: Tea/coffee break

11.10: **Group Work Activity:** Mainstreaming Resource Governance, Conflict Prevention and Management into the curriculum of training institutions) for the

prevention and management of natural resource conflicts in West Africa

- \* Group I: What type of curriculum for the training, and why?
- \* Group II: Who should be trained – what category of participants, and why?
- \* Group III: How should they be trained – with what human/material resources?

11.40: Group Work Presentation/Confirmation of Outcomes/Discussions on Next Steps. (LF/RPs/GIZ-KAIPTC)

13.30: Lunch/ Departure from Busua

18.00: Dinner at Elmina Beach Resort

20.00: Departure for Accra

### **Thursday 1 December 2011**

Participants and Resource Persons Depart <sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Subject to flight departure times, lunch and dinner will be provided at the hotel.