

DDR 2009

Analysis of the World's Disarmament,
Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR)
Programs in 2008

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Introduction

It is often the case in peacebuilding processes that combatants, after an agreement has been signed, surrender their weapons, demilitarize, and reintegrate into civilian life. The complex process for this is called **ex-combatant Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration, or DDR**. Together with police reform, Armed Forces restructuring, political change and elections, and judicial reform and justice for victims, DDR is part of broader agreements which are negotiated in a peace process.

Since the early 1990s, DDR programs, as functions of peacebuilding, have become key security components of post-war rehabilitation. With more than a dozen UN agencies and programs, with participation from international and local NGOs, DDR in the United Nations has become central to peacekeeping operations in the last 20 years.¹

Box 1: Definition of DDR

DDR is a process that targets a determinate number of combatants, whether as individuals or groups, belonging to the Armed Forces or armed opposition groups, in order to disarm, demilitarize, and reintegrate these persons into civilian life, the Armed Forces, or the police. Each component of DDR can be defined more concretely in the following way:²

- **Disarmament:** *collecting, documenting, controlling, and eliminating combatant small, light, and heavy arms or weapons, as well as ammunition and explosives. Disarmament also includes administering programs to manage weapons responsibly.* Though disarmament is in many ways symbolic, it is also an essential component of demobilization. Disarmament can be split into a number of stages, including study on the amount of weapons in use, weapons collection, storage, destruction, and redistribution to national security forces.
- **Demobilization:** *decommissioning active combatants from Armed Forces and other armed groups in an official and controlled manner.* The first stage of demobilization can range from the cantonment of combatants in temporary centres to the gathering of troops in designated camps, including cantonments, camps, gathering points, or barracks. Key to this stage is the planning, cantonment, registration, disarmament, orientation, and final decamping of ex-combatants.

The “R” in DDR can be divided into reinsertion, reintegration, or both, sometimes known as DDDR, depending on the duration of programming. Rehabilitation, resettlement, and reconciliation can be added to this.

- **Reinsertion:** *assisting ex-combatants with demobilization prior to long-term reintegration. Reinsertion involves assisting ex-combatants and their families provisionally with basic necessities and can include subsidies and services for security, food, clothing, medical services, short-term education, training, employment, and tools.*
- **Reintegration:** *providing opportunities for ex-combatants to acquire status as civilians and obtain sustainable employment and a regular income.* Reintegration is essentially a social and economic process with an open timeline, occurring primarily in host communities. Reintegration is part of a country’s general development and a national responsibility, requiring often long-term assistance from foreign donors. Initially, reintegration meant giving ex-combatants economic opportunities, especially through vocational training. Gradually, however, program planners realized the need to incorporate more purely social concerns and focused greater attention on social reconciliation in the context of post-war rehabilitation.

The report which follows is a comparative analysis of active DDR programs in 2008, whether in the planning stages or running final reintegration activities. The goal of the report, addressed particularly to academics and professionals, is to give an overall picture of DDR programs underway currently and to widen the general and latest conceptual understanding of the processes involved.

While each DDR program responds to a particular country in a variety of ways (dealing with, for instance, the causes of conflict, the content of peace agreements, or the general features of that country), this report assembles those aspects which are common to all DDR programs and allow for comparison and summary. The commonalities include the inclusion of DDR in peace agreements (in addition to mechanisms for Transitional Justice), the types of DDR programs adopted, and the features of disarmament and demobilization.

The report is based on 15 analytical summaries of DDR programs in different countries, which follow this report. The 15 country programs operate in different continents: 1 in the Americas (Colombia, the latter targeting the United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia, or AUC), 3 in Asia (Afghanistan, Nepal, and the Aceh region of Indonesia), and 11 in Africa (Angola, Burundi, Chad, Côte d’Ivoire, Eritrea, Liberia, the Central African Republic, the DR Congo, Rwanda, Sudan, and Uganda).

¹ The first UN mission to adopt DDR was the UN Observer Group in Central America, ONUCA, which carried out a voluntary demobilization of the Nicaraguan resistance in 1989-92 under Security Council Resolution 650. It was shown quickly, however, that this programming was limited, so that in 1992, the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia, UNTAC, ran a much more extensive program of demobilization and reintegration.

² United Nations, *Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards*; see also Nilsson, *Reintegrating Ex-Combatants*, and Pouligny, *The Politics and Anti-Politics of Contemporary “Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration” Programs*.

DDR programs in 2008

The following is a comparative analysis of DDR programs active in 2008.

DDR in Peace Processes

The major concerns of implementing and scheduling DDR should normally be found in the corresponding peace agreement, signed by the parties to the conflict and later the chief actors in the DDR process. The peace agreement and DDR process are designed to promote trust between the parties. Not all DDR processes, however, result from a previous peace agreement because many armed conflicts do not end with the signing of one. Often the parties agree simply to a cessation of hostilities or a ceasefire, enabling a process of political transition, with or without a redistribution of political power. A political agreement, sponsored by an international body, may also be reached and end a conflict. Opposing sides may also agree to a process of national reconciliation through a redistribution of political power. Some conflicts may even end with the dismantlement of an armed group.³

In any case, it is not crucial that the resulting agreement mention DDR explicitly, rather that the parties commit in earnest to a peace process and DDR. If this is the case, the parties will more easily be able to agree on the structure and detail of a DDR program.⁴ DDR must be understood concretely, be linked closely to political commitments, and deal with the realities of divided society.⁵

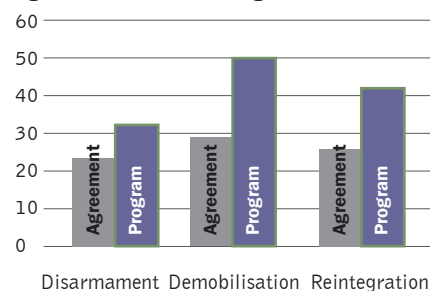
In this report, we analyze both the content of peace agreements and the planning of DDR. More specifically, we determine whether peace agreements mention need for DDR, whether they discuss the phases required for implementation, whether they cite the groups to demobilize, and whether they discuss the quantity of combatants to address. As seems logical to us, we have put greater emphasis on the details of DDR programming rather than on the details of the various peace agreements, particularly as regards demobilization and reintegration, but with an eye to differences in the levels of detail contained in documents of the two approaches.

In general, we have dealt with countries for which little information is known about demobilization, such as the DR Congo and Chad, and countries for which no information exists on reintegration, such as the DR Congo and the Central African Republic. Peace agreements offering more detailed outlines for demobilization include those agreements for Angola, Côte d'Ivoire, and Sudan, and for reintegration, the same countries in addition to Liberia. Usually it is not until later planning and programming documents that details are given on the numbers of combatants to demobilize, though typically without much specification about the numbers or explanation on how to demobilize them. In the DR Congo, for example, documents contain little information on the specifics of demobilization there.

Disarmament is rarely detailed since it is seen as an implicit part of demobilization and not worthy of specification on its own. Peace agreements normally specify the need for a DDR program and outline the groups that require demobilization, while the number of combatants that require demobilization and the means to achieve it are brought up in later planning. This is the case for Angola, Nepal, Afghanistan, Burundi, Chad, the DR Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, and Liberia.

The graph below shows the level of detail provided in peace agreements and the implementation plans for the different phases of DDR. It summarizes the phases mentioned in the peace agreements and later DDR program design plans.

Figure 01. DDR Phases Outlined in Peace Agreements and DDR Programs



A part of DDR programming and, by extension, peace agreements in general, which have raised controversy, is the legal and political treatment of ex-combatants once they have surrendered weapons. Discussion of this, known as transitional justice, tends to be framed in terms of the criminal responsibility of participating armed groups, especially when serious human rights violations such as massacres, crimes against humanity, or genocide are involved.⁶ Transitional justice endeavours to unravel the truth, clarify the identities and fates of victims, identify victimizers, establish responsibilities for actions, and create mechanisms of reparation. Especially when long-term armed conflict, resulting in numerous deaths, has been a factor, transitional justice can produce a psychosocial environment conducive to amnesty, pardon, and reconciliation, though often wrought with difficulties, contradictions, and opposition from the most affected groups or individuals. In practice, reconciliation is a long process involving strong injections of truth, justice, and reparations, the product of individual and collective efforts to find a higher good and future enabling transcendence of momentary individual pain.⁷

Normally an offer of amnesty follows a ceasefire, cessation of hostilities, and signing of a peace agreement. This was the case in Angola, Burundi

3 Fisas, *Procesos de paz y negociación en conflictos armados*.

4 Pouligny, op. cit.

5 Stalon, "Le Désarmement, la démobilisation et la réinsertion des ex-combattants dans la résolution des crises armées".

6 The concept transitional justice refers to "judicial and out-of-court settlements that facilitate the transition from conflict to peace or from authoritarianism to democracy. Transitional justice aims to clarify the identities and destinations of victims and those responsible for human rights violations, resolve the facts behind violations, and create structures for societies to tackle violations and make the appropriate reparations." (Rettberg, *Entre el perdón y el paredón*, p. 1).

7 Fisas, op. cit.

(temporary immunity), the Central African Republic, the DR Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Aceh in Indonesia, and Liberia. Burundi, Nepal, Indonesia, and Liberia said they needed a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and indeed Burundi, Indonesia, and Liberia got one and passed simultaneous amnesty laws. More restrictive mechanisms were applied in Colombia (Justice and Peace Law) and Rwanda (Gacaca courts), contrasting sharply with Chad and Sudan, where no mention was made of equivalent mechanisms in respective peace agreements.

Types of DDR

A variety of qualifiers are used to determine DDR typologies, which depend on the characteristics of the phases which need implementing, the kinds of participants, the numbers of armed groups, the quantity of combatants, the program context, and the programming geared towards vulnerable individuals. Seven countries specify a need to administer only demobilization and five specify a need for an entire DDR process. Indonesia and Rwanda say they need only a process of reintegration.

Overall, in 15 countries, DDR targets armed opposition groups and distinguishes, in some instances, between militias and paramilitary groups. In 8 countries, DDR works to diminish the Armed Forces. In four out of these eight countries, in Angola, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, and Sudan, efforts are made to demobilize soldiers of the Armed Forces. In five of the eight countries (Angola, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, the Central African Republic, and the DR Congo), DDR is bilateral; in two (Afghanistan and Colombia) it is unilateral; and only in one (Burundi) is it multilateral, demonstrating the wide variety of ways DDR is interpreted, with a preference tilting towards the simpler approaches (unilateral and bilateral).

In eight countries with active DDR, a need is identified for security sector reform and a process of post-war rehabilitation. In Afghanistan and Colombia, however, there is continued armed conflict. In four countries, Afghanistan, Chad, Liberia, and Uganda, there is a large quantity of child soldiers, while in Uganda alone there is programming specifically for women. The latter suggests a certain invisibility of women as a

group with special needs. Other special DDR program features worth pointing out include the situation of regional insecurity in Chad, the division of political power in Liberia, and the environment of political transition in Nepal.

The great variety of typologies is proof of the diversity of contexts in which programs of DDR are implemented. The table that follows is a summary of the DDR program typologies studied in this report.

Table 01. Types of DDR

Afghanistan (DDR)	Unilateral disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of Armed Forces in a wartime context.
Angola (ADRP)	Bilateral demobilization of Armed Forces and armed opposition groups for security sector reform in a post-war context.
Burundi (NPDDR)	Multilateral DDR with restructuring to the Armed Forces in a post-war context.
Chad (NPDR)	Bilateral demobilization of militias and Armed Forces containing child soldiers in a context of regional insecurity.
Colombia (AUC)	Unilateral demobilization of paramilitaries in a war context.
Côte d'Ivoire (NPRRC)	Bilateral demobilization of Armed Forces and armed opposition groups for security sector reform in a post-war context.
Central African Republic (PRAC)	Bilateral demobilization of armed opposition groups in a post-war context.
DR Congo (DDRR)	Bilateral demobilization of militias for security sector reform in a post-war context.
Eritrea (EPDR)	Mass demobilization, reinsertion, and reintegration of the Armed Forces and security sector reform in a post-war context.
Indonesia (Aceh)	Disarmament and reintegration of the Free Aceh Movement armed opposition group and redeployment of state security forces in Aceh.
Liberia (DDRR)	Multilateral and mass disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation, and reintegration (DDRR) of a wide variety of combatant groups, with special attention paid to child soldiers and a redistribution of political power.
Nepal (AMMAA)	Cantonment and identification of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) with a process of discussion for military and civilian reintegration, in a context of political transition.
Rwanda (RDRP)	Demobilization of armed opposition groups with security sector reform.
Sudan (DDRP)	Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration occurring jointly with integration of armed groups and the rebuilding of the Armed Forces.
Uganda (Amnesty)	Disarmament, demobilization, and reinsertion programming targeting a variety of armed opposition groups containing large numbers of women and child soldiers.

Eligibility criteria

When designating target groups for demobilization, it is important to designate criteria in order to identifying members of armed groups. One major criterion used, because it is simple to meet and prove, is the possession of a weapon. Currently, two countries make use of this requirement: Afghanistan and Liberia.

Membership in an armed group is the most prevalent eligibility criterion used, whether it is determined objectively through an external evaluation or subjectively by the armed group submitting a list or verifying members itself. Proof of membership in an armed group is essential to the unilateral dismantlement of illegal armed groups. Objective and subjective criteria are combined in eight countries, while in others only objective criteria

(Afghanistan, Angola, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, and Eritrea) or subjective criteria (Indonesia, the DR Congo, and Sudan) are used. Use of just one criteria can result in a lack of legitimacy, transparency, and, consequently, trust in programming.

Commitment to the peace process is another, less prevalently used criterion. Four countries require this commitment, whether done on an individual basis (Afghanistan, the Central African Republic, and Uganda) or done collectively (Afghanistan, Chad, Colombia, and the Central African Republic). Afghanistan and the Central African Republic require both. Other less frequent criteria worth mentioning are proof of having been a beneficiary of prior programming (DR Congo) or demonstration of military skill in operating a weapon (Rwanda).

Countries can be divided into two groups: those demanding strict adherence to and those demanding laxer adherence to eligibility criteria, despite the inherent difficulty in distinguishing the more from the lesser strict and the impossibility of obtaining relevant data for all programs. In the strict group, are Afghanistan and the Central African Republic, both demanding that four of the criteria mentioned above be met; while Indonesia (Aceh), the DR Congo, and Sudan, where subjective membership in an armed group is a sufficient criterion, are in the other group, and risk a loss of legitimacy.

The chart that follows is a summary of the eligibility criteria and the conditions required in each country.

Disarmament, demobilization, arms control, and the unification of military authority

Disarmament and demobilization for post-war contexts and, more specifically, DDR processes are virtually one and the same, though the concepts of weapon and combatant should not be equated and should be used with caution. Modern weapons technology obscures the relationship between the number of troops and offensive capacity, and large armies are a problem for societies independent of the size of their arsenals.

Nonetheless, it is possible in analyzing DDR programs to distinguish both disarmament and arms control, particularly in relation to combatants. There

are two strategies for managing combatant populations in post-war contexts: guided demobilization to promote demilitarization and control of combatants by a single authority. Exclusive control by the state of the Armed Forces and armed groups does not necessarily mean a reduction in the volume of weapons.

Disarmament and arms control, demobilization, and the unification of military authority are achieved in different measures by the DDR programs of this report. The fact that these activities may be done concurrently does not mean they are compatible either. On the contrary, contradictions in the different approaches raises serious theoretical and practical problems and demonstrates the tensions and dilemmas that exist between DDR and security sector reform, the aims of security in the strict sense and human security more broadly, and projects of state building and of peacebuilding. The problem becomes apparent if we use, as a guide, three basic goals of post-war contexts: total disarmament, partial demilitarization, and continued militarism. We look at the goals of DDR programs rather than their results.

1. The dream of total disarmament.

No modern state, as a "human community that (successfully) claims

Table 02. Eligibility Criteria in DDR Programming

Country and program	Arms surrender ⁸	Membership in a group (external or objective evaluation)	Membership in a group (list or other internal or subjective evaluation)	Nationality	Commitment to the peace process or DDR (individual)	Commitment to the peace process or DDR (group)	Free from prosecution
Afghanistan (DDR)	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO
Afghanistan (CIP)	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES
Angola (GPDR)	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
Burundi (NCDDR)	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Chad (PNRD)	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
CAR (PRAC)	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
Colombia (AUC)	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
Côte d'Ivoire (NPRRC)	N.A.	YES	NO	N.A.	NO	NO	NO
Eritrea (EPDR)	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
Indonesia (Aceh)	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Liberia (DDRR)	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
Nepal (AMMAA)	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
DR Congo (NPDDR)	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
Rwanda (RDRP)	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO
Sudan (DDRP)	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
Uganda (Amnesty)	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
YES TOTAL	2	13	12	7	3	4	2
NO TOTAL	13	3	5	8	13	12	14

N.A.= Not applicable

⁸ At a ratio of one weapon per combatant.

the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory,"⁹ takes seriously the idea of absolute disarmament. In Complete and General Disarmament, as it is conceived by the international community, "complete" means the minimum "necessary to maintain internal order" and participate in international peacekeeping operations.¹⁰ Costa Rica illustrates the principle well. In 1948, at the end of the civil war there, the country dismantled the Armed Forces, without losing at any point internal coercive capacity through other security forces. There is broad consensus which says the attainment of a state's monopoly on force is essential to ensuring immediate physical security and, in turn, a prerequisite for sustainable peacebuilding. If the abolition of nuclear arms seemed utopian during the Cold War, society (and peace) without weapons today is unimaginable. As such, there is no single DDR process for which "disarmament and demobilization" means *absolute* disarmament and demobilization.

2.- Relative demilitarization.

Normally in a post-war situation, some demilitarization is given consideration. The formula is different for every country; however a "typical" DDR program might involve disarming and demobilizing all or nearly all combatants on one side of a conflict, and reducing considerably the size of the other side, down to a core of future Armed Forces. Surplus weapons are destroyed and soldiers who are not indispensable are reintegrated into civilian life.

The result is authentic, though partial, disarmament and demilitarization, and a reestablishment of unified control over soldiers and weapons.

Angola is an example of this today. Angola's General Program for Demobilization and Reintegration, GPDR, stipulates disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration into civilian life for more than 100,000 combatants pertaining to the UNITA armed group. Only UNITA officers can be incorporated into the Armed Forces. The number of Armed Forces members to be reduced was 33,000. In Nepal, the future of both the Armed Forces and Maoists is under discussion; however the most realistic proposal is for a partial integration of former Maoist insurgents into the national army, with a simultaneous overall diminution to the army. Côte d'Ivoire is a similar example. 5,000 rebels will be placed in the Armed Forces and an equivalent number of soldiers will be demobilized. In Aceh, Indonesia, a similar trade off was made to demobilize armed members of the Free Aceh Movement, GAM. In exchange for GAM demobilization, "surplus" Indonesian troops stationed in Aceh were, if not demobilized, redeployed, with the aim of reducing the overall militarization of the region to pre-war levels. Armed groups were demobilized unilaterally in Uganda and Colombia. In both countries, continued armed conflict between the government and other groups or factions has prevented even consideration of effective demilitarization. In Eritrea, demilitarization is administered by the military because of the interstate nature of the war there. In Afghanistan, reconstruction of the Armed Forces is accomplished through a demobilization of the former military and militias.

3.- Incessant militarism. In other places, DDR involves managing weapons and soldiers in ways that cannot be called disarmament or demilitarization, partial or total, even though there is a process of arms control and a strengthening of the state. In these countries, weapons collected are incorporated into arsenals of the Armed Forces and a determinate number of opposition combatants are integrated as soldiers into the military. Nepal could become a case of this kind. Sudan is more complicated; however it demonstrates clearly the centrality of the army's role in state creation. The armed groups and militias which emerged during the war in Sudan have filtered through a process of integration into one or other of the country's two armies. Even though both armies have started to demobilize, they do so slowly, since Sudan could split into two states in an upcoming referendum and both will need an army. Both armies, the SAF in the north and the SPLA in the south, pre-exist their would-be, respective states.

If we look at armament in isolation, the tendency is towards arms control rather than disarmament. Unfortunately, weapons availability, especially in regional contexts where there is open armed conflict, counters efforts to disarm groups which have not been demobilized effectively. An extreme example of this were accusations made in 2008 by members of the Rwandan FDLR, claiming certain staff of MONUC, responsible for disarmament, had sold weapons to the FDLR following disarmament. Most programs consider arms destruction

Table 03. Examples of the Destinations of Weapons and Combatants in DDR Programming

Country and Program	Small Arms, Light Weapons Surrendered	Munitions Surrendered (Units)	Other Weapons Surrendered	Destruction
Afghanistan (DDR)	36,571	9,000,000	Explosives, 12,248 heavy weapons	Partial destruction of ammunition and explosives (with 50 percent saved for the Armed Forces)
Angola (GPDR)	33,000	300,000		Total
Burundi (NPDDR)	5,400			Partial
Colombia (AUC)	18,051			Partial (Armed Forces and destruction)
Côte d'Ivoire (NPRRC)	2,121			Total
Eritrea (DRP)				Storage
Indonesia (Aceh)	1,018			Total
Liberia (DDRR)	30,646	6,486,136	33,604 artillery munitions	Total
Nepal (AMMAA)	3,475			To be determined
Rwanda (RDRC)	6,000			Total
Sudan (DDRP)				Storage

⁹ Weber, "Politics as a vocation", p. 78.

¹⁰ Established under the historic McCloy-Zorin Accords of 1961.

as part of DDR as chiefly symbolic and, because of this, ceremonies held to destroy weapons are called “Flames of Peace.” Despite the symbolic nature of ceremonies such as these, frequently involving destroying damaged or obsolete weaponry and surrendering operational weapons to the military or police, they are nevertheless important.

A general lack of official information on the destinations of arms is, at the same time, worth mentioning. Because some processes have not been sufficiently transparent, it is difficult to determine the final destinations of surrendered or confiscated weapons. A lack of information is also true for disarmament implemented by some national Armed Forces, for example, in Uganda. A lack of published data runs contrary to the aims of symbolic disarmament and suggests a greater strategic interest in disarming and demobilizing one armed group rather than demilitarizing society as a whole.

Countries that, on the contrary, have made explicit their intention to destroy arms include Angola, Côte d’Ivoire, Indonesia, Liberia, and Rwanda. In the other countries, official information on arms destruction lets us believe weapons will be destroyed later, although frequently official statements on this are silent.

Theoretical contributions to DDR programming in 2008

In addition to evaluating the evolution of DDR practice on a country-by-country basis, it is important to weigh academic contributions made to strategizing and understanding DDR. The most recent studies are varied. They include the UN Integrated Strategy on DDR, the Stockholm Initiative on DDR, the EU Concept for Support to DDR, and the Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program (MDRP, funded by the World Bank), among others. In addition to improving the design, implementation, and evaluation of DDR programming, the challenges facing current DDR processes are still great.¹¹ These challenges need to centre on both program execution and interrelations with other peacebuilding tools for a long-term vision that incorporates new actors, such as the private sector, which can play a role in reintegrating ex-combatants.

It was in this conjuncture that the Centre for International Cooperation and Security (CICS) at the University of Bradford presented, in July 2008, a project titled *DDR and Human Security: Post-conflict Security-building in the Interests of the Poor*. The aim of the project was to improve DDR program design, implementation, and evaluation capacity in post-war contexts of rehabilitation.¹² The project deals with building better, stronger connections between DDR, security sector reform, the proliferation and control of small arms, and legal and judicial reform, in addition to analyzing contributions to human security through the study of a variety of current situations.

The project sees community-based reintegration as key to empowering host communities, increasing constructive organizational capacities, improving efficiency, improving effectiveness and sustainability, and strengthening local government. Community-based reintegration, the project contends, contributes to cementing sustainable development. In addition to the central role of communities and as recent beneficiaries of reintegration programming, communities are well placed to participate in the design and planning of strategies for reintegration. The project, as such, views as a necessity the implementation of tools and strategies for development cooperation, tools such as Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA), Conflict Analysis Models, and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), predominantly.

Besides establishing the link between DDR and communities, DDR can also be coupled to security sector reform. The CICS project also studied this connection, which is lacking typically in DDR programming despite the importance put on it by the UN Integrated Strategy on DDR. DDR includes very little on security sector reform and theoretical work on security sector reform is scarce. The United Nations, for instance, views discourse on security sector reform as relatively new and does not treat the processes for it as particularly significant. Nor does the UN draw from a long experience of security sector reform. While DDR has a long history of monitoring and analysis, security sector reform is emerging and treated widely between countries. Conceptual and practical clarification is necessary.¹³

CICS says security sector reform contains a wide array of factors and security, governmental, and judicial agencies and institutions in need of transformation. If included in peace negotiations, the potential synergies and common work of DDR and security sector reform can grow from an early stage. It is possible in the design stage to clarify the potential connections and common points in the goals of each process, whether this clarification deals with the consequences of disarming and demobilizing armed groups, while insisting on distinct options for demobilized ex-combatants, or developing a comprehensive approach to DDR, security sector reform, and the management and collection of weapons to fight armed violence in contexts of post-war rehabilitation. Potential links in managing arms in the disarmament stage, as well as reducing and restructuring the Armed Forces in the demobilization stage through the cantonment or barracking of soldiers, should be explored in implementation.

Something the CICS project does not consider, which should be given greater attention in the future, is the role played by the private sector in peacebuilding and, more specifically, DDR. Lacking socioeconomic conditions where peacebuilding is done leads to strained employment opportunities. In facing shortages of resources for reintegrating

11 The main sources on the challenges facing DDR programs today include N. Ball and L. van de Goor, *Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration: Mapping Issues, Dilemmas and Guiding Principles*. Conflict Research Unit Report. The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations ‘Clingendael,’ 2006; Stalon, op. cit.; and P. Swarbrick, *Avoiding Disarmament Failure: The Critical Link in DDR - An Operational Manual for Donors, Managers, and Practitioners*. Working Paper 5, Geneva: Small Arms Survey, 2007. <http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/files/sas/publications/w_papers_pdf/WP/WP5_DDR_Manual.pdf>.

12 Other participating organizations included the Institute for Security Studies, Saferworld, the Overseas Development Institute, the Niall O’Brien Center for Active Non-violence, Reconciliation and Community Futures, and the University of St. La Salle. All of the documentation for this project can be found at <<http://www.ddr-humansecurity.org.uk>>

13 Bryden, “Linkages between DDR and SSR.”

ex-combatants, the private sector can offer alternatives to job creation. Private businesses can offer a variety of services, taking different forms: cooperation with existing bodies to promote employment and economic planning with local public authorities, NGOs, and educational institutions.¹⁴

¹⁴ ILO, *Manual of Training and Employment Options for Ex-Combatants*.

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Glossary

AUC	Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia)
CICS	Centre for International Cooperation and Security, Bradford University
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
EU	European Union
FARDC	DR Congo Armed Forces
FDLR	Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda (Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda)
MDRP	Multi-Country Demobilization & Reintegration Program
MONUC	Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en DR Congo (United Nations organization Mission in the DR Congo)
NGO	Non Governmental Organizations
SSR	Security Sector Reform
SAF	Sudanese Armed Forces
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
UN	United Nations
UNITA	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola)
WB	World Bank

Afghanistan

(DDR, 2003-2008)

Context

Conflict

The country has been embroiled in armed conflict almost continuously since the invasion by Soviet troops in 1979, when civil war broke out between government armed forces (with Soviet backing) and anti-Communist Islamic guerrillas (Mujahideen). The withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1989 and the rise of the Mujahideen to power in 1992 against a background of chaos and internal fighting between the different anti-Communist factions led to the rise of the Taliban movement, which had gained control over almost all of Afghanistan by the end of the 1990s. In November 2001, after the al-Qaeda attacks of 11 September, the USA invaded the country and overthrew the Taliban regime. Following the signing of the Bonn Agreements,¹ a new interim government was installed, led by Hamid Karzai, and this was subsequently given a full mandate in elections. The level of violence in the country has steadily risen since 2006 as a result of the regrouping of the Taliban militias.²

Peace process

In May 1988, the United Nations created the United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP), whose mandate came to an end in March 1990. Its mission included supervising the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. As a result of the Bonn Agreement signed in December 2001, the Interim Authority was created. The process started in Bonn in 2001 culminated in September with elections for the National Assembly (Wolesi Jirga) and the provincial councils. Nevertheless, as Amnesty International pointed out at the time, many of the candidates running in the elections – which were tarnished by a climate of intimidation prior to the voting – were factional chiefs, many of whom had been accused of committing human rights abuses, which led to widespread consternation among the citizens. Women were guaranteed at least one-fourth of the seats in the Wolesi Jirga, yet they nonetheless came upon social and administrative barriers. The low voter turnout, especially in Kabul, cast doubts on the legitimacy of the electoral process.³

International intervention

Under Chapter VII of Security Council Resolution 1386,⁴ the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) is in charge of the international military operation in Afghanistan whilst the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) is in charge of international civic activities.

ISAF is a military instrument maintained by NATO and composed of 41,000 members from 38 states, including 15,000 individuals from the United States. UNAMA is administered by the Department of Political Affairs (DPA) with cooperation from the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO). UNAMA's mandate is to supervise the achievement of objectives outlined in the Bonn Agreement and to support the government of Afghanistan in attaining these objectives. The UNAMA mission is divided into two broad areas: the first is focussed on humanitarian aid, recuperation, and reconstruction; the second on political questions, such as DDR, elections, and the promotion and oversight of political and human rights. The mission is also responsible for the economic development of the country, the rule of law, the control of drug cultivation, the empowerment of women, and police reform.⁵

1 *Agreement on Provisional Arrangements in Afghanistan*. This report draws extensively on the following sources, from which only direct quotations are cited: ANBP, *Afghanistan's New Beginnings Programme*; Poulton et al., *Qatra Qatra Darya Meshad*; and the UNDP Afghanistan website, <<http://www.undp.org.af>>.

2 Adapted from School for a Culture of Peace, *Alert 2008!*, p. 29

3 Extracted from Fisas, *Peace Processes Yearbook 2008*, p. 108

4 Resolution 1386 of the UN Security Council.

5 Adapted from School for a Culture of Peace, *Afganistán*.

Summary

Type of DDR	Unilateral disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of armed forces in a wartime context.
Groups to demobilize	63,000 AMF members.
Implementing bodies	ANBP.
Budget	\$246.3 millions
Timeline	Demobilization from October 2003 to July 2005. Reintegration extended until the end of 2008.
Status / synopsis	Concluding. Demobilization of armed forces completed, but extent of re-recruitment by militias and the private security sector unknown. A parallel programme for the disbandment of militias (DIAG) is in place.

Basic facts

Population: 28,226,000

Food emergencies: Yes

IDPs: 200,000

Refugee population: 3,057,661

GDP: \$ 11,626,841,088

Per capita income: -

HDI: -

Military expenditure: \$ 209,000,000

Military population:

51,000 (armed forces)

Arms embargo: Against the Taliban, UN since January 2000, EU since April 2002

To cite this report:

E. Sanz, "Afghanistan (DDR, 2003-2008)", in A. Caramés and E. Sanz, *DDR 2009. Analysis of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) Programmes in the World during 2008*. Bellaterra: School for a Culture of Peace, 2009, pp. 17-24.

The European Union Council has established a European police mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL Afghanistan) whose aim it is to train and reform local Afghan police and to strengthen the judicial system.

Transitional Justice

In early 2006, the Afghan government approved an Action Plan for Truth, Justice and Reconciliation and in 2007 the Wolesi Jirga approved a draft amnesty law for all the combatants who had participated in the conflict. The Taliban claimed that they were willing to begin negotiations with the Afghan government after president Hamid Karzai made a proposal to negotiate. The initial contacts took place via the National Reconciliation Commission.⁶

Security Sector Reform

Afghanistan's New Beginnings Programme (ANBP), a project of the UNDP, is responsible for security sector reform and related programming, including DDR. Different countries fund different areas of programming: Japan funds DDR, the United States and Germany fund police training, the United Kingdom funds anti-drug trafficking efforts, Italy funds judicial reform, and the United States funds reform of the Armed Forces. The ANBP calculated \$120 million was saved by demobilizing 93,000 combatants (more than 60,000 through DDR). This money was put to reforming the Ministry of Defence and the new ANA, or Afghan National Army. The new ANA was established in December 2002 with help from the US, UK, and France. The army is "ethnically balanced" and consists of 60,000-70,000 soldiers. Having reached this figure in early 2008, the Government of Afghanistan said it was insufficient to combat the insurgent Taliban and that only a new ANA of 200,000 soldiers would reduce the overall cost of war and the number of foreign personnel stationed in the country.

Other disarmament initiatives

The ANBP focuses its work on four areas:

1. DDR

2. Anti-Personnel Mine and Ammunition Stockpile Destruction (APMASD), known as the "Ammo Project," administered from December 2004 to March 2008. In addition to removing landmines, APMASD involved finding, collecting, and destroying arms in DDR (and later DIAG, or Disbandment of Illegal Armed Groups). This work is described in greater detail in the section on disarmament. Canada gave \$16 million for APMASD. The ANBP and Ministry of Defence, with cooperation from the Halo Trust, executed the work of the APMASD. In August 2007, 32,300 tonnes of ammunition were found and 15,833 tonnes of it were destroyed. 9,443 tonnes were transferred to the Ministry of Defence. 496,717 anti-personnel mines and 16,125 anti-tank weapons were destroyed as well. The ANBP concluded operations in March 2008, transferring its activities to the Ministry of Defence.

3. Heavy Weapon Cantonment (HWC), executed from January 2004 to February 2006. By October 2005, HWC had collected 12,248 weapons. It is believed the majority of heavy weapons, 98 percent of them, were removed from circulation, though some feel this official figure is optimistic. The Halo Trust was responsible for HWC execution while the ISAF and ANBP overlooked weapons storage.

4. DIAG. Although it is possible to understand DIAG as "the continuation of... DDR and CIP [the Commanders Incentive Programme] under a new name and with different parameters", DDR and CIP are in reality distinct in practice and understanding, and the ANBP indeed distinguishes the two.

The UN, through UNAMA, operates the UN Mine Action Center of Afghanistan (UNMACA). The centre, operating since 1989, receives its largest financial donations for demining work from the international community.⁷

Program Design

Type and Designation of DDR

DDR in Afghanistan involved unilateral disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of Armed Forces in a wartime context. The Afghan Military Forces, AMF, technically the country's official Armed Forces, resemble more a grouping of militias.⁸

DDR in Afghanistan stands for disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration. Occasionally it is referred to as DDR-CIP to differentiate it from the DDR Commanders Incentive Programme.

Implementing Bodies

Coordination

The Disarmament and Reintegration Commission, D&RC or D&R Com, is presided over by Vice-President Khalili and led by the Joint Secretariat. It coordinates government and inter-ministerial tasks together with UNAMA and the UNDP, the main executive bodies for DDR in Afghanistan. Three earlier commissions, one for disarmament, another for the recruitment and training of officials, and another for the recruitment and training soldiers, were incorporated into the Ministry of Defence.

Implementation

Table 01. ANBP: bodies and functions

Bodies	Tasks
Ministry of Defence Operational Groups	Selection of individuals and units to demobilize
↓	
ANBP Regional Verification Committees (RVCs)	Verification
↓	
8 ANBP Mobile Disarmament Units (MDUs) and international observers	Disarmament
↓	
ANBP Regional Offices and Implementing Partners (IPs)	Demobilization and Reintegration

Source: ANBP, *Afghanistan's New Beginnings Programme*.

⁷ Lombardo and Mobarez, *UNAMA Press Conference*; Reuters, "Afghanistan's long battle to free itself from landmines".

⁸ IRIN, "Commanders to receive cash to surrender military units".

⁶ Extracted from Fisas, op. cit., pp. 92-93.

Until late 2006, the ANBP, created by the UNDP in April 2003, was responsible for program implementation. The ANBP received managerial support from the UNDP and a variety of Afghan government ministries. It received political guidance from UNAMA. The ANBP managed general security sector reform and three other areas in addition to DDR (see the section on other disarmament initiatives). The ANBP ran eight regional offices and an MDU in each region. It implemented DDR through implementation partners, or IPs. Oversight of weapons destruction was the responsibility of the Halo Trust, while the Ministry of Defence managed IPs. A variety of IPs have participated in reintegration. The German aid agency AGEF and the IOM have provided training and given resources for the creation of small businesses. The ARAA has supplied resources such as seeds, fertilizer, and tools for agricultural reintegration. World Vision and the IOM created training courses and educational programs for a variety of vocations.

The WFP provided demobilization food kits, helped reintegrate 4,455 women, and offered medical assistance to 153,915 children dependent on ex-combatants.

The UNDP is responsible for implementing the Reintegration Support Project for Ex-Combatants (RSPE), which works through the ILO and the Afghan Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs, Martyrs and Disabled.⁹

Monitoring and Evaluation

The embassy of Japan created an International Observer Group, IOG, in October 2003, with a specific commitment to monitoring DDR. To ensure the group's neutrality, JMAS, Japan Mine Action Services, led the group with \$1 million in funding from the UN.¹⁰

Guiding Principles

Chapter V of the Bonn Agreement specifies that all Afghan mujahidin, Armed Forces, and armed groups must surrender to the Provisional Authority

and reorganize in accordance with the requirements of the new armed security forces. Annex III, Point 4 urges "the United Nations and the international community, in recognition of the heroic role played by the mujahidin in protecting the independence of Afghanistan and the dignity of its people, to take the necessary measures, in coordination with the Interim Authority, to assist in the reintegration of the mujahidin into the new Afghan security and Armed Forces."¹¹

The Petersberg Decree established the creation of the ANA and a program of DDR. The decree says the ANA, designed by the Government of Afghanistan and the US, is to consist of no more than 70,000 soldiers, selected according to merit and assuring an "ethnic balance." ANA training, supervised by the Defence Commission and funded by the UN ANA Trust Fund, was supposed to be completed in "a few years." Article 7 established the creation of a Demobilization Commission, funded by Japan, for DDR and the collection of heavy weapons to be incorporated into the ANA.

The ANBP put emphasis on two objectives: to break the "historic patriarchal chain of command" between commanders and troops, and to help demobilized soldiers become economically independent. The "ultimate objective," however, was "to reinforce the authority of the government."

Participants

93,000 of a total 100,000 professional soldiers and mujahidin belonging to the ANA were demobilized. 62,000-63,000 were demobilized as part of DDR. 7,500 demobilized persons were child soldiers.¹²

Special Needs Groups

The number of commanders targeted by CIP varied from 350 to 550, depending on the source.

The number of disabled soldiers was low, while only four women joined the AMF. Nevertheless, projects were conducted to target

approximately 25,000 women and more than 150,000 dependent children of ex-combatants.¹³

Eligibility Criteria

To qualify for DDR assistance, individuals must have belonged to the AMF.

To qualify for CIP, military commanders must not have held a position in the government or military, must not have owned a large business or be very wealthy, must show support for DDR, must show loyalty to the government, and must not be accused of human rights abuses.¹⁴

Budget and Financing

Although the initial budget for DDR in Afghanistan was \$167 million, the figure was reduced due to readjusted estimates on the number of combatants to demobilize. In late June 2006, the UNDP concluded DDR with a final budgetary expenditure of \$140.9 million.

Table 02. Donors and contributions

Donor	Millions \$	%
Japan	91.7	65%
United Kingdom	19	13%
Canada	16	11%
United States	9	6%
Netherlands	4	3%
Norway	0.8	< 1%
Switzerland	0.5	< 1%
EC	0.1	< 1%
TOTAL	141.1	

Fuente: ANBP, *Afghanistan's New Beginnings Programme*.

The UK also gave \$4 million for RSPE.¹⁶

Schedule

Scheduling was determined at a donor conference held in Tokyo in February 2003. The ANBP was created in April 2003 and pilot projects were developed from October 2003 to May 2004. The Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs said child soldiers began to demobilize in April 2003.

Disarmament was split into four phases:

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ IRIN, "Child soldiers operating on several fronts".

¹⁵ ANBP, *Japan Gives Nearly US\$30 Million Extra; CIDA, Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration*.

¹⁶ UNDP Afghanistan, *Employment Opportunities for the Ex Combatants and their Families*; Christensen, op. cit.

⁹ Christensen et al., "Helping former Afghan fighters reintegrate".

¹⁰ International Observer Group for DDR, *Final Program Report*, pp. 3-4.

¹¹ *Agreement on Provisional Arrangements in Afghanistan. Cf. Decree of the President of the Islamic Transitional State of Afghanistan [Petersberg Decree]*.

¹² UN Inter-Agency Working Group on DDR, *Contry Programme: Afghanistan*.

Table 03. Disarmament phases

Phase	Start	Conclusion
Pilot	October 1, 2003	May 31, 2004
I	June 1, 2004	August 30, 2004
II	September 1, 2004	October 30, 2004
III	November 1, 2004	March 31, 2005
IV	April 1, 2005	July 31, 2005

Source: UN Inter-Agency Working Group on DDR, *Country Programme: Afghanistan*.

Some put November 2005 as the real conclusion date to both disarmament and demobilization. Reintegration seems to have begun in mid-2005, terminated officially in June 2006, then extended until the end of 2008.¹⁷

Phases

Disarmament

The Ministry of Defence supplied the ANBP with lists of AMF volunteers. Under the purview of an international observer, volunteers were verified by a Regional Verification Committee and confirmed by an MDU. Combatants were disarmed in regional headquarters and an official ceremony was held. The weapons collected were held by the regional MDU before they were sent to a central collection point. Explosives, ammunition, and arms with illegible serial numbers were destroyed. Originally, collecting and destroying ammunition was not planned, but the ANBP corrected this immediately by establishing the APMASD program.

Table 04. Disarmed and demobilized, by phase

Phase	Period	Disarmed	Demobilized
Pilot	10/03 – 05/04	6,271	7,550
I	06/04 – 08/04	8,551	7,257
II	09/04 – 10/04	7,169	3,733
III	11/04 – 04/05	22,440	20,375
IV	04/05 – 07/05	18,949	23,461
Total	22 months	63,380	62,376

Source: UN Inter-Agency Working Group on DDR, *Country Programme: Afghanistan*.

The disarmament process collected 36,571 small arms, 12,248 heavy munitions, and more than 9 million units of ammunition.¹⁸ In June 2007, the ANBP transferred its control of the Central Weapons Collection Point to the Ministry of Defence, after having controlled it since 2003. By August 2007, the ensemble of ANBP programs (see **other disarmament initiatives**) had collected 106,000 arms and had destroyed 55,000 of them. 30,000 tonnes of munitions were identified and half this quantity destroyed.

Demobilization

Demobilizations were registered in a national database, currently containing data on 62,376 ex-combatants. Regional Verification Committees, responsible for verifying combatants and negotiating disarmaments with commanders, were comprised of retired AMF officials. The CIP, similarly, was created deliberately to encourage commanders to “cooperate” and “surrender” militia units to the DDR process.¹⁹ Due in part to an absence of pre-information and sensitization for combatants, phantom soldiers and patronage encouraged by commanders arose due to the large number of demobilized individuals. Poulton et al. said the number of demobilized persons was not surprising given that DDR’s purpose was to reduce the excessively large levels of troops in the AMF.²⁰

Since the majority of AMF soldiers were members of local militias, the MDU identification process was apt. Still, while “part time” combatants welcomed demobilization (for some “the DDR process was an unexpected bonus”), veteran militia fighters and professional soldiers were harder to convince. The average age of demobilized soldiers was 27 years.

17 IRIN, “Commanders to receive cash to surrender military units”; Afghan Update.

18 *Afghan Update*, January 2005.

19 IRIN, “Child soldiers operating on several fronts”.

20 Op. cit, pp. 10-11.

Officials, averaging 37 years of age, represented 11 percent of combatants. Demobilization began the day after disarmament and lasted one day. In regional offices, information and counselling on reinsertion was provided. There is no cantonment period. Combatants received an introduction to reintegration and swore an oath of behaviour. Reintegration preferences were recorded. Each combatant was given economic compensation, a diploma and medal in recognition of services offered, as well as a kit with shoes, clothing, and food. A medical check was not done, nor were additional reinsertion services offered.

Child soldiers and other vulnerable persons were offered medical and psychological care, guidance on drug use and HIV/AIDS, and options for reintegration.

Civilian Reintegration

Reintegration started three weeks after demobilization and lasted 2-4 months. The following were the reintegration options offered: Under CIP, consideration was given to offering a commander reintegration kit consisting of a Financial Redundancy Package, training in Afghanistan or abroad, or employment in the administration. Teaching on reconciliation was included as part of business training. The financial redundancy package consisted of \$350-500 monthly over or two years, the first year covered by the ANBP and the second by the Government of Afghanistan. Commanders could choose to receive all the money at once to start a business. The ANCP said CIP assisted 320 commanders and 150 generals.²¹

For five months in late 2006, the ANBP administered training courses in primary education for 335 female ex-combatants.²² Reintegration was complicated by the vast number of participating organizations, approximately 30 in total, including international agencies, national and international NGOs, and private businesses.

On July 1, 2006, the ANBP concluded its reintegration phase of DDR, “within time and budget.” Later, through RSPE, the UNDP and ANBP, in consultation with the Disarmament and Reintegration Commission, reopened reintegration for an additional 23 months and more than

35,000 demobilized combatants. The decision was made after an inquiry revealed 35,500 ex-combatants, or 56 percent of the total demobilized, earned less than a dollar a day. RSPE targeted both ex-combatants and their families.²³

Also active in Afghanistan is the National Emergency Employment Programme - DDR / Rural Livelihood Support (NEEP-DDR/RLS), a reintegration project that began in August 2004 and targets 3,270 ex-combatants. The program combines training with work in infrastructure reconstruction. Thus far, it has trained 2,775 ex-combatants (and an additional 1,000 civilians), 57 of whom have graduated from university as technical specialists. Each participating ex-combatant worked for approximately a year. Ninety percent of new highway, 350 kilometres long in total, built in 30 different projects, has been completed.²⁴

Military Reintegration

Thousands of new recruits and officials to the new ANA are ex-members of the AMF. The precise percentage of AMF in the new ANA is difficult to calculate due to the itinerant nature of the ASF,²⁵ which was created immediately after the fall of the Taliban as a provisional security force and was designed to last only until the establishment of a new military and police body. The ASF is comprised of a variety of ex-soldiers, militia fighters, and returned exiles. Since at least 2003, it has managed local security. Demobilization for it began in late 2005, and the majority of members were reinserted into the ANA and ANP. One 2006 news article said the demobilized received large cash payments of between \$500 and \$2,000. A bonus of \$500 was also given as incentive to enlist in the ANA and ANP. 89 percent took the bonus and enlisted, predominantly in the ANA.²⁶

The Bakhtar News Agency said 1,800 ex-AMF, demobilized previously through DDR, were recruited to the ANA in 2008.²⁷ New recruits to the ANA received training for 3-8 months and were required to sit a series of examinations before joining the new ANA. The new ANA aims to have 130,000 members by 2012.

Meanwhile, the reconstitution of groups of ex-soldiers and ex-militia fighters in private security companies, often hired through a variety of means by the same international community responsible for disarming them earlier, appears to be preventing demobilization from succeeding.²⁸

Table 05. Reintegration options

Option	Description	Participants	%
Agriculture	Nurseries, fishing, cattle raising, beekeeping, etc., depending on the region and advice from the Ministry of Agriculture	23.940	42,9
Vocational training	Carpentry, masonry, computer work, mechanics, etc.	11.736	21,03
Small business	Training courses, small subsidies, and continued assistance	14.251	25,54
Mine action	Community demining under UNMACA	843	1,51
Afghan National Army or Police	Accessed by examination in a recruitment centre	713	1,28
Contracting	Assistance in creating teams of building contractors	1.027	1,18
Salaried work	Short-term temporary employment	63	0,1
Teacher training	Available to officials who can show proof of education	374	0,67
Not participating		2.759	4,94
TOTAL		55.804	

Source: UN Inter-Agency Working Group on DDR, *Country Programme: Afghanistan*.

21 IRIN, op. cit.

22 ANBP Newsletter, February 2007.

23 Christensen et al., op. cit.

24 World Bank, *The World Bank in Afghanistan*, p. 12; Ministry of Rehabilitation and Rural Development, *MRRD Strategy and Programme Summary*, p. 7.

25 Not to be confused with the Afghan Security Forces, used sometimes to denominate the international military operation in Afghanistan.

26 "Revenge and the Afghan Security Force", en *Strategy Page*; "Afghan Security Force members demobilize, recommit", *American Forces Press Service*.

27 "Ex-military personnel pass 6th phase of ANA entrance exams", BNA.

28 Azarbaijani-Moghaddam et al., *Afghan Hearts, Afghan Minds*; Mir, "Don't rush for the exit".

Lessons Learned

An evaluation of DDR by Dahl Thruelsen at the Danish Institute for International Studies concluded that a politicization of DDR in Afghanistan has damaged other initiatives. The findings are outlined in the chart below.²⁹

Dimension	Criteria for Success	Fulfilment
Policy / Strategy	Comprehensive policy and development frameworks	Partial
	National application	Complete
	Planning based on empirical data	Partial
Operations	Sufficient and flexible financial mechanisms	Complete
	Effective coordination	Complete
	Realistic implementation objectives and schedules	None
Tactics	Indivisible and holistic implementation	Complete
	Effective public information	None
	Detailed and transparent eligibility criteria	Complete
	Community participation	Partial

Poulton et ál.³⁰ gave a more exhaustive evaluation of DDR. The Poulton report said DDR was “the most successful aspect of security sector reform” and that both DDR and CIP were the ANBP projects which most contributed to peace and stability in Afghanistan. The CIP, it continued, “created important initiatives of peace building and reconciliation, in a period of time that permitted for the development of a democratic political process.” It said these achievements, in addition to demining efforts, weapons management, etc., were not sufficiently recognized by national and international organizations.

The report also argued opportunities were lost in the demobilization and integration process, and therefore the UNDP should continue its work through the NSP (National Solidarity Programme), RSPE, and NABDP (National Area Based Development Project) for another three years.³¹

Poulton et ál. gave the following as lessons learned:

- UNAMA (DPKO)-UNDP cooperation functioned very well;
- the Disarmament and Reintegration Commission was an appropriate coordinating mechanism;
- the UN should support the commission in its subsequent work (the Ammo Project, DIAG) to ensure fulfilment of international standards;
- Afghanistan continues to be a potential nucleus of arms trafficking in the region;
- the success of DDR was due in great measure to the commitment of donors and the government;
- disarmament was “innovative, efficient, and successful,” ANBP implementation was excellent, and MDUs exemplified good implementation practices;
- demobilization was “very efficient, though not very effective”;
- reintegration required more time; and
- the main defect of DDR was its initial design, done by a small group of specialists who decided on a variety of aspects that later failed.

²⁹ Dahl Thruelsen, *From Soldier to Civilian*, p. 43.

³⁰ Op. cit.

³¹ Cf. UNDP Afghanistan, *Promotion of Sustainable Livelihoods Programme*, and CIDA, op. cit.

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Glossary

AMF: Afghan Military Forces

ANA: Afghan National Army (usually referred to the “new ANA”, AMF was also used to be called “ANA”)

ANBP: Afghanistan’s New Beginnings Programme

ANP: Afghan National Police

APMASD: Anti-Personnel Mine & Ammunition Stockpile Destruction

ASF: Afghan Security Force

CIDA: Canadian International Development Agency

CIP: Commanders’ Incentive Programme

D&R Commission / D&RC / D&R Com: Disarmament and Reintegration Commission

DIAG: Disbandment of Illegal and Armed Groups

FRP: Financial Redundancy Package (offered to CIP commanders)

HWC: Heavy Weapon Cantonment

IP: Implementing Partner

ISAF: International Security Assistance Force

MDU: Mobile Disarmament Unit

NABDP: National Area Based Development Project

NEEP-DDR/RLS: Rural Livelihood Support

NSP: National Solidarity Programme

RSP / RSPE: Reintegration Support Project / for Ex-combatants

Angola

(PGDR, 2003 – 2009)

Context

Conflict

At the end of the fight for independence from the Portuguese in 1975, armed conflict continued in Angola, a country rich in petroleum and diamonds, in the form of a civil war dominated, on the side of government, by the FNLA (National Liberation Front of Angola, in Portuguese Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola) and the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, in Portuguese Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola), and UNITA, an armed opposition group composed of 105,000 members. Following independence in 1975, geographic control of the country split between the MPLA in urban areas and UNITA in rural areas in the east and south of Angola. The FNLA dissolved in 1976.

UNITA failed to comply with conditions set for the first peace agreements, the **Bicesse Accord in 1992** and the **Lusaka Accord in 1994**. In 1998, fighting resumed between the Angolan armed forces (around 35,000 members) and UNITA. While the armed forces pushed to control the country, UNITA held on to all rural areas with low intensity conflict. Although the conflict concluded in March 2002, numerous episodes of violence in the province of Cabinda continued. It should be noted that a dimension of regional destabilisation has characterised the conflict in Angola. Governmental sides in conflicts occurring in the Republic of the Congo and the DR Congo have supported the Angolan government. Elections were planned for September 2006 in Angola, but they were postponed without a new date being set.¹

Peace Process

The latest agreement, in addition to the peace agreements already mentioned, is the Luena Memorandum of Understanding (herein LMU), signed in April 2002. This agreement modifies and improves portions of annexes of the Lusaka Accord. Essentially, the LMU grants amnesty for all crimes committed during the armed conflict, approves a ceasefire, and agrees to integrate around 5,000 UNITA combatants in the armed forces, while demobilizing the remainder. In short, it puts an end to 27 years of armed conflict.²

Concerning the transitional justice subject, the LMU grants amnesty for all crimes committed during the course of the armed conflict.³ On a high impunity context for the human Rights abuses, the coordination of the authorities near civil society was seem a really important fact.⁴

Security sector reform

The LMU outlines integration for 5,000 officials of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (known by its Portuguese acronym UNITA) into the Angolan Armed Forces, with support from the UN. The work is the job of the Mixed Military Commission, responsible for providing the necessary monitoring, identifying paramilitary units, determining itineraries, and training new security units.⁵

A reduction of 33,000 Armed Forces soldiers was the result of assistance from Portugal through the Portuguese Institute of Military Studies. In October 2006, US military officials said they would help train Angolan military forces with the aim of strengthening relations between Angola and the United States.

Summary

Type of DDR	Bilateral demobilization of armed forces and armed opposition groups for security-sector reform in a post-war context.
Groups to demobilize	105,000 combatants of UNITA and 33,000 members of the armed forces.
Implementing bodies	Two bodies were created after the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding: the JMC to oversee the fulfilment of agreements and the Technical Group to assist the JMC.
Budget	\$246.3 millions
Timeline	August 2002 – December 2008
Status / synopsis	By late 2008, 97,390 (92.7 percent of expected), 52,612 (83.3 percent), and 84,409 (65.9 percent) ex-combatants had demobilized, reinserted, and reintegrated respectively.

Basic facts

Population: 17,499,000
IDP: 19,566
Refugee population: 186,155
Military expenditure: \$ 2,226,000,000
Military population: 107,000 (armed forces); 10,000 (paramilitary)
Arms embargo: No
GDP: \$ 58,547,298,304
Per capita income: \$ 4,400
HDI: 0,484 (157th)

1 Mateos, *Angola, Construyendo la paz*, p. 2..

2 World Bank, *Report N° T7580-ANG Technical Annex*, p. 13.

3 World Bank, *Ibid.*

4 Ruigrok, *Whose Justice?*, p. 3.

5 World Bank, *ibid.*

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DDR Process

Other disarmament initiatives

Disarmament initiatives in Angola include work with antipersonnel mines and war explosives calculated to affect 1,300 km² in 2,800 areas spread across 1,715 communities. The government has coordinated efforts to oppose landmines through work with the Inter-Sectoral Commission on Demining and Humanitarian Assistance (known by its Portuguese acronym CNIDAH). CNIDAH works to develop policy, plan activities, establish priorities, and coordinate and manage all related work. The initiative, with a budget of 2.1 million euros, was funded by the European Commission and UNDP. Handicap International, the Association of Disabled Veterans of Angola, and UNICEF ran related activities, involving giving assistance to and rehabilitating victims, educating, and raising awareness on the topic.

CNIDAH says 6,000 km² of land, including 423 km of highway, was demined in 2007. Also, 91,000 anti-personnel mines were destroyed and approximately 39,000 landmine victims were given care.⁶

A process to disarm the civilian population was conducted in 2008. The process unravelled in four phases:

- Phase 1 (March - June): informing and sensitizing civilians
- Phase 2 (April - July): voluntary surrendering of arms
- Phase 3 (July onwards): forcible collection of weapons
- Phase 4 (August onwards): programme evaluation

Once they have been collected, the process plans to destroy or reuse the weapons.⁷

Background to DDR

Previous DDR in Angola has failed. After the Bicesse and Lusaka Accords, unsuccessful efforts were made to demobilize combatants. Nevertheless, certain lessons and cultural experiences were drawn from the efforts, for instance, that the Lusaka Accords produced insecurity, that combatants lacked sufficient programming to demobilize, that an executive agency was needed, that better information prior to demobilization was needed, that ex-combatant reintegration and community renewal were linked, and that a better system of economic management and of providing donors with information and assistance was required.

For the Bicesse Accords, DDR was unimplemented because there was insufficient planning and implementation time allotted for it. UNITA members were neither barracked nor registered. Lusaka, also, failed because of a weak DDR scheme, delays that generated mistrust among the parties to the accord, insufficient state administrative deployment of the process, ineffective reintegration at the community level, and ongoing human rights violations.⁸

Type of DDR

DDR in Angola is organized under the General Programme for Demobilization and Reintegration (GPDR). It involves bilateral demobilization of the Armed Forces and armed opposition groups for security sector reform in a post-war context.

Guiding Principles:

The guiding principles of the peace process in Angola are to

- support the country's political transition and reintegrate half a million citizens,
- create a sustainable institutional structure for DDR,
- commit the government to supporting demobilization policies, and
- implement effective security measures.⁹

Groups to Demobilize:

In total, there are 138,000 persons in need of demobilization, 105,000 UNITA combatants and 33,000 soldiers of the Armed Forces.

Special Needs Groups:

There are an estimated 6,000 child soldiers in UNITA who have not been registered in cantonments. Prior to the 2002 peace agreements, around 10,000 youth were recruited by the Armed Forces, or 10 percent of all combatants.

Registered disabled combatants amount to 20,631, with a large number still unregistered.¹⁰

Eligibility Criteria:

DDR eligibility criteria were reviewed by the government, former UNITA militants, and the Joint Military Commission (JMC). The criteria include

- possession of Angolan nationality and
- status as a combatant with proof of military affiliation to UNITA.

Implementing Bodies

Two bodies were created after the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding: the JMC to oversee the fulfilment of agreements and the Technical Group to assist the JMC. The Institute of Socio-Professional Reintegration for ex-Combatants (known by its Portuguese acronym IRSEM) was also created to assist with ex-combatant reintegration, with help from the GPDR.

IRSEM is divided into three departments: Projects, Human Resources and General Service, and Administration. IRSEM has an office in each of Angola's 19 provinces. Offices are allotted more staff in provinces with high numbers of individuals to reintegrate, in Benguela, Bié, Huambo, Huila, and Kwanza Sul. Provincial offices post employment opportunities, organize project inventories, assist development initiatives, and coordinate and supervise reintegration activities.¹¹

International organizations in Angola include the Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program (MDRP), a regional agency of the World Bank which supports both the activities of IRSEM's Angola Demobilization and Reintegration Program and NGOs such as the Christian Children's

6 AllAfrica, August 19, 2008.

7 CICS, *DDR and Human Security in Angola*, p. 13.

8 CICS, *ibid*.

9 World Bank, *op. cit*.

10 MDRP, *Angola Fact Sheet*.

11 World Bank, *op. cit*.

Fund and Save the Children, which assist with child soldiers.

The UN works through UNICEF, which manages child soldiers, and the UNDP and FAO, which focus on ex-combatant reintegration. Other UN agencies manage more specialized spheres of activity, such as landmine removal, humanitarian assistance, and human rights. The European Union, in a wide array of activities to support the peace process, assists in resettling and reintegrating ex-combatants and their families.

Budget

The current calculated cost of DDR is \$246.3 million, \$157 million from the Government of Angola, \$38.8 million from the MDRP, \$30.3 million from the UNDP Multi-Donor Trust Fund (MDTF), and \$20.3 million from the European Commission. Germany gave \$11.9 million to IRSEM.

Chart 01. Budget

Source	Million \$	%
Government	157	63.7
MDRP and IDA	38.8	15.7
MDTF	30.2	12.3
European Commission	20.3	8.2
TOTAL	246.3	100

Source: MDRP, *Angola Fact Sheet*

It is also worth noting that Angola paid out \$44 million for demobilization and that \$26 million of this went to paying down five months of back salary.

Schedule

Demobilization began in August 2002 and concluded in the first quarter of 2007. Reintegration began in March 2004 and the MDRP planned to conclude it in December 2008. New reintegration projects financed exclusively by the government are planned to launch in 2009. It is worth mentioning, also, that the MONUC programme in the DR Congo to repatriate ex-combatants remains operational.

Phases

Demobilization:

Demobilization in Angola involved building 27 cantonments, in addition to 8 extra camps, spread throughout 18 provinces. The government and

Armed Forces were put in charge of the camps and given the responsibility of identifying and registering combatants, collecting and destroying weapons, paying salaries, and organizing transportation to areas of settlement or return. Payment was offered equivalent to five months of salary in the Armed Forces, between \$300 and \$900. An additional \$100 was given by IRSEM for transportation, in addition to resettlement packages.

Demobilization, more specifically, included or involved

- identification,
- verification of combatant status,
- transportation,
- the provision of an identity card,
- the grouping of combatants into 35 established areas,
- the collection of socioeconomic statistics,
- counselling on HIV/AIDS,
- orientation before decamping, and
- the payment of a salary with adjustments proportionate to group origin.

UNITA members were identified, registered, and transported to resettlement areas. The international community gave food aid to combatants and their families. Responsibility for the Angolan Armed Forces fell to IRSEM.¹²

Work with child soldiers was organized and implemented by UNICEF, the Christian Children's Fund, and Save the Children. Family reunification, educational support, and vocational training were focus areas for DDR. The government, through the Ministry of Social Assistance and Reinsertion, committed to registering births, searching for and reunifying families, and providing education and training. UNICEF focussed on reunifying child soldiers with their families and giving psychosocial assistance for long-term recuperation.

Human Rights Watch said many child soldiers were excluded from the demobilization process and received only an identification card and food aid.¹³

Medical and economic assistance for rehabilitation, counselling, training, and support for starting micro-businesses, all in proportion to disability, were included in demobili-

zation planning for disabled soldiers. Information and sensitization were also provided, particularly in relation to HIV/AIDS.¹⁴

20,744 ex-members of the Angolan Armed Forces were identified to have a form of physical disability, with 17,695 having a high degree of disability, considered to be a disability affecting 30 percent or more of the body. Specialized demobilization was not planned for the severely affected population, though some relevant small projects were administered.¹⁵

Regarding female combatants, an equitable distribution of benefits was sought through specialized economic reintegration. Female combatants and communities were counselled, while programme impacts on both were monitored and controlled. The government excluded the families of ex-combatants from the aid it provided, which was condemned by Refugees International.

Reintegration:

Most cantonments were closed in mid-2003. After ex-combatants were resettled definitively in home communities or communities of their choosing demobilized persons were placed in transit camps formerly or currently used for internally displaced persons. Only later, once returned to their places of origin, did resettled individuals receive an additional \$100 of aid for contingencies. The average reintegration aid amounted to \$700 per person.¹⁶

IRSEM is responsible for yearly planning of implementation and details. The aims of reintegration are to

- assist ex-combatants in various programme activities, providing the necessary information and counselling on economic opportunities;
- assist ex-combatants in securing employment in communities, whether in the formal or informal sectors of the economy;
- boost ex-combatant education and skills;
- select ex-combatants according to their level of reintegration potential, independent of origin;
- help make decisions about personal preferences;

¹⁴ World Bank, op. cit.

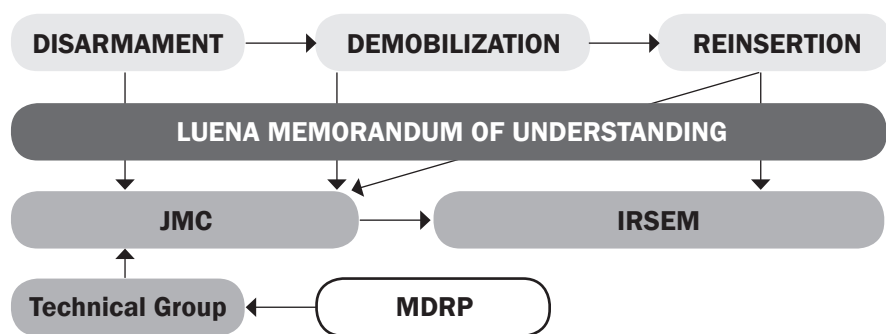
¹⁵ MDRP, op. cit.

¹⁶ World Bank, op. cit.

¹² World Bank, op. cit.

¹³ Human Rights Watch, *Forgotten Fighters*.

Graph 01. DDR Structure and implementing bodies



- forge community links for the sake of economic recovery;
- avoid positive discrimination in relation to other war-affected populations; and
- participate in civil society and the private sector in order to improve reintegration services.

A total 24 distinct reintegration projects can be organized into two categorized:

- *economic projects*, mostly agricultural but also community based or involving training and new activity creation; and
- *social projects* involving media sensitization, education on civil rights and responsibilities, landmine alerts, counselling on health matters such as HIV, information campaigns, analysis of conflict and reconciliation, and sports and community culture.

Reintegration projects are funded by the EU and World Bank. The Spanish Agency for International Cooperation, AECI, gave bilateral aid for the construction of five Arts and Trades Schools whose mandate it is to enhance equity and quality, as well as access to, education. The schools train teachers, work to reduce illiteracy, and offer vocational training so individuals can find work in rural and marginalized urban areas of the provinces of Luanda, Huambo, Malanje, Bié, and Benguela.

Evolution

Disarmament and Demobilization

Although not officially considered part of demobilization in Angola, disarmament is an essential component to DDR. Though UNITA possesses 90 percent of Angola's total arms, the number of weapons the armed movement has surrendered is very low. Figures stand at around 33,000 for small arms and 300,000 for rounds of ammunition.¹⁷

Disarmament and demobilization programme planning in Angola began with a series of poor calculations. 85,000 UNITA members demobilized in April-June 2002. The JMC declared an end to demobilization and demilitarization in August 2002 even though in January 2003 not all ex-combatants had received documentation for demobilization and additional ex-combatants and their families continued to arrive at reception points. A total 373,000 persons, 86,000 combatants and their families were recorded by February 2003. Initially planned for 80 days but lasting for more than four months, the prolonged demobilization caused delays to the entire DDR process.¹⁸

Demobilization concluded in the first quarter of 2007 with a total demobilization count of 97,390, some 70 percent of the expected figure. By late 2007, 52,612 persons were reinserted (84 percent of expected) and 84,409 were reintegrated (66 percent), in a total 250 approved sub-projects.¹⁹

Integration into the Armed Forces

27,000 Armed Forces soldiers, 15,321 eligible for licensing, have been identified thus far. A reduction of 33,000 soldiers was the result of assistance from Portugal and the Portuguese Institute of Military Studies. In October 2006, US military officials said they would help train Angolan military forces in order to strengthen ties between Angola and the United States.²⁰

Reintegration

The reintegration phase began in March 2004 following many months of delay while ex-combatants gathered in camps with dreadful sanitary

¹⁷ Parsons, *Beyond the Silence of Guns*.

¹⁸ CICS, op. cit.

¹⁹ MDRP, op. cit.

²⁰ MDRP, op. cit.

and food conditions. Reintegration began with poor capacity to manage resettlement, the return, and reintegration of ex-combatants in the provinces of Angola. The programme for reintegration lacked presence in the provinces and was poorly coordinated with both national and international NGOs.²¹

Reintegration was set to conclude in December 2006, but was extended in order to continue work with combatants already demobilized, who represented a security threat to the country in the existing climate of violence and insecurity.

Another early reintegration problem was a disparity between planning and implantation, noticeable, for instance, in the number of cantonments, originally 27 but increasing to 35. The cantonments were divided into three types: areas for ex-combatants, areas for female relatives, and areas for disabled and elderly persons. As it turned out, most demobilized combatants did not return to their home communities but remained in urban areas where they were less likely to be socially stigmatized.²²

At first, conditions in camps, characterized by high levels, and in some cases chronic levels, of malnutrition left much to be desired. Because of poor planning, compensation was needed in the form of food packages from the World Food Programme and agricultural tools supplied by a variety of agencies and churches. This alleviated the crisis in the short term, however a climate of tension remained in the cantonments due to delays in providing supplies, especially in the rainy season. Irregularities and confusion in registering and demobilizing combatants, “false alarms” over the closing of camps, and a general feeling of insecurity were also all common. A series of patches or piecemeal solutions resolved, in part, poor initial planning, but in reality only covered up more serious structural deficiencies on a temporary basis.²³

At a national technical meeting held in June 2007, the government pointed to the importance of reintegrating ex-combatants into civilian life. The meeting participants agreed to create legislation to enable disabled ex-combatants to gain access to public and private business opportunities.

In October 2007, the Angolan government approved recommendations by a technical team specialized in Armed Forces and UNITA reintegration. The recommendations included a plan to create self-employment in cattle rearing, fishing, and civil engineering. Bié Provincial Director of Care International, Daniel Júlio, said that in the last two years around \$1.3 million had been spent on reintegrating some 3,600 ex-combatants of UNITA in Bié.

The MDRP said its role in Angola was transitional and only a first step towards recuperation. It ran limited micro-projects focussed on agriculture and was involved in community reconstruction. Time for reintegration projects was short and exhausted small organizations implementing Angola Demobilization and Reintegration Program (ADRP) work at the local level,²⁴ in turn damaging post-war rehabilitation of the labour market and the productive capacities of the resettling population.²⁵

IRSEM said almost 3,000 ex-soldiers participated in reintegration projects. IRSEM said it had provided access to agricultural opportunities and vocational training and those ex-combatants had received equal support for the creation of associations and cooperatives.²⁶

By late 2008, 97,390 (92.7 percent of expected), 52,612 (83.3 percent), and 84,409 (65.9 percent) ex-combatants had demobilized, reinserted, and reintegrated respectively. The MDRP said some 81,700 direct recipients of assistance completed reintegration activities, while 250 subcontractors were hired to give reintegration support to 128,000 ex-combatants and community members.

According to surveys on reintegration, 60 percent of ex-combatants possessed employment created by them, 5 percent worked in the formal sector, and 35 percent remained unemployed. 96 percent of those who were employed worked in agriculture. In late June 2008, a survey was conducted on 10,500 ex-combatants within three to six months of receiving reintegration support.²⁷

21 World Bank, op. cit.

22 CICS, op. cit.

23 Hitchcock, *Disarmament, Demobilization & Reintegration: The Case of Angola*, p. 4.

24 Ruigrok, op. cit.

25 Parsons, *Beyond the Silence of Guns*.

26 Angola Press Agency, March 3, 2008.

27 MDRP, op. cit.

28 MDRP, op. cit.

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Glossary

ADRA: Acção para o Desenvolvimento Rural e Ambiente

AI: Amnesty International

CNIDAH: National Inter-Sectoral Commission of Demining and Humanitarian Assistance

FNLA: Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

HRW: Human Rights Watch

IRSEM: Instituto de Reinserción Socio-Profesional de Ex Militares

JMC: Joint Monitoring Commission

MoU: Memorandum of Understanding

MDRP: Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program

MONUA: Misión de Observadores de Naciones Unidas en Angola

MPLA: Movimiento Popular de Liberación de Angola

PGDR: Programa Geral de Desmobilização e Reintegração

UNDP: United Nations Development Program

UNICEF: United Nations Children Fund

UNITA: União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola

Burundi

(PNDDR, 2004-2008)

Context

Conflict

Since its independence from Belgium in 1962, Burundi has been witness to a number of outbreaks of violence, particularly in 1965, 1972, and 1988. The armed forces, controlled by the minority Tutsi (13% of the population), put down these outbreaks. In 1993, a Hutu president, Mr. Melchior Ndadaye, was elected for the first time. However, he was assassinated the same year. This led to a new outbreak of violence between, on the one hand, armed Hutu opposition groups, the Forces for the Defence of Democracy (FDD), and the National Liberation Forces (FNL, in French, Forces Nationales de Libération); and on the other hand, the Tutsi-led government, with some participation as well from Hutus. Since that time, Burundi has experienced one war after another, and more than 300,000 persons have died, half of this number during the first year of the conflict. In 1996, a coup d'état brought Major Pierre Buyoya to power. He had already been the president through another coup in 1987. At the start of 2006, only the FNL, founded in 1979 by Hutu refugees in Tanzania and led since 2001 by Agathon Rwasa, and its 1,500-3,000 combatants continued to fight the government. At this point, the government of Burundi was formed by a coalition of forces who had made peace with each other in recent years.¹

Peace process

The Arusha Peace Agreement, signed in August 2000, established a transition period of 36 months and involved constitutional reforms for Burundi. Two important groups, the National Council for the Defence of Democracy-Forces for Defence of Democracy (known by its French acronym CNDD-FDD), led by Jean-Bosco Ndayikengurukiye, and the Forces for National Liberation (FNL), led by Alain Mugabarabona, rejected the agreement and continued fighting the government. Both groups later splintered and this strained the negotiation process. In October 2002, nevertheless, the groups signed a ceasefire agreement.

In regards to DDR, demobilization was conducted for state security and defence forces and armed opposition groups. Demobilization was accomplished through the compilation of a list of combatants qualifying for demobilization and by processing the combatants for identification purposes, once they could show they fulfilled set criteria. Both a body for managing socio-vocational reintegration and a technical committee for managing the kinds of demobilization necessary were created. The international community was urged to participate in the DDR process.²

The Arusha Agreement stipulated a number of arrangements for transitional justice. In Protocol I, on the nature of the conflict, problems of genocide and exclusion, and their solutions, the agreement highlighted the need to combat criminal impunity for acts of genocide, war crimes, and other crimes against humanity. The agreement also mentioned the need to develop national laws to punish crimes of this magnitude.

The CNDD-FDD and the Transitional Government signed the **Pretoria Protocol on Political, Defence and Security Power Sharing in Burundi in October 2003**. The protocol said CNDD-FDD combatants had to be moved to areas designated by the Joint Ceasefire Commission (JCC), under the supervision of the African Mission in Burundi. The aim was for the CNDD-FDD to create a new Burundi National Defence Force (BNDF). Ex-combatants not integrated into the Armed Forces were to be demobilized progressively according to the needs of society, under the supervision of the Burundian Ministries of State and Defence.³

¹ Extract from School for a Culture of Peace (2006)

² See the Arusha Peace Agreement, <http://www.usip.org/library/pa/burundi/pa_burundi_08282000_toc.html>.

³ See the Pretoria Protocol, <http://www.usip.org/library/pa/burundi/burundi_10082003.html>.

Summary

Type of DDR	Multiple DDR with restructuring of the armed forces in a post-war context.
Groups to demobilize	78,000 ex-combatants, 41,000 of them armed forces, 15,500 armed opposition groups, and 21,400 Gardiens de la Paix.
Implementing bodies	<i>National Programme for Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reinsertion (NPDDR)</i>
Budget	\$84.4 million
Timeline	From December 2004 to December 2008
Status / synopsis	It is calculated that there are 26,279 demobilized ex-combatants, including 3,261 minors. Around 5,400 small arms have been collected. 23,018 adults and all minors have received assistance for reintegration.

Basic facts

Population: 8,900,000

Food emergency: Yes

IDP: 100,000

Refugee population: 375,727

GDP: \$ 973,659,520

Per capita income: \$ 330

IDH: 0,382 (172nd)

Military expenditure: \$ 48,000,000

Military population:

35,000 (armed forces);

31,050 (paramilitaries)

Arms Embargo: No

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The protocol considered temporary immunity for ex-combatants. Article 8 outlined the need to create a National Truth and Reconciliation Commission with a mandate to encourage mechanisms of reconciliation and pardon, to unearth the truths behind crimes, to classify crimes, to determine responsibility for crimes, and to determine the guilty persons and victims.⁴

The protocol widened amnesty for CNDD-FDD combatants and government security forces, opting to use the term “temporary immunity” rather than amnesty. A commission responsible for implementing the protocol and identifying persons qualifying for amnesty, including CNDD-FDD collaborators, was decreed in 2004.

One of the last amnesties was a presidential decree, promulgated in 2006, to give temporary immunity to all individuals identified by the commission. The decree was followed up by a variety of ministerial orders which resulted in the freeing of some 3,000 persons, including some charged with grave offences committed during the war.

Security Sector Reform

Security sector reform (SSR) in Burundi focuses on two principal areas:

- the integration into the BNDF of the old Burundian Armed Forces (known by their French acronym FAB) and Armed Political Parties and Movements (APPM); and
- the reduction of the BNDF to 25,000 soldiers via a demobilization of 5,000 police officers, in order to streamline expenses and divert military spending to social and economic areas.

The defence and security arrangement, according to the Burundian constitution, must include the Armed Forces, the national police, and the intelligence service. The defence forces must include members of the state Armed Forces and ex-combatants by way of a technical committee comprising representatives from all sectors of society. Members of the

Armed Forces accused of genocide, coups d'état, or violations of the constitution or human rights are excluded from security restructuring done on a voluntary, individual, and transparent basis.

Though resolved now, one stumbling block to SSR was harmonizing the various ranks of the military. According to the current composition of the BNDF, 60 percent of officials are drawn from the old Armed Forces and 40 percent from the FDD. The government was given the role of determining the structure of the BNDF, while bearing in mind that command positions were to be split equally by the sides.⁵

Other Disarmament Initiatives

In April 2007, the government said three types of demining activities were going to be administered until 2008. The activities included accelerating demining efforts in affected areas to reduce the number of landmine victims, increasing access to social and economic services, boosting the capacities of the Mine Action Centre, and linking programming to development and poverty reduction plans.

A decree with the aim of strengthening national security by reducing the quantity of weapons in the hands of civilians was approved in May 2005. Other measures put in force included prohibiting off-duty police officers and military personnel from carrying guns and wearing uniforms during election periods.

DDR Process

Background to DDR

With a series of visits by NCDDR members to Eritrea, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone, the purpose of which was to understand best practices in those countries, DDR in Burundi prepared to launch in August 2000, immediately after the signing of the Arusha Agreement. The African Mission in Burundi launched a pilot cantonment project in Muyange, in the province of Buzanza, to listen to the experiences and lessons learned there and to use the learning to guide future DDR work. Considerations arising included a need to understand political conditions in order to conduct more effective work; to establish a period for cantonment; to maintain security in cantonments; to provide sufficient funding; to ensure cantonment periods did not last for more than three or four weeks; to situate cantonments in accordance with political, logistical, and security considerations; and to address the problem of child soldiers.⁶

Type of DDR

DDR in Burundi falls under the *National Programme for Demobilization, Disarmament, and Reinsertion* (NPDDR). It involves multiple DDR with restructuring to the Armed Forces in a post-war context.

Implementing bodies

MONUC overlooks the disarming of combatants, ensures their security, and is responsible for transferring them to home countries where they are assisted by World Bank MDRP programmes of national reintegration. The MDRP is responsible for planning in Burundi. Institutionally, the peace process is organized as follows:

- the Joint Ceasefire Commission (JCC) monitors ceasefire agreements, identifies armed groups, and overlooks DDR;
- the National Commission for Demobilization, Reinsertion, and Reintegration (NCDRR) manages overall programme coordination;
- 17 NCDRR provincial offices, one per province, and 117 ex-combatants, one per commune, manage local DDR;
- the UN Mine Action Coordination Center, UNMACC, overlooks weapons inspections;

⁴ School for a Culture of Peace, *Burundi*.

⁵ World Bank, *Annexe Technique*, Burundi, p. 5.

⁶ World Bank, op. cit.

- the World Food Programme gives food aid in the early stages of DDR;
- UNICEF runs a national child soldier rehabilitation programme; and
- the UN Integrated Office in Burundi helps in demobilizing and reintegrating ex-combatants.

The peace process in Burundi was implemented with the help of a joint operations plan, or a memorandum of understanding on disarming and demobilizing ex-combatants, which was used by the UN Operation in Burundi (succeeded by BINUB), the JCC, MDRP, and NCDDR.⁷

On May 21, 2004, the Security Council under Chapter VII of the UN Charter created the UN Operation in Burundi (known by its French acronym ONUB) and declared it active, with the maximum permissible number of peacekeepers, 5,655, in early June 2004. In addition to ensuring compliance with peace agreements, overlooking security, and ensuring satisfactory elections, ONUB was put in charge of DDR, controlling and monitoring state Armed Forces, and restricting the flow of small arms along borders.⁸

The UN Integrated Office in Burundi (known by its French acronym BINUB), established under Security Council Resolution 1719, replaced ONUB in January 2007. BINUB's main goals are to ensure peace and democracy, promote human rights, fight criminal impunity, and coordinate UN agencies and participating donors.

BINUB's role in terms of security is to monitor the overall ceasefire agreement, develop a national SSR plan with a component for training in human rights, implement a national demobilization and reintegration programme for ex-combatants, and strengthen initiatives to counter the use and proliferation of small arms.⁹

Established later in the peace process, the UN Commission for the Consolidation of Peace, a political and strategic response to the conflict and a partnership between the commission and government, works to

- reduce the proliferation of small arms by disarming civilians;
- demobilize and reintegrate ex-combats into civilian life, paying particular attention to special needs groups; and
- promote SSR by training individuals in human rights and for regular employment.¹⁰

Guiding Principles

The goal of the peace process is to demobilize 80,000 ex-combatants, reinsert and reintegrate them, assist vulnerable groups, and reduce the country's military expenditures by 62 percent.

The government began to design a national DDR plan with support from the World Bank in January 2003. In August 2003, it established the NCDDR, with the following as its guiding principles:¹¹

- that DDR be an integral part of SSR;
- that reintegration be achieved in conjunction with reconstruction and the rehabilitation of war-affected towns;
- that the peace process respect the amnesties granted under the Arusha Agreement, except in cases of genocide, crimes against humanity, or coups d'état; and
- that the peace process respect temporary immunities issued by leaders and combatants of armed opposition groups and the Armed Forces.

Groups to Demobilize

The number of individuals to demobilize varies, however an accepted number seems to be 78,000. Group demobilization schedules differ according to affiliation. The groups, and their numbers, scheduled for demobilization include:

- 41,000 Armed Forces, 8,000 in a first phase and the rest in a second;
- 15,500 combatants, 6,000 in a first phase, belonging to various opposition armed political parties and movements (APPM), including the CNDD, CNDD-FDD led by Jean-Bosco Ndayikengurukiye, CNDD-FDD led by Pierre Nkurunziza, Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People (PALIPEHUTU), National Liberation Front (FROLINA), and PALIPEHUTU-FNL led by Alain Mugarabona;
- an unspecified quantity of persons operating in the DR Congo, to be demobilized and repatriated by MONUC; and
- 21,400 combatants belonging to the Gardiens de la Paix (11,733 of a total 20,000) and the Combatants Militants (9,668 of a total 10,000), all to be demobilized in a first phase.¹²

UNICEF estimates there are 3,500 child soldiers operating in Burundi. In 2004, the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers said the war made use of 8,000 youth.¹³

Eligibility Criteria

A combatant qualifying for demobilization programming must

- surrender a set quota of weapons and ammunition;
- be known to a commanding officer;
- have been a member of a known armed group which participated in military actions prior to the signing of a ceasefire;
- be able to demonstrate knowledge of basic military training; and
- be a Burundian national.

Groups targeted for demobilization include those active in the Armed Forces or opposition groups before signing specific agreements settled from 2000 to 2003. Demobilized

⁷ CICS, *DDR and Human Security in Burundi*, p. 4.

⁸ UNDDR, *Burundi*.

⁹ BINUB, <http://binub.turretdev.com>.

¹⁰ Commission for the Consolidation of Peace, http://www.peacebuildingcommission.org/files/uploads/Indicators_Burundi_Framework_Draft_FR_Nov2007.pdf.

¹¹ NCDDR, *Rapport Couvrant les Mois de Septembre à Décembre 2004*.

¹² World Bank, op. cit.

¹³ Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, *Global Report 2008*.

FAB soldier are required to show proof of membership, while opposition group members must own a weapon and be physically identifiable, or be recognized as ex-combatants by a verification team.¹⁴

Budget

The initial cost estimated for the peace process was \$77.9 million, funded mainly by the MDRP. The following table gives the budgetary breakdown.

Table 01. Budget

Donor	Million \$	%
MDTF	41.8	53.6
World Bank (International Development Association)	36.07	46.3
Government of Burundi	0.02	0.1
TOTAL	77.9	100

Source: MDRP, *Burundi Fact Sheet*.

(*) Funds from Germany, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, the United States, France, Italy, Norway, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Sweden, and the European Union

Germany contributed \$15.9 million to the MDTF for ex-combatant reintegration, internally displaced persons, and refugees.

Schedule

DDR began formally on December 2, 2004, after a delay of one year, with a first group of 216 combatants. It was put on hold from December 23, 2004 to January 4, 2005. The anticipated conclusion date was December 31, 2008.¹⁵ It is important to note that MONUC's programme for repatriating ex-combatants in the DR Congo remains active.

Phases

With a series of visits by NCDDR members to Eritrea, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone, the purpose of which was to understand best practices in those countries, DDR in Burundi prepared to launch in August 2000, immediately after the signing of the Arusha Agreement. The African Mission in Burundi launched a pilot cantonment project in Muyange, in the province of Buzanza, to listen to the experiences and lessons learned there and to use the learning to guide future DDR work. Considerations arising included a need to understand political conditions in order to conduct more effective work; to establish a period for cantonment; to maintain security in cantonments; to provide sufficient funding; to ensure cantonment periods did not last for more than three or four weeks; to situate cantonments in accordance with political, logistical, and security considerations; and to address the problem of child soldiers.

DDR in Burundi was divided into two phases: a first phase, lasting one year, for the DDR of the FAB and to create a new National Defence Forces consisting of a maximum 30,000 soldiers; and a second phase, lasting three years, for the DDR of surplus defence forces.

Disarmament

Disarmament, involving the registration, storage, and possible destruction of weapons collected after June 2004, is the responsibility of ONUB. The disarmament process consists of disarming ex-members of the Armed Forces in their barracks and later registering and transporting them to cantonments.

Demobilization

Twelve assembly points were created, five for cantonment and disarmament, two for members of Nkurunziza's CNDD-FDD, two for other APPMs, and one for integration into the national police. Three demobilization centres were also created, one in Gitega, another in Bubanza, and a final Muramuya.

The demobilization of 30,000 members of the Armed Forces began in late 2005. 5,000 soldiers of the Armed Forces, demobilized in a first phase, were assembled in one centre, and 9,000 members of armed opposition groups were assembled in two other centres. These transit centres were created in Randa, Gitega, and Muramuya. Individuals remained for 10 days in the transit centres. They were registered and given preliminary counselling. Their identities were verified, they were given a medical examination, they were registered, identified, oriented, and finally transported. Each demobilized person received an allowance for reinsertion within a month of demobilization. Allowances, issued according to rank, were used to reinsert families. It is important to note that conditions in camps were deplorable due to a lack of clean water and sanitation, which could have caused a cholera epidemic.

UNICEF and the Government of Burundi established a protocol to demobilize child soldiers in the Armed Forces, FNL-Palipehutu, CND-FDD, and the National Transitional Government in October 2001.

A World Bank initiative, with a budget of \$3.5 million, aims to demobilize 90 percent of child soldiers in Burundi, reintegrate them into home communities within eight months, and establish mechanisms to impede re-recruitment. \$20 per month is offered to families over a period of 18 months. Activities carried out thus far by the initiative include preparing home communities, supporting families, sustaining educational goals, giving special care to demobilized youth, providing psychosocial support, and sustaining rapid-impact projects to encourage youth participation.

Reintegration

The NCDDR designed a support strategy to reintegrate ex-combatants into civilian and work life. The strategy focussed on the personal choices of ex-combatants in seeking socioeconomic opportunities and received contributions from a great number of institutions.¹⁶

Ex-combatants were reintegrated three months after they demobilized and the NCDDR was responsible for

¹⁴ CICS, op. cit.

¹⁵ World Bank, op. cit.

¹⁶ CICS, op. cit.

Evolution

their reintegration. As with other DDR components, reintegration was divided into social activities, especially work in communities, and economic activities. The following principles guide reintegration:

- all ex-combatants must receive the same assistance regardless of rank;
- ex-combatants may choose a location for reintegration (roughly 75 percent elect rural sites) and the activities they wish to partake in;
- special programming must be available for child soldiers, women, and disabled persons;
- ex-combatants must be given opportunities for employment creation;
- programming must benefit the communities in which ex-combatants settle; and
- opportunities must be provided to start micro-projects and access micro-credit.

Reintegration into the various sectors of the economy includes

- activities for employment creation,
- training for self-employment,
- formal education,
- business promotion, and
- employment promotion.¹⁷

The NCDRR supports business promotional activities in the following sectors:

- farming and fishing,
- food production,
- small retail, and
- trades and crafts.

Essential to all of this work is community participation, through

- help in reconciling ex-combatants with host communities,
- help in mitigating perceptions that can cause damage,
- support for rehabilitation, and
- specialized information sharing and sensitization around family, HIV/AIDS, and women's issues.

Demobilized combatants, whether members of the Armed Forces or opposition groups, receive a Temporary Subsistence Allowance based on prior agreement and rank. The minimum allowance is \$515 and the average \$600. The allowance is paid out in 10 cash instalments. The first payment is made upon decamping, the second after three months in a host community of choice, and the rest in quarterly payments. Reintegration also funds a number of related activities or expenses: micro-projects, seeds and tools, health care, education, vocational training, and administrative work.¹⁸

Around 30,000 militia members receive a one-off payment of \$91 after demobilizing. Initially the payment was made via the commercial banking system and not by hand, but later it was announced all payments would be made in goods and not cash. From February 2004 to June 2006, the ILO and USAID ran reconciliation projects in communities using lessons learned from countries such as Sierra Leone. The ILO and USAID aimed to gain the trust of communities in highly militarized regions and promote reconciliation there.

In early December 2002, Nkurunziza's CNDD-FDD agreed to demobilize, but members did not turn up at designated cantonments for many months. This was because the African Union, supported logistically by the US, whose responsibility it was to safeguard the camps, had not been properly consulted.

The first ex-combatants demobilized in June 2003 and by November, 200 had demobilized. Neither a definition of legal status nor a clear DDR strategy for the ex-combatants upon demobilization existed. MONUC repatriated Burundian combatants eligible for DDR located in the DR Congo. This work lasted many months. Members of demobilized groups belonging to Ndayikengurukiye's CNDD-FDD and Mugarabona's FNL refused to release child soldiers in their ranks. In September 2004, the African Mission in Burundi said its deployment was conditional upon the number of encamped combatants being significant.

In August 2005, opposition leaders surrendered weapons to ONUB in a symbolic renunciation of armed violence and as a good will gesture of the intention to participate in government after elections. As it turned out, former CNDD-FDD leader Pierre Nkurunziza was victorious in the elections. Members of the Gardiens de la Paix protested delayed payments of \$100 per person entitled to them in June and August 2005. Government spokespersons said the government has the funds but had difficulties identifying some persons because the number of Gardiens, initially estimated at 20,000, later multiplied. Following an ex-combatant status review conducted by the NCDRR, an unspecified, large number of persons were noted to have been denied payment. Due to the confusion, the government created a new NCDRR team to review the list of ex-combatants.¹⁹

A first phase for demobilizing child soldiers concluded in 2004. UNICEF demobilized 2,260 youth found in the Armed Forces and Gardiens de la Paix. A second phase was concluded in December 2004. Here, 618 youths pertaining to six APPMs were demobilized. Reports by youth in early 2006, criticizing the peace process for not fulfilling their rights to reintegrate, hinted at a lack of funding for

¹⁷ World Bank, op. cit.

¹⁸ World Bank, op. cit.

¹⁹ Reuters, August 12, 2005.

reintegrating demobilized child soldiers. Human Rights Watch claimed the government kept in custody certain youth linked to the FNL, rather than give them aid for rehabilitation. Human Rights Watch requested the youth be released from prison. Around 3,000 were demobilized from 2004 to 2006. Of this number, 600 were placed in schools and 2,300 were given vocational training.

Under-Secretary-General, Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict, Radhika Coomaraswamy, said in 2007 that advances had been made in protecting children in Burundi, but they were insufficient. She said conditions in camps where 200-300 child soldiers were being detained, needed improving and that greater assistance was required for reintegration. She urged parliament to adopt criminal code legislation to recognize as a war crime the recruitment of youth under the age of 16. She reminded parliament that children continued to be recruited and called on the FNL to abandon its practice of recruiting youth and free the children held in its ranks.²⁰

In early 2006, the NCDRR began demobilizing an initial 103 disabled ex-combatants belonging to the Armed Forces. As part of this collective demobilization, ex-combatants were offered housing, medical support, clothing, and ongoing monitoring.

It is calculated that 26,279 ex-combatants (47 percent of expected), including 3,261 child soldiers, have demobilized so far, and some 5,400 small arms have been collected. Meanwhile, 23,018 ex-combatants (42 percent of expected) and 14,813 (27 percent) have been reinserted and reintegrated into society respectively. 20,144 Gardiens de la Paix have been given reinsertion packages. The challenges that remain include fully disarming and dismantling militias, accelerating economic reintegration, attending to disabled combatants and their medical needs, demobilizing the Armed Forces, and reducing the number of police officers.²¹

Major opportunities for reintegration involve widening trade (56 percent of total economic activity), agriculture (32 percent), and construction. Bururi and Bubanza were the most common provinces selected for reintegration because most ex-combatants came from them. The third most popular city was Bujumbura, suggesting perhaps a desire for anonymous reintegration. Only 8 percent of ex-combatants, however, chose the city, which has experienced heavy armed violence.²²

In April 2008, protesting the demobilization process they were required to submit to as part of troop reductions funded by international financial institutions, more than 900 soldiers refused to show up demobilization sites. The soldiers demanded they be given allowances and back pay promised to them before demobilization. They also questioned whether ethnic quotas were being fulfilled properly.

The armed opposition group Palipehutu-FNL began to encamp after signing a ceasefire agreement with the government. 150 combatants gathered in one of three reception centres after being verified by members of a Joint Verification and Monitoring Mechanism, foreign diplomats, and international institutions.

Disarmament and demobilization of the FNL began in July 2008 with the encamping of 2,500 combatants. The government called attention to the fact that only 40 weapons were surrendered and that the FNL did not provide the Joint Verification and Monitoring Mechanism with a list of 21,000 combatants to participate in DDR programming as promised. After two months of programming, few additional weapons were surrendered, and the question of reintegrating armed opposition groups into state defence and security forces remained unregulated.²³ Spokespersons for the FNL said conditions in camps were poor.²⁴

Integration into the Armed Forces

In January 2004, Hutu President Domitien Ndayizeye and Tutsi Vice-President Alphonse-Marie Kadege formalized the composition of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

of the Armed Forces. Members of Nkurunziza's CNDD-FDD, a former armed opposition group, filled 14 of the 35 positions (40 percent). The role of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is to recommend to the government the size and composition of the Armed Forces, supervise DDR, and promote confidence measures among members of the Armed Forces and ex-combatants who have joined the unified military.

One reason for the armed conflict that erupted in 1993 and was resolved by the reconstituted Armed Forces, was a lack of representation in the military, controlled historically by the Tutsi, of the majority Hutu. Other former armed opposition groups, Ndayikengurukiye's FDD and Mugabarabona's FNL, which both signed ceasefire agreements with the government in 2002, were not offered positions in the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The demobilization of 30,000 members of the Armed Forces began in late 2005. 5,000 soldiers of the Armed Forces, demobilized in a first phase, were assembled in one centre, and 9,000 members of armed opposition groups were assembled in two other centres. These transit centres were created in Randa, Gitega, and Muramuya. Individuals remained for 10 days in the transit centres. They were registered and given preliminary counselling. Their identities were verified, they were given a medical examination, they were registered, identified, oriented, and finally transported. Each demobilized person received an allowance for reinsertion within a month of demobilization. Allowances, issued according to rank, were used to reinsert families. It is important to note that conditions in camps were deplorable due to a lack of clean water and sanitation, which could have caused a cholera epidemic. National Defence Force Spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Adolphe Mianikariza opposed disarming officers withdrawn from the defence forces and defended the right to bear a registered, ceremonial arm.

Harmonizing military rank continues to be a challenge for reintegration, especially since all groups exaggerated the numbers of high-ranking officers.

²⁰ School for a Culture of Peace, *Alerta 2008!*

²¹ MDRP, *Burundi Fact Sheet*.

²² World Bank, op. cit.

²³ ICG, *Burundi: Restarting Political Dialogue*.

²⁴ IRIN, July 28, 2008.

Lessons Learned

One of the main errors in the peace process in Burundi was the four-year delay to demobilization after a peace agreement was signed. The reasons for the delay lie, in theory, with the funding mechanism, however some point to the natures of the combatants themselves. Another contributing factor was the inflation of combatant numbers. The CNDD-FDD, for instance, alleged to have an overstated 80,000 combatants in order to profit from DDR. There was also a question of who constituted an ex-combatant.²⁵

Regarding disarmament, it is worth pointing out the number of weapons surrendered is unknown because an MDRP disarmament phase has yet to be established. Another issue revolves around demobilization and integration payments promised to ex-combatants, which were lower than expected. There are indications of an inequality of payments, so that while CNDD combatants received \$600, the Gardiens de la Paix received just \$100, and youth an average \$330. In this conjunction, both the EU and World Bank delayed money earmarked for rural development, further increasing a sense of inequality held between ex-combatants.²⁶

Due to a variety of political and technical strains, there were also difficulties in the transition from demobilization to reintegration. Reintegration experienced the following technical problems: a lack of national scope and financial infrastructure; low numbers of NGOs supporting reintegration in communities; deficiencies in the primary school system; and depleted funds for planning, management, and logistics.²⁷

In late 2007, World ORT published an evaluation of World Bank programme funding, recommending that funds be extended to compensate for the short reintegration period and the 18 months of accumulated delay built up at the beginning of DDR. World ORT also recommended the NPDRR decentralize decision making, put in motion an informational and sensitization process, establish

a project for vocational training, promote awareness of the psychological problems faced by ex-combatants, and improve efforts to accommodate physically disabled individuals in society.²⁸

Regarding the government-FNL ceasefire agreement signed in 2006, and the subsequent cessation of hostilities agreement, the FNL began to encamp, in the third quarter of 2008, 3,500 of a total 15,000 combatants in three camps as a preliminary step towards demobilization and disarmament. After two months, however, few additional weapons were surrendered and the question of reintegrating armed opposition groups in state defence and security forces was left unaddressed.²⁹

²⁵ Alusala, *Disarmament and the Transition in Burundi*.

²⁶ Boshoff and Vera, *A Technical Analysis of Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration*.

²⁷ Nkurunziza, *Rapport sur le Processus de DDR des Ex-combatants au Niveau National*.

²⁸ World ORT, October 26, 2007.

²⁹ ICG, op. cit.

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Glossary

AMIB: African Mission in Burundi	ONUB: United Nations Mission in Burundi
BINUB: Integrated UN Mission in Burundi	PALIPEHUTU: Parti pour la Libération du Peuple Hutu
BNDF: Burundi National Defence Forces	SNESS: Structure Nationale s'occupant des Enfants Soldats
CNDD-FDD: National Council for the Defence of Democracy -Forces for Defence of Democracy	SOPRAD :Solidarité pour la Promotion de l'Assistance et du Développement
FNL: Front National du Liberation	UN: United Nations
FROLINA: Front de Libération Nationale	UNDP: United Nations Development Program
ILO: International Labour Organistaion	UNICEF: United Nations Children Fund
JCC: Joint Ceasefire Commission	UNMACC: United Nations Mine Action Coordination Center
MDRP: Multi-Country Demobilisation and Reintegration Program	WB: World Bank
MONUC: United Nations Mission in DR Congo	WFP: World Food Program
NCDDR: National Comission on DDR	
NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation	
OAG: Opposition Armed Groups	

Central African Republic (PRAC, 2004 – 2008)

Context

Conflict

After 35 years of relative stability, military uprisings in opposition to President Ange-Félix Patassé, worsening due to thefts of weapons held in arsenals, led to civil war. The uprisings called for improvements to living conditions, payment of overdue salaries, and a restructuring of military command. The resulting war in the Central African Republic (CAR) ended after six months with the dismissal of the president and the naming of a new president, the head of a rebellious faction of the Armed Forces, François Bozizé. The country has been dogged by years of political instability, inefficient government, insecurity, vandalism, and economic deterioration. In October 2005, the Monetary and Economic Community of Central Africa (CEMAC) deployed troops to the northeast of the country in response to the security situation there. The UN warned the CAR could re-enter a new period of violence if the international community did not give assistance to tackle the existing humanitarian crisis and insecurity.¹

The situation worsened in 2006 due to an increase in activity by insurgents, who argued François Bozizé's government was illegitimate since it came to power through a coup d'état, which ousted President Ange-Félix Patassé in 2002-03. The insurgents criticized Bozizé for managing public funds poorly and splitting the country. The insurgency is divided into two fronts. The first, located in the populous centre and northwest of CAR, is called the People's Army for the Restoration of Democracy (APRD) and is led by Bedaya N'Djadder. The APRD has clashed with Bozizé's government and has called for a re-division of political power. The second front is called the Union of Democratic Forces for Unity (UFDR). A coalition, its activities have increased in the northeast. The government has aggravated the situation by blaming civilians for giving aid to insurgents.

Peace Process

The Bangui Agreements were signed in 1997. The agreements call for a restoration to peace and security, reform of the Armed Forces, a transition process with an eye to national reconciliation and a return of the rule of law, greater supervision and control of arsenals and disarmament, and the demobilization of ex-combatants. It is important to note that at the June 3, 2003 Libreville Summit, attendees agreed to form a new government and maintain the CAR's Armed Forces.³

In April 2007, the government and opposition armed Group (UFDR) signed a peace agreement, where the amnesties, the recognition as a political party, as well as the integration into the Armed Forces were specified. In 2008, The Government and armed movements in the country reached a new agreement for relaunching Inclusive Political Dialogue (IPD), which begun in December. The Government pledged to review the controversial amnesty law which forced the APRD to withdraw from the peace agreements.. At the end of December, with the facilitation of the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue and the United Nations, the IPD concluded, with recommendations for forming an inclusive government, holding free elections and establishing a committee to monitor the agreements and a truth and reconciliation commission.⁴

Justice

The government has studied the possibility of granting amnesty to combatants as incentive to participate in DDR. President Bozizé held a Forum of National Reconciliation in September-October 2003 upon the recommendation of the

Summary

Type of DDR	Ex-Combatant Reintegration and Community Support Project (PRAC) and bilateral demobilization of armed opposition groups in a post-war context.
Groups to demobilize	7,565 members of armed groups in opposition to current President François Bozizé.
Implementing bodies	The government-created CNDDR (National Commission for Demobilization, Disarmament, and Reintegration), a subsidiary of the National Defence Council.
Budget	\$13.22 million
Timeline	From March 2004 to April 2007 (37 months) for the Armed Forces.
Status / synopsis	The DDR process ended in late February 2007, after reintegration support was given for 7,556 ex-combatants, or 99 percent of the expected total.

Basic facts

Population: 4,424,000
Food emergency: Yes
IDP: 108,000
Refugee population: 98,104
GDP: \$ 1,712,110,336
Per capita income: \$ 740
IDH: 0,352 (178th)
Military expenditure: \$ 48,000,000
Military population: 3,150 (armed forces)
Arms Embargo: No

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1 MDRP, *Central African Republic*.

2 School for a Culture of Peace, *Alert 2007!*

3 Commission Defense et Sécurité, *Recommandations Fortes sur les Forces de Défense et Sécurité*.

4 School for a Culture of Peace, *Alert 2008!*

National Transition Council. The forum aimed to create dialogue and reconcile various political, social, and religious sectors of society, as well as make recommendations for the post-conflict reconstruction of the country.

Security Sector Reform

Officials proposed a Comprehensive Defence Policy based on an all-inclusive vision of security and defence, broad consensus, an evaluation of technical capabilities, personal preferences, an identification of the specific categorizations of persons (those affected by HIV/AIDS, disabled persons, women combatants, and veterans), and technical support needs.⁵

The World Bank MDRP launched a broad study in November 2006 (published in May 2007) on the relationship between DDR and Security Sector Reform. Experts travelled around the country, made a series of preliminary recommendations, and identified opportunities for assistance. The study said that DDR and security sector reform are inextricably linked and, consequently, it is possible to raise certain observations and recommendations, including the fact that

- the state is unable to respond to the country's security needs and has done very little to improve the security situation;
- security sector reform must be part of an overall strategy combining national empowerment and effective coordination of partners;
- thus far, the country has focused only on technical and political questions and avoided policies;
- development partners need to clarify their roles in order to avoid past development ambiguity;
- the specific reform called for in the CAR is a unique opportunity;
- the peace process must be as inclusive as possible and include participation from civil society;
- a national workshop on peace, beginning with an analysis of current institutions, should be organized;
- a national defence and security strategy should be articulated;
- this defence and security strategy needs to be linked to DDR;
- international support is needed from France; and
- the national police require restructuring.

The Government of the CAR aims to recruit new soldiers to refurbished Armed Forces. According to the *Lettre de Politique en matière de Défense Globale et de Désarmement, Démobilisation et Réinsertion des Ex-combattants*, the new security arrangement is to be as follows:

Table 01. Security forces recruitment forecast

	Armed Forces	Gendarme	Police
Countdown 2010	6,000	4,000	4,085
Recruits from September 30, 2003	4,442	1,310	1,600
New recruits to be trained	1,800	600	600
Requiring demobilization	1,185	306	310
Still to be recruited	2,500	2,000	2,500

Source: CICS, Emerging Human Security Issues in the Implementation of MDRP Fund in the Central African Republic (CAR)

Other Disarmament Initiatives:

Other disarmament work that has been undertaken includes reducing the number of small arms in the CAR by offering ex-combatants economic alternatives, so the appeal of gun possession is minimized. Money was not directly offered in order to avoid fuelling a black market. The UNDP, with an eye to civilian participation, adopted a logistical, technical, and operational support plan for interventions to improve communities as a whole. The plan improved stability and development practices, while sidestepping the idea of offering economic incentives.⁶

In February 2003, a World Bank mission visited the country in preparation for DDR. Its recommendations were postponed because of the coup in March. The latest DDR program began in December 2004 as part of a pilot demobilization project in the city of Bossangoa, after a radio sensitization program was run throughout the country. The pilot project unearthed lessons learned about DDR and small arms and highlighted the need to continue the National Programme on Disarmament and Reinsertion (PRDR). The PRDR began operating in January 2002 and concluded in March 2003 due to Bozizé's coup d'état. It was followed up by the National Support Programme (August 2003 - February 2004) and PRAC (March 2004 - February 2007). The PRAC achieved national scope.

In September 2006, the National Commission for Small Arms and Light Weapons Control and for DDR (CNPDR) was created with the goal of fighting the issue of small arms in the CAR, considered one of the main problems facing the country. A disarmament process concluded with the collection of 134,000 units of ammunition, 1,361 grenades, 27 mortar rockets, 54 missiles, and 1 antipersonnel mine, at an expense of \$62,756. Some of the weapons were destroyed in a public ceremony held in Bangui in July 2003.

5 MDRP, op. cit.

6 UNDP, *Ex-Combatant Reintegration and Community Support Project*.

Process of DDR

Background to DDR

The CAR has prior experience with arms collection programs. In 1997, the UNDP ran a program to reduce the Armed Forces by a thousand soldiers. UN missions, including MISAB in 1997 and its successor, MINURCA, have administered arms collection in the CAR.

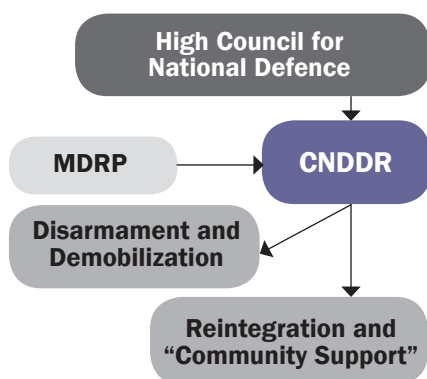
Type of DDR

DDR in the CAR is administered by the Ex-Combatant Reintegration and Community Support Project, PRAC. It involves bilateral demobilization of armed opposition groups in a post-war context.⁷

Implementing bodies:

The Government of the CAR created the CNDDR as a subsidiary of the National Defence Council. The CNDDR receives technical assistance from the World Bank MDRP and UNDP to administer programming. The CNDDR includes two sub-commissions, one responsible for disarmament and demobilization, the other responsible for reintegration and "community support." The CNDDR created Regional Commissions for DDR.⁸

Graph 01. Implementing bodies



The peace process in the CAR is organized to give representation the country's various ministries: the Ministries of National Defence, Agriculture, the Interior, Mines, Communication, Youth, and Social Affairs, as well as the security forces, the High Council for National Defence, the High Commissioner for the Rights of Man, the Committee to Monitor National Dialogue, religious groups, and women's organizations.

The communication strategy for the peace process prioritized not only addressing ex-combatants but communities as well, through use of audiovisuals, written media, and close work in communities.

Guiding Principles

The PRAC outlined a comprehensive strategy of four objectives:

- to disarm ex-combatants and those representing a threat to peace and security;
- to demobilize and reintegrate ex-combatants in home communities or communities of their choosing;
- to train communities to receive ex-combatants and to improve community receptivity to ex-combatants; and
- to support vulnerable individuals and thus reduce insecurity and prevent conflict.

The World Bank MDRP includes four components in programming which are designed to target other aspects of post-war rehabilitation. These components are

- disarming the population and reducing an estimated 50,000-100,000 small arms in the hands of civilians;
- demobilizing and reintegrating ex-combatants;
- strengthening community capacity for ex-combatants, including rehabilitating such infrastructure destroyed in the war as schools, health centres, and bridges;
- creating economic activities;
- promoting reconciliatory initiatives; and
- ensuring security and development, including giving technical, logistical, and operational support in identifying ways to better community security.

This programming is expected to rehabilitate and reinsert ex-combatants fully for socioeconomic pursuits, reconcile ex-combatants to home or host communities, and improve human security and the perception of security in communities.⁹

Groups to Demobilize

Groups to demobilize include 7,565 members of armed groups in opposition to President Bozizé, including 200 women, and families. When disarmed, these individuals are expected to receive support for socioeconomic reinsertion. The opposition is comprised of a variety of armed groups: 35 percent Armed Forces mutineers, 25 percent Chadian Libérateurs, 13 percent the Central African Society for Protection and Surveillance (known by its French acronym SCPS), 11 percent the Karako militia, 7 percent the Sarawi militia, 5 percent the Balawa militia, and 4 percent members of the Special Presidential Unit.¹⁰

Table 02. Breakdown by Armed Group of Ex-combatants Eligible for DDR

Reintegration and "Community Support"		
Patriotes	950	539
USP	1,000	230
SCPS	850	798
Parallel police	820	n/a
Karako militia	593	408
Balawa militia	510	51
Sarawi militia	600	1,015
Mutineers (1996/97, 2001)	1,992	1,880
Foreign combatants	250	n/a
TOTAL	7,565	4,921

Source: MDRP, Central African Republic

Ex-combatant families, comprising a total 42,000 persons, are eligible to partake in demobilization programming and receive assistance in finding lasting employment. Though not direct recipients of demobilization programming, some 1,675,000 inhabitants of communities and prefectures delimited by the PRAC, will be assisted to improve their surroundings by participating in new economic, social, and cultural activities.¹¹

⁷ MDRP, op. cit.

⁸ MDRP, op. cit.

⁹ MDRP, op. cit.

¹⁰ MDRP, op. cit.

¹¹ MDRP, op. cit.

Special Needs Groups

UNICEF says there are approximately 1,000 youth being employed by armed groups in the CAR.

Criteria

The CNDDR defines an ex-combatant as

- An armed person belonging to an identifiable and known group,
- an armed person with an identifiable military regiment number,
- an armed person without documentation but recognized by the community as an ex-combatant,
- a former member of the Armed Forces,
- an unarmed youth under the age of 18 who can show connection to a known armed group, and
- an unarmed woman who can demonstrate connection to a known armed group.

Budget

The total budget for the peace process in the CAR is \$13.3 million, with an average cost of \$1,758 per demobilized individual. The following chart offers a breakdown of the contributions to the peace process.

Chart 03. Budget by donor

Donor	Millions \$	%
MDRP	9.77	73.9
UNDP	1.25	9.4
Other	2.2	16.6
TOTAL	13.22	

Source: MDRP, Central African Republic

Chart 04. Budget by stage

Phase	Total cost (million \$)	%
Disarmament and demobilization	3.0	22.7
Reintegration	10.22	77.3
Total	13.22	100

The UNDP funds demobilization and disarmament (\$400,000) and community work (\$850,000). The World Bank MDRP funds ex-combatant reintegration and provides security for development of host communities. The remaining donors fund development security. France (1 million euros) and the European Union (750,000 euros) gave financial support for initial program infrastructure in 2004. Canada gave \$450,000 for reintegrating former soldiers and police officers and security sector reform.

Schedule

DDR for the Armed Forces began in March 2004 and ended in April 2007 (37 months). Currently awaiting implementation is DDR for the UPRF and APRD, known as Inclusive Political Dialogue and part of the December 2008 peace agreement.

Phases

Disarmament

Disarmament in the CAR involves three distinct phases: a phase for disseminating disarmament information and educating ex-combatants; a phase for voluntary disarmament; and a phase for forcibly collecting firearms and taking legal action against possessors of guns.

More specifically, the activities for this include preparing and approving lists of persons to be disarmed, meeting at assembly points, registering persons and their surrendered weapons, storing weapons, and destroying weapons in public ceremonies. A national plan of action intends to reduce the proliferation of small arms.

Demobilization

Demobilization camps are located in Bossangoa, the main camp, and in Bozum, Sibut, and Bangui. Ex-combatants and sympathizers of President Bozizé are demobilized and reintegrated into the Armed Forces.

Ex-combatants are given information and sensitizing, are identified and registered, are given counselling on options for reintegration as individuals or families, and are financed for micro-projects.

Reintegration

Reintegration is done as follows: first ex-combatants are registered before PRAC officials, next they surrender their weapons and ammunition, weapons and ammunition are verified for their usefulness, a voluntary disarmament contract is signed and a pledge is made not to use guns in the future, a demobilization document is issued, an aid kit of utensils and materials (bucket, pan, plates, cups, soap, condoms, and pamphlets on sexual responsibility) is issued, and finally information sessions on DDR are offered. At the end of the sequence, the demobilized combatant is given \$500 to be put towards employment. Special attention for employment is given to agriculture, cattle raising, and training in small business.¹²

This work is done jointly with prefectures, which identify viable economic options and give support for starting micro-businesses in agriculture and reconstruction.

Community reintegration also occurs in activities of reconciliation, community dialogue, and infrastructure rebuilding. Communities have adopted special measures for returning ex-combatants, including issuing community-development vouchers. Ex-combatants are required to present themselves at a regional commission to obtain funds for some projects involving community security, income generation, and strengthening local conflict resolution.

¹² Alusala, 2007.

Evolution

In December 2004, the PRAC began collecting arms surrendered by ex-combatants and later destroying them in Bossangoa. In June 2005, work began to disarm and demobilize 2,000 combatants in the district of the capital.

Initial programme implementation was delayed due to a slow process of verifying ex-combatants to demobilize, in a context of absent effective communication and a lack of will from government. A medium-term review showed considerable acceleration to disarmament and demobilization work, permitting officials to achieve goals within the established timeframe in the end. In late 2006, 2,000 ex-combatants remained to be processed.¹³

In late September 2006, 706 combatants received demobilization packages in Bangui. This was part of a second phase of DDR organized by the PRAC and CNDDR. The UNDP and CNDDR launched a broad campaign of sensitization to the dangers of small arms proliferation. By late 2006, 7,565 combatants were demobilized, or 100 percent of anticipated numbers, and the program concluded.

In early February 2007, Popular Defence Force leader Abdoulaye Miskine urged his followers to surrender their weapons and demobilize after reaching an agreement with President Bozizé in Libya. Miskine warned his followers in Chad, Cameroon, the DR Congo, and Sudan that there would be grave consequences for those who did not comply with his order.

Regarding child soldiers, UNICEF negotiated with armed opposition groups to demobilize active youth. The UFDR agreed to release at least 400 child soldiers and submitted a list of 220 names. Demobilization of the youth was set to commence on June 1, 2007. UNICEF organized a community reintegration strategy for demobilized child soldiers. Host communities for youth in the northeast will receive funds to rehabilitate social services.

The UFDR demobilized 200 child soldiers in mid-June 2007 as part of a UNICEF agreement to demo-

bilize 500 youth held by the UFDR and reintegrate the youth into civilian life. At a demobilization ceremony held by the Minister of Social Affairs, the youth received textbooks and school materials to get them ready for the academic term beginning in September. UNICEF committed to re-establishing social services in the host communities of the youth.

DDR concluded in February 2008, with total assistance offered to 7,556 of 7,565 ex-combatants, or 99 percent of the anticipated number. Of these, 5,514 were fully reinserted into family, social, and economic life. As part of community rehabilitation, 44 micro-projects were initiated, 20 executed in full and 14 approved but awaiting UNDP funding.

Numerous issues remain. Long-term monitoring is required for community initiatives and the latest group of reintegrated individuals. Also needed is analysis, beginning with a study on the lacking national system of communication. The community's role in assisting with support infrastructure also remains to be determined.¹⁴

The reintegration preferences of ex-combatants were outlined in a report by PRAC. The results are shown in the chart.

Chart 05. Reintegration preferences

Preference	N. ex-combatants	%
Agriculture	893	12
Livestock	1,447	19
Fishing	779	10
Vocational training	767	10
Retail trade	3,577	48
Formal education	90	1
TOTAL	7,553	

Source: CICS, *Emerging Human Security Issues in the Implementation of MDRP Fund in the Central African Republic (CAR)*

The PRAC report highlighted a number of deficiencies related to development. It calculated that the average combatant possessed three firearms; that as an executive body, the MDRP lacked a spirit of inclusiveness; that programming eligibility criteria were problematic because they were highly restrictive; and that the issuing of reinsertion packages was delayed.¹⁵

The report also said few ex-combatants received the funds they were promised and that ex-combatants were found to be reselling their reinsertion kits. Ex-combatant community support projects, however, were commended for their work in breaking the "ex-combatant versus society" dichotomy.¹⁶

¹³ CICS, *Emerging Human Security Issues in the Implementation of MDRP Fund in the Central African Republic (CAR)*.

¹⁴ CICS, op. cit.

¹⁵ CICS, op. cit.

¹⁶ CICS, op. cit.

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Glossary

BORUCA: United Nations Peace-building Office in the Central African Republic

CEMAC: Central African Economic and Monetary Community

IDP: Internal Displaced People

MDRP: Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program

MINURCA: United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic

NCDDR: National Commission on DDR

PRAC: Projet de Réinsertion des ex-combattants et d'Appui aux Communautés

UFDR: Union of Democratic Forces for Unity

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNICEF: United Nations Childrens Fund

WB: World Bank

Chad

(NPDR, 2005 – 2010)

Context

Conflict

A thwarted coup d'état in 2004 and constitutional reforms boycotted by the opposition in 2005 are at the bottom of Chad's insurgency, which aims to overthrow the authoritarian government of Idriss Déby and intensified activities in 2006. The opposition is led by the volatile United Front for Democratic Change in Chad coalition (known by its French acronym FUC). FUC is comprised of a number of groups and soldiers who have rejected the regime, including the Platform for Change, Unity, and Democracy (known by its French acronym SCUD). There are also antagonisms between Arab tribes and the black population on the border with Sudan. The tension is connected to the spread of the war in the Darfur region of Sudan and as a result of border operations by Sudanese armed groups and the Janjaweed Sudanese pro-government Arab militias.¹

Also worth mentioning was the military offensive, backed by various groups, on the capital N'Djamena in February, which nearly toppled the Déby government. A French military intervention fought back the offensive. Clashes produced hundreds of mortalities (160 civilians according to the Red Cross and Médecins Sans Frontières, and 700 combatants according to the government), more than 1,000 injured persons, and 400 displaced individuals. A fragile Alliance Nationale (AN) coalition, which launched a variety of offensives against the Chadian Armed Forces, grew out of the offensive on the capital. In November, following intense discussions held in Khartoum, Chad's main rebel movements established the Union of Resistance Forces (UFR) and included the AN and Rally of Forces for Change, RFC, as members. A number of sources said relative improvements in relations between Chad and Sudan resulted in relocating Chadian insurgency bases to Chad's interior, before a border mission had to be deployed.²

Peace Process

On December 24, 2006, the Government of Chad and the FUC signed a peace agreement to end all military action, free prisoners held by both sides, proclaim a general amnesty, and conduct a reinsertion and resettlement process for FUC combatants. The peace agreement specified a Peer Commission to apply the agreement.

In early October 2007, the government and four main armed opposition groups from the east of Chad reached a peace agreement with assistance from Libyan President Muammar al-Gaddafi in Tripoli. The four signatories to the agreements were the Union of Forces for Democracy and Development (UFDD), the main rebels operating in the east of Chad, led by General Nouri; the UFDD-Fondamental, a splinter of the main UFDD led by former Minister of Defence Abdelwahid Aboud Mackaye; the RFC, led by Timane Erdimi; and the Chadian National Concord (CNT), led by Colonel Hassane Saleh Al Gadam Al Jinedi. Many analysts said Libya attempted to broker agreements in both Chad and Darfur because Gaddafi opposed the deployment of international forces in the area. The parties to the agreement signed under pressure from Libya, which the analysts said casted doubts on whether they truly intended to apply the agreement.

The agreement established a ceasefire lasting until late May, sufficient time to advance negotiations, an amnesty, put insurgents in cantonments, position rebel leaders in government, and integrate combatants into the Armed Forces. Technical questions and the means for applying this, however, await further negotiations.³

¹ School for a Culture of Peace, *Alerta 2008!*

² School for a Culture of Peace, *Alerta 2009!*

³ Government of Chad, *Text of the Peace Agreement between the Republic of Chad and the Front Uni pour le Changement Démocratique, FUC.*

Summary

Type of DDR	Bilateral demobilization of militias and Armed Forces with child soldiers in a context of regional insecurity.
Groups to demobilize	9,000 soldiers, some of whom were already demobilized in previous years.
Implementing bodies	National Committee for Reinsertion
Budget	The World Bank estimates an expense of \$10 million.
Timeline	From December 2005 to 2010, 60 months in total.
Status / synopsis	The government signed an agreement with UNICEF promising to cooperate in demobilizing hundreds of child soldiers.

Basic facts

Population: 11,088,000

Emergencia alimentaria: Yes

IDP: 185,901

Refugee population: 55,722

GDP: \$ 7,984,617,216

Per capita income: \$ 1,280

IDH: 0,389 (170th)

Military expenditure: \$ 68,000,000

Military population:

25,350 (armed forces);

9,500 (paramilitaries)

Arms Embargo: No

To cite this report:

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Justice

In February 2007, the Government of Chad committed to granting general amnesty to FUC militants and sympathizers. Later, the government freed more than 400 FUC prisoners.

Other Disarmament Initiatives

In 2000, a Mixed Security Committee was created to explore disarmament possibilities. Regionally, Chad denied, in early 2006, accusations it was arming Sudanese opposition groups operating in Darfur. It said the accusations were strategies used to justify attacks by Khartoum on its national territory.⁴

DDR Process

Background to DDR

The Government of Chad has previous experience with DDR. In addition to demobilizations conducted from 1992 to 1997, the government ran a pilot project in 1999 involving 2,800 demobilized persons, with \$3 million support from the World Bank and \$1.1 million from the German GTZ. The project, though, was discontinued before the end of its term as a result of poor management.

Chart 01. Pilot projects

Period	Persons Demobilized	Support	Budget
1992-96	20,000 soldiers	French cooperation	\$8,3 million
1996-97	7,179 officials and sub-officials	World Bank	\$8,3 million
1992-97 (pilot programme) 2,800 ex-combatants		World Bank	\$3 million
		GTZ	\$1,1 million

Type of DDR

DDR in Chad is administered through the National Programme for Disarmament and Reintegration (NPDR). It involves bilateral demobilization of militias and Armed Forces in a context of regional insecurity.

Implementing bodies

In 2003, the Government of Chad requested the National Committee for Reinsertion, a subsidiary of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Cooperation, to draft a new programme to demobilize partially the Armed Forces. The programme became the National Agency for Reinsertion in early 2005. The responsibilities of the National Agency for Reinsertion are to identify target groups, assess needs, and identify income-generating opportunities, whether through orientation to job searching or through other specific programming. The agency offices are known as the Interregional Sections for Reinsertion (ISR) and strive to have a presence throughout Chad.⁵

Guiding Principles

The guiding aims of the peace process in Chad are to reintegrate and resettle members of armed opposition groups, in addition to security sector reform (SSR).

Groups to Demobilize

There are 9,000 soldiers to demobilize, some of whom were demobilized, but not incorporated into reintegration programmes, in previous years. The numbers of combatants to demobilize for the FUC and Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad (known by its French acronym MDJT) remains undetermined. Care for dependents of demobilized individuals is currently being given consideration. According to reports published in May 2007, armed opposition groups contain more than 1,000 child soldiers. Negotiations are in works for the demobilization of these youth.⁶

Budget

The World Bank puts the overall budget for the peace process in Chad at \$10 million. In June 2005, the World Bank approved a loan of \$5 million;⁷ however government violations of agreements on the management of petroleum profits caused it to freeze all credit. Japan contributed \$437,300.⁸

Schedule

The peace process is scheduled to last from December 2005 to 2010, a total 60 months.⁹

⁵ Channel Research, *Mission d'Évaluation et de Formulation d'un Projet d'Appui à la Démobilisation et à la Réinsertion des Démobilisés au Tchad*.

⁶ UNICEF, 11/05/07

⁷ World Bank, *Japan Policy and Human Resources Development Fund Annual Report 2004*.

⁸ World Bank, *ibid*.

⁹ Channel Research, *op. cit*.

⁴ Reuters, 12/01/06

Phases

Demobilization

Demobilization in Chad included a preparatory phase for sensitization, advice giving, orientation, training for ex-combatants, and efforts to furnish market opportunities for income generation. Ex-combatants demobilized in 1992-97 are not required to undergo sensitization and orientation.¹⁰

Reinsertion and Reintegration

Reintegration includes the work of a Control Agency to promote responsibility among demobilized persons as regards the interests they indicated during orientation. A phase for re-adaptation to civilian life begins once ex-combatants are incorporated into regional agencies. Three basic economic activities are involved here:

- vocational training;
- placement in a public or private Control Agency; and
- the realization of micro-projects, preferably collective in nature, for employment generation.

There is also a social component assisting demobilized persons. This is centred on health services, principally awareness of HIV/AIDS, education, and accommodations by state social services.¹¹ The care focuses on different kinds of ex-combatants:

- those based in the four regions serviced by the Ministry of Planning,
- former members of the MDJT, and
- special needs groups such as disabled persons or persons living with HIV/AIDS.

A number of small, six-person groups were planned to help prepare ex-combatants and communities for reintegration. Each group is designed to attend to 50 ex-combatants for three months, enough time to establish guidelines for a National Committee for Reintegration.

Evolution

The security situation in Chad has deteriorated to the point of pre-war conditions with Sudan. Numerous other factors have also imperilled the Chadian government. Indeed, at end year, the government declared war on Sudan after attacks in December by the armed opposition group Rally for Democracy and Liberty (known by its French acronym RDL). The Janjaweed continued to conduct incursions into Chad and attacked refugee populations in the east. The Janjaweed clashed with Chadian Armed Forces.

The government signed an agreement with UNICEF in May 2007 promising to cooperate in demobilization tasks involving hundreds of child soldiers operating in the Armed Forces (some 300 according to a study conducted by UNICEF) and in armed opposition groups. UNICEF Representative in Chad, Stephen Adkisson, denounced the heavy use of youth in armed groups and said his job to demobilize them was difficult because the youth needed to be identified and efforts needed to be better coordinated in order to return and reintegrate them into communities.¹²

Human Rights Watch said in a report on child soldiers in Chad that the Chadian government did not comply with a promise it made in May 2007 with UNICEF to demobilize and reintegrate child soldiers in the Armed Forces and paramilitary groups. Thousands of child soldiers can be found still in the military and paramilitary groups. Human Rights Watch also said that although a few hundred youth were demobilized, none belonged to the Armed Forces but rather to pro-government paramilitary groups. The Government of Chad did not permit UNICEF to visit two military bases in conflict zones in the east. In answer to the Human Rights Watch report, the Chadian government claimed the peace process was unravelling "slowly but surely" and highlighted difficulties such as the large number of youth to demobilize and the lack of infrastructure for ensuring adequate reintegration. The government said that although many youth were still not demobilized, it did not mean they were "active" in the Armed Forces.¹³

In September 2007, between 7,000 and 10,000 youth were calculated to belong to armed groups. The Government of Chad and UNICEF signed an agreement to demobilize the youth. Not until July, however, was UNICEF given access to one military installation. In 2008, Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict Radhika Coomaraswamy celebrated the freeing of child soldiers held in detention by the Chadian authorities and a promise by armed opposition groups in the Central African Republic to free other youth there. The armed opposition groups the People's Army for the Restoration of Democracy (known by its French acronym APRD) and the Union of Democratic Forces for Unity (known by its French acronym UFDR), both of whose leaders met with the special representative, pledged to hand over youth participating in reintegration programmes. In September 2008, Human Rights Watch called on a UN Security Council working group monitoring child soldiers and armed conflict to urge Chad to adopt concrete measures to demobilize youth in the Armed Forces and put a stop to their recruitment.¹⁴

10 Channel Research, op. cit.
11 Channel Research, op. cit.

12 Reuters, 09/05/07.
13 Human Rights Watch, 16/07/07.
14 Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, *Global Report 2008*.

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Glossary

CNT:	Chadian National Concord
FUC:	Front Uni pour le Change Democratique
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GTZ:	German Cooperation Agency
HRW:	Human Rights Watch
IDP:	Internal Displaced Person
NPRD:	National Program on Disarmament and Reinsertion
SCUD:	Socle pour le Changement et l'Unité Democratique
UFDD:	Union of Forces for Democracy and Development
UNDP:	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF:	United Nations Children Fund
WB:	World Bank

Colombia

(AUC, 2003 – 2008)

Context

Conflict

Dating back to the 1960s, the Colombian conflict has deep roots which go beyond the current guerrilla insurgency. From the 19th century to the time of the National Front (1958-78), violence has characterized relations between Colombia's traditional liberal and conservative parties and repression has emerged in attempts to change the political system. The main causes of the conflict lie in the social, economic, and political exclusion of a viable opposition; the absence of state presence in large areas of the country, especially those far from main cities; and an inefficient judicial system which has permitted a high degree of criminal impunity for human rights violations committed by civilians. The conflict has consisted of a seizing of political power using weapons and attempts to control the country's natural resources, both traditional resources such as gold, lumber, and petroleum, and illicit forms such as drugs, which have helped finance the conflict. Due to a longstanding lack of resolve to the conflict, the conflict has turned into a vicious cycle of violence. Policies serving the interests of elites and leading to social exclusion because of scarce democratic alternatives for an opposition, have given rise to a number of guerrilla groups, emerging in the 1960s and 1970s, among them the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN), both appearing in 1964. Today the FARC and ELN contain 17,000 and 3,000 active members respectively.

Colombian paramilitary groups, which clustered around the United Self Defence Forces of Colombia (AUC) in mid-2002, comprise a wide variety of subgroups with diverse and independent histories and interests. Four key players serve to unite the many groups around the AUC. They include regional elites, who offer financial and political support for the cause; members of the government Armed Forces, who offer cooperation and advise; individuals connected to the drug trade, who offer leadership; and insurgents, who apply political and military pressure to maintain group cohesion. Some AUC groups are linked tightly to the drug trade and other illicit activities, while others have an interest in defending wealthy ranchers. The first paramilitary groups were formed in the mid-1980s in response to the military activities of guerrillas. Between 1998 and 2003, AUC groups united politically in many regions of Colombia. Demobilization of AUC groups in Colombia means strictly the dismantling of military apparatus and not political, economic, or social disbandment. AUC paramilitaries gained control of parts of Colombia after years of perpetrating massacres, committing selective killings, and forcing the displacements of populations, while simultaneously accumulating large tracts of land.

Dismantlement of the AUC's military apparatus has occurred together with preliminary negotiations with ELN guerrillas, begun in December 2005 in Cuba, but not with the FARC. This has affected in a very particular way perspectives for reconciliation and the legal aspects of the process.

Peace Process

In mid-2002, the EU classified the AUC as a terrorist group. In August of the same year, most paramilitary groups gathered to negotiate with the Colombian government. In December, with mediation from the Catholic Church, the AUC declared a **unilateral cessation of hostilities** and asked for accompaniment from the UN. The Government of Colombia appointed a commission of six persons to dialogue with the AUC. The dialogue took place in July 2003 and resulted in the signing of the **Santa Fe de Ralito Pact** between the federal government and AUC. The pact included the following: a commitment to peace at the national level through strengthening democratic governability and re-establishing the state's monopoly on the use of force, total disarmament and demobilization of the AUC, a commitment to halting hostilities, a commitment to abandoning illicit activities, opening up opportunities for third actors to participate in the agree-

Summary

Type of DDR	Unilateral demobilization of paramilitaries in a war context
Groups to demobilize	31,671 members of the United Self Defence Forces of Colombia (AUC)
Implementing bodies	Office of the High Commissioner for Peace and High Counsellor for Reintegration
Budget	\$245 million
Timeline	Demobilization from November 2003 to August 2006. Reintegration restarted in 2007.
Status / synopsis	The last quarterly report of the (MSPP/OAS), warned of the continued "influence of ex-paramilitary commanders who refused to partake in the government's demobilization".

Basic facts

Population: 46,741,000

IDP: 3,505,247

Refugee population: 551,744

GDP: \$ 171,978,571,776

Per capita income: \$ 6,640

IDH: 0,787 (80th)

Military expenditure: \$ 6,484,000,000

Military population:

254,259 (armed forces);

144,097 (paramilitaries)

Arms Embargo: No

To cite this report:

Caramés, A., "Colombia (AUC, 2003-2008)", in A. Caramés and E. Sanz, *DDR 2009. Analysis of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) Programmes in the World during 2008*. Bellaterra: School for a Culture of Peace, 2009, pp. 49-58.

ment, rejecting violence as a way to resolve differences, and accepting and respecting the terms of future pacts or agreements.

International accompaniment

Since January 2004, the OAS has been responsible for monitoring the peace process through the Mission to Support the Peace Process (MAPP). The task of MAPP is to ensure ceasefire, disarmament, and to work with war-affected communities. In October 2005, following criticisms of the mission's efficiency and the limited means available to it, the OAS increased the mission's budget six-fold, to \$10 million annually. It also increased the mission's original 44 staff to more than 100. Before then the mission had five regional offices. The OAS was also involved in the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR), which reports periodically on the peace process. At the start of 2007, the Colombian government and OAS renewed their mutual convention for an additional three years.

Their quarterly report, published in November 2007, said "the demobilization and disarmament of the AUC has opened up new possibilities for Colombia. The new possibilities produce three main challenges for Colombia's institutions: (a) restructuring the state in determined regions and weakening illegal activity; (b) reintegrating ex-combatants in communities of populations affected by paramilitaries; (c) applying the Justice and Peace Law, involving a progressive unearthing of the facts lying behind the conflict, attaining justice, giving reparations to victims, and opening up reconciliatory paths."

Having promoted Plan Colombia for six years, the Government of the United States introduced in April 2007 a new *Strategy to Strengthen Democracy and Promote Social Development* for the 2007-13 period. The new plan pledges to support social and economic efforts, human rights activities, and reduce gradually assistance for drug eradication. Former US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice evaluated the role of Colombian Armed Forces in human rights and agreed to transfer \$55 million to the Colombian military. The US Senate, however, blocked the funds due to concerns raised

by reports about Armed Forces Commander General Montoya and his links to paramilitary groups.

In July 2007 the Colombian government signed the UN Development Assistance Framework, UNDAF, which will continue UN programming in Colombia in 2008-12, with a focus on poverty, equity, and social development; peace, security, and reconciliation; and law and governability.

Justice

Colombian President Álvaro Uribe offered non-extradition guarantees to persons who pledged to change their ways and help dismantle AUC military infrastructure. AUC leaders, at the start of negotiations with the government, said they would only abide by negotiations and reject armed conflict if the approved legal framework did not humiliate them or call for their submission.

In March 2005, the International Criminal Court requested the government report on actions carried out against persons found guilty of crimes against humanity. The Colombian Congress approved the Justice and Peace Law in late June 2005. The law fixes punishments to five-eight years of prison time for paramilitaries accused of committing atrocities, and classifies AUC members as political criminals. The law does not always, though, entail imprisonment. Political criminals may be detained in such places as farms or other agricultural properties, as determined by the National Penitentiary Institute. The law establishes a maximum of eight years of detention for paramilitary combatants responsible for atrocities. President Uribe ratified the law in July 2005. In late 2005, the government passed related regulations to the law and exempted itself from any responsibility to victims who filed suit against the government for war atrocities. The government also repudiated an option for victims to recuperate economic losses from perpetrators of crimes. Paramilitary leaders disagreed with amendments to the law ordered by the Constitutional Court and stopped handing over goods while the law remained unclear.

A Commission of Reparation and Reconciliation was established in October 2005. With an eight-year mandate, the role of the commission

is to monitor reintegration, fully demobilize armed groups, and evaluate reparations and restitutions to victims. In late 2005, a decision was taken to make permanent the mission of the IACHR in Colombia, with the aim of developing transparent mechanisms for investigating accusations of ceasefire violations.

In late September 2006, the Colombian government took note of criticisms of a decree regulating the Justice and Peace Law and hardened conditions for trying paramilitaries. The government strove to abide by previous sentences of the Constitutional Court in June 2006. Currently, Colombia does not recognize political crimes but demands complete and candid confessions, while permitting victims to participate in all stages of the legal process and to question judicial decisions. In October 2006, the government discontinued guarantees of safe passage to demobilized paramilitary leaders and ordered the capture of unintended paramilitaries, after warnings such persons could lose privileges granted to them under the Justice and Peace Law. In mid-December 2006, some paramilitaries confessed to their crimes and made amendments to victims. The cost of reparations to victims is estimated at between \$4.68 billion and \$8.19 billion.

Of a total 2,914 combatant demobilized thus far under the Justice and Peace Law, the Colombian justice system has received 63 open judicial testimonies. Using these as a starting point, Colombia commenced other judicial proceedings which could implicate public servants and domestic and foreign private businesses for having links to paramilitaries.

In the latest report of the National Commission of Reparation and Reconciliation (CNRR), published in August 2007, the commission, increasingly more important to the Colombian government, said the justice system collected just 200 of a potential 2,816 open testimonials in the two years the Justice and Peace Law. If this is true, it is a dire accusation, since Colombians have filed more than 70,000 denunciations against demobilized paramilitaries, denunciations the government must investigate. The commission expressed concern over a lack of resources impeding a widening of judicial staff.

It was also concerned defendants deliberately omitted mention in testimonials of crimes against freedom, integrity of the person, and sexual violence, including rape.

The IACHR said the demobilization process for paramilitaries was rife with systemic obstacles, loopholes, and errors. Many demobilized persons were not in fact paramilitaries, said the IACHR. They joined the demobilization process only to receive government economic incentives and benefits. The IACHR also said the government appointed untrained district prosecutors just hours before taking testimonials from demobilized persons. Here, said the IACHR, the government lost an important opportunity to understand the facts lying behind thousands of crimes, which will go unpunished. The CNRR report raised concerns about loopholes that make it possible to get around the Justice and Peace Law. These loopholes limit the participation of victims in the legal process and strengthen legal guarantees of high levels of impunity, with little redress for crimes.

In November 2007, MSPP/OAS said Colombia's institutional capacity was insufficient to deal with the peace process and justice system. Due to the specific nature of the conflict, it was difficult to determine the exact number of potential beneficiaries of programming. Institutions involved in the peace process said repeatedly their chief needs resulted from (a) an insufficiency of human resources; (b) the absence of effective measures of protection for victims and public servants; (c) the absence of a centralized information system; (d) a need to strengthen training programmes, especially in practical matters, with legal and psychosocial counselling for victims; and (e) a scarcity of technical and logistical resources for improving research and testing procedures.

Other Disarmament Initiatives

The Bogotá police said Colombians who own firearms with outdated permits had until August 2008 to renew gun-possession permits without the risk of incurring penalties for the time they were without a licence. Owners of firearms not registered with the Ministry of Defence (some two million according to numerous studies), and homemade weapons, also had until August 2008 to

surrender weapons to the military in exchange for \$25-42, depending on the condition of the arm. In early 2007, the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, UNODC, and the Government of Colombia oversaw the destruction of 14,000 firearms to commemorate International Gun Destruction Day on July 9. Around 77 percent of the arms destroyed were illegal.

A commission headed by Bogotá Mayor Luis Eduardo Garzón and Pereira Mayor Juan Manuel Arango presented a proposal, backed by a million and a half signatures, to the Colombian Congress in late 2007. The proposal recommended that only adults older than 25 who could fulfil set requirements, such as a medical and psychological examination, be permitted to possess a gun. Those disobeying the order could have their firearm seized and be issued a fine of two legal minimum salaries. Those disobeying the order twice could lose the right to carry a gun indefinitely. The proposal was challenged by government, which said this sort of control should be managed by the Armed Forces because guns were a military matter due to the ongoing war with armed opposition groups.

In June 2007, the government created a new presidential programme with the goal of formulating and executing plans, programmes, and projects to counter anti-personnel landmine use. The main intent of the programme is to establish and apply a national strategy to counter landmine use; to serve as a resource for decision making through programme data collection; to create and adopt national standards for actions linked to demining, while overseeing the fulfilment of activity objectives; and to promote and manage international technical cooperation.

DDR Process

Background to DDR

Numerous peace agreements have been signed by the government. Demobilization and reincorporation leading to the dismantlement of armed groups, with demobilization and reintegration for their members has a long history in Colombia. Examples of groups demobilized include the April 19 Movement (M-19) in 1990; the Popular Liberation Army (EPL), the Workers Revolutionary Party of Colombia (PRT), and the Quintín Lame Movement in 1991; and the Ernesto Rojas Commandos in 1992, among others. The legal bases of current agreements, both collective and individual in nature, date back to agreements with these groups. Earlier agreements include Law 77 of 1989 and Decree 213 of 1991. Dialogue and benefits for ex-combatants, particularly those of a legal nature, were dependent on political recognition from government.

The first demobilizations of paramilitaries occurred in November 2003, while in May 2004 the government and AUC signed an agreement over governing standards for the Placement Zone of Tierralta, Córdoba. The purpose of the latter was to consolidate the peace process, contribute to fulfilling and monitoring cessations of hostilities, determine a timeline for gathering and demobilizing armed combatants, give time to all concerned groups to participate at the bargaining table, and encourage participation from citizens. Only leaders of the AUC were put in the Placement Zone. The zone, 368 km², did not include cantonment for all AUC members. From July 2004 on, negotiations with the three main AUC groups have taken place at a Collective Bargaining Table.

Type of DDR

DDR in Colombia involves disarming, demobilizing, and reintegrating members of the military wing of the AUC. Though not analyzed here, the government also makes incentives available to individual combatants belonging to armed groups wishing to demobilize.

According to government figures, Colombia demobilized 10,000 individuals using incentives of various sorts from 2002 to 2006. In 2005, the government paid out \$4.5 million in allowances to 1,671 mem-

bers of armed groups who, when they demobilized, surrendered war material and gave intelligence. The government allowances amounted to \$2,700 per informant or surrenderee. At the conclusion of this individual demobilization, beneficiaries each received some \$3,500 to put towards employment.

Guiding Principles

The aim of the peace process is to disarm, demobilize, and reintegrate the AUC. Though not analyzed here, the government also makes incentives available to individual combatants belonging to armed groups wishing to demobilize.

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Implementing bodies

Executive bodies in Colombia include, predominantly, the Office of the High Commissioner for Peace. The following additional bodies also give assistance:

- the Ministries of Defence, Justice and the Interior, and Revenue;
- the Presidential Council for Social Action;
- the Family Welfare Institute (ICBF), responsible for youth;
- SENA (the National Service for Learning);
- the Ombudsperson; and
- the Attorney General's Office.

Other complementary entities include

- the Human Rights Programme of the Office of the Vice President,
- departmental governments and city halls with jurisdictions over areas of demobilization,
- the Ministry of Social Protection,
- the Catholic Church,
- the OAS Mission to the Support the Peace Process (MAPP), and
- the public registry system.

The High Advisory Group on Reintegration was created in September 2006. Its main functions are to counsel the High Commissioner for Peace, execute and evaluate government policy dealing with social and economic reintegration, determine the National Action Plan, and encourage participation from civil society, among other functions. More specifically, the group's policies focus on four key areas: the design and implementation of long-term policy, participation from society as integral to resolving the country's armed conflict, sustainable planning to eliminate dependency on public aid, and the creation of employment solutions by demobilized persons themselves. Frank Pearl, High Commissioner for Reintegration, said 30 service centres in war-affected regions would be created to service all demobilized individuals before May 15.

Groups to Demobilize

There are 31,671 AUC paramilitaries in need of demobilization, in addition to further individuals.¹

Special Needs Groups

The government and various NGOs estimate the number of **child soldiers** in the AUC to be between 2,200 and 5,000, though not all are combatants. Some

¹ This country report looks exclusively at collective demobilization and not individual demobilization which is done on a voluntary basis and is not part of ongoing negotiations. The Ministry of Defence has said that more than 15,000 members of illegal armed groups have demobilized individually since 2002. Among these, 9,228 belonged to the FARC, 2,051 to the ELN, 3,682 to the AUC, and 446 to criminal organizations. Of the total of these, in turn, 2,356 were under 18 years of age upon demobilization.

paramilitary groups turned over youth before official demobilizations as acts of good faith. In a declaration of hostilities cessation in late 2002, the AUC promised to turn over the youth it held to UNICEF.

The AUC made similar promises for women and young female combatants. Sources questioned the low number of females demobilized on a collective basis, some 6 percent in all.

Budget

The exact cost of demobilizing the AUC is unknown, however various, and contradictory, estimates do exist. In May 2004, for example, the High Commissioner for Peace said Colombia needed some \$150 million in international aid to fully demobilize 15,000-20,000 paramilitaries, at a cost of \$7,000 per person. A year later, in 2005, the government said demobilization for 20,000 AUC would cost 200 billion pesos (\$87 million). The government calculated it would need double the amount for 2006 (\$174 million). Of this, 75 percent could come from the national budget and the rest from international donors. In total, the government put 677.8 billion pesos (\$302.6 million) into DDR from 2003 to 2006, amounting to an average \$9,567.10 per collectively demobilized person. Yearly fund distributions by government were the following:

Table 01. Budget (NDP)

Body / Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	TOTAL	%
Office of the High Commissioner	-	10.9	14.2	14	39.3	16
Ministry of Justice and the Interior	13.6	39.1	38.5	46.6	140.5	57
Ministry of Defence	8.6	13.7	13.5	17.5	53.3	21
ICBF	1.5	3.1	2.5	2.8	9.9	4
Ministry of Social Protection	-	2	0.5	-	2.8	1
SENA	0.3	0.2	1.5	-	2.1	0.9
Department of Security (DAS)	-	-	0.2	-	0.2	0.1
TOTAL	24.1	69	70.9	80.9	245	

Source: National Department of Planning, 2007

Table 02. Budget (High Commissioner for Peace)

Body / Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	TOTAL	%
Office of the High Commissioner	-	26	22	62	110	36
Ministry of Justice and the Interior	8	35	35	44	122	41
Ministry of Defence	8	3	12	16	39	16
ICBF	1.3	2	2.2	3	8.5	3
Ministry of Social Protection	-	-	1	8	9.1	3
SENA	0.3	0.2	2	1	3.5	0.9
Department of Security (DAS)	-	-	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.1
TOTAL	17	64.8	72.3	131.4	302.6	

Source: High Commissioner for Peace, 2006

* Figures expressed in millions of dollars, though the official document cites figures in millions of Colombian pesos.

Table 03. International donors contributions

Donor	Value (\$ millions)	%
USAID	8.3	64.6
UNICEF	1.6	13.1
Netherlands	0.9	6.9
ILO	0.5	4.2
Japan	0.4	3.1
EU	0.4	2.8
Italy	0.3	2.8
Germany, GTZ	0.2	1.5
Canada	0.1	1.0
TOTAL	12.9	

Source: National Department of Planning, 2007

Estimates in 2006-10 of the resources needed for demobilization and reincorporation varied in proportion to the assessed circumstances and desire for peace among other armed opposition groups. Figures for the four-year period range from \$328 million to \$610 million.

The expense of gathering and demobilizing ex-combatants is \$290 per person, amounting to an additional \$5.8 million on top of funding for the AUC. Of the \$290, \$70 is assigned for accommodations, \$58 for food, \$38 for clothing, and \$30 for relocation.

The World Bank in late September 2005 approved a wide-ranging assistance programme for Colombia involving study of DDR experiences there and internationally. This programme could result in direct assistance for DDR in subsequent years under the umbrella of the Peace and Development Adaptable Program Loan. In October 2005, the Netherlands pledged to increase AUC demobilization aid and support for the work of the Commission for Reparation.

In late October 2005, the US Congress authorized as much as \$20 million for negotiations with the AUC and "other terrorist groups" in Colombia, provided the Colombian government extradited individuals fingered by the US justice system for drug trafficking. The economic assistance may be put to "monitoring, integrating, examining, investigating, processing, and recovering goods that can serve to redress victims." In December 2005, the EU gave \$1.5 million to strengthen local reconciliation and reinsertion, to develop community strategies for hosting demobilized persons, and to assist victims.

In early May 2006, the US Congress approved \$15.4 million to demobilize the AUC, pendent on cooperation from the Government of Colombia in extraditing paramilitary leaders. The funds are meant to be used to strengthen the judiciary, redress victims, and reinsert AUC combatants into society. In August 2006, USAID gave the OAS \$1.9 million for AUC demobilization efforts. In November 2006, the Argos Foundation and USAID each put \$1.2 million into a programme to reintegrate 320 demobilized individuals. Aid from the private sector and technical assistance from the IOM were also provided.

Finally, in January 2007, Spain committed 61 million euros (\$79.4 million) to employment projects in order to further the reintegration of demobilized persons. To calculate the total financial contribution for DDR in Colombia, the total contributions made thus far by the Colombian

government and the sum of bilateral contributions need to be tallied. The European Commission ratified 12 million euros for projects in communities hosting demobilized persons.

According to the latest calculations by High Commissioner for Peace Luís Carlos Restrepo, done in December 2007, the Colombian government has spent some \$108 million on military demobilization. The government spent \$9.36 million on gathering and demobilizing combatants, \$94 million on related resources, and nearly \$2 million on security. On average, DDR cost \$286 per capita, in addition to \$17 per person over an 18-month period for humanitarian aid. Almost \$6 million more was spent on equipping special reclusion centres under the Justice and Peace Law, though criticisms were levelled at the scarcity of funds for this, in addition to declarations made by a number of paramilitaries they would not hand over goods. High Commissioner for Reintegration Frank Pearl put the budget for 2008 at \$130 million.

Schedule

Originally, demobilization was to take place from November 2003 to December 2005, though an additional final demobilization occurred in August 2006, totalling 33 months of demobilization. Reintegration restarted in 2007.

The peace process in Colombia has experienced a number of crises causing considerable delay to AUC demobilization. The peace process was supposed to have demobilized the AUC by the end of 2005. Thus far, demobilizations have occurred in three stages, as indicated in the charts attached. As of October 2005, nearly half the AUC was not demobilized.

Phases

Disarmament and Demobilization

Disarmament and demobilization occurs in designated areas called Areas of Concentration, over a limited period of one to two weeks depending on the numbers requiring demobilization. Collective demobilization occurs in two stages. The Office of the High Commissioner for Peace overlooks the first stage, which consists of three sub-stages or phases:

- sensitization, preparation, and equipping (15-30 days);
- gathering, demobilizing, and verifying combatants (2-10 days); and
- reintegrating combatants into places of origin (approximately 8 days).

In the third reintegration phase, employees of assistance centres in areas where demobilizations are underway assist and accompany the demobilized. The centres provide four types of assistance: legal, social, humanitarian, and employment assistance. The Colombian government gives \$155 of aid per combatant per month for a maximum 18 months. It offers the money, in addition to a monthly allowance of \$25 for transportation expenses, only to individuals being trained or starting a business. The government also offers a one-time \$45 payment so demobilized combatants can return home.

Demobilized units are led in file to a reception point where a truck picks them up and transports them to an Area of Concentration. The units spend a few days in the Area of Concentration. Personnel register them, research their histories, gather a confession of their crimes, help them choose a place for reinsertion, and identify training and work opportunities for them. Digital camera equipment, iris scanners, fingerprinting machinery, and electronic devices for recording signatures ensure identity cards and other related documents are issued promptly. Additionally, the combatants are given a supply of toiletries and civilian clothing. Individuals sought by the law for atrocities are sent to Santa Fe de Ralito for trying.

At this point, an official demobilization ceremony is held. Combatants surrender their weapons and the weapons are sent to a military base for safekeeping. Explosives are destroyed immediately. MSP/POAS verifies the list of demobilized persons and the arms surrendered by each.

In demobilizing child soldiers, IOM Colombia, with \$9 million from USAID, \$2 million from Canada, and \$1 million from Italy, administers a series of projects on behalf of the ICBF. Specific programming for child soldiers began in 2001. According to initial planning, programming for child soldiers was supposed to end in 2008, though it is likely to be extended until 2010 according to the latest estimates. Programming for child soldiers involves giving the ICBF technical assistance, such as logistical support, support for communities and reintegration into families, and support in implementing a national strategy for the prevention of re-recruitment. The assistance given to the youth is split into three phases which include set itineraries and run for as long as the youth, depending on their age and backgrounds, are deemed to require it. Youth Opportunity and Reference Centres (CROJs) are orientation centres for youth at risk of recruitment. Social and psychological aid provided by the centres is specialized and comprehensive. The centres assist the youth identify appropriate employment opportunities. Since their creation in 2001, CROJs have serviced 3,577 youth, 74 percent male and the rest female. The youth have come from a variety of places, more than half from the FARC. The services most in demand by youth include vocational training, education, and sanitation.

War Child Holland also helps demobilize child soldiers. It works with organizations focussing on reintegration and youth-recruitment prevention: the Juan Bosco Corporation, Workshop of Life, and Shooting Cameras for Peace.

Reintegration

Reintegration runs for 18 months and begins with the arrival of demobilized persons at a location of choice. The Ministry of Justice and the Interior, through its Programme for Reincorporation into Civilian Life, overlooks reintegration. Opportunity and Reference Centres, or CROs, administer the ministry programme and assist youth on an individual basis. The three CROs in Colombia are located in Bogotá and Medellín, which contain more than 85 percent of Colombia's demobilized combatants. CROs work to reintegrate combatants productively into civilian life by offering comprehensive services.

CROs assist with relocation, offer a personal monthly allowance of \$155 for 18 months (totalling \$2,790), give \$45 for return to home communities, offer psychosocial and legal aid, and impart academic and technical training. In order to receive the monthly payments, demobilized individuals must participate in 80 percent of programming in the first three months of demobilization. Activities include workshops in social and psychological care and activities around family and community. An additional \$75 is given for participation in workshops. After four months, reintegration aid is readjusted in accordance with the effort and commitment shown by the demobilized person.

The Government of Colombia, through the president, Ministry of Justice and the Interior's Programme for Reincorporation into Civilian Life, and eight other institutions, permit AUC members who demobilize collectively, as well as those displaced by demobilizations, to participate in "employment projects for peace."

In furthering decentralization, the High Advisory Group on Reintegration created, in early 2007, a National Network for Attention to Demobilized Persons, which consists of 37 Service Centres whose mandate it is to assist demobilized individuals and their families. The aim of the network is to coordinate the payments of various benefits and allowances, with input from local authorities and private institutions participating in DDR. USAID, with logistical support from the IOM, funds the network.

The mission in Colombia has appraised highly the High Advisory Group's focus on regional work. The focus permits the group to remain close to and dialogue with trained local authorities and civilian organizations, contributing greatly to reintegration and assisting in the creation of local reintegration plans. To ensure continued success of the group's focus, Committees for Regional Monitoring have been created.

Evolution

Disarmament and Demobilization

41,026 members of the AUC were demobilized by March 2006 when the AUC was scheduled to be fully demobilized. 31,671 of these were demobilized in 36 separate collective demobilizations. Approximately 6 percent of demobilized individuals were women. By locations, 32 percent of the total was demobilized in Antioquia, 14.5 percent in Córdoba, 10.5 percent in Cesar, 8.6 percent in Magdalena, and 6.8 percent in Santander. 28,751 were men and 2,920 were women.

Table 04. Demobilization per front

Bloc	Date	Combatants	Arms	Arms / combatant
Cacique Nutibara	09/12/03	868	497	0.57
Peasant Self Defence Forces of Ortega	11/12/03	167	49	0.29
Bananero	25/11/04	451	351	0.78
Self Defence Forces of South Magdalena and the San Fernando Island	04/12/04	48	38	0.81
Self Defence Forces of Cundimarca	10/12/04	148	156	1
Catatumbo	10/12/04	1,434	1,114	0.78
Calima	11/12/04	564	451	0.8
Self Defence Forces of Córdoba	18/01/05	925	393	0.42
Southwestern Antioquia Front	30/01/05	126	103	0.82
Mojana Front	01/02/05	109	103	0.93
Heroes of Tolová	15/06/05	464	256	0.55
Mountains of Mary	14/07/05	594	365	0.61
Liberators of the South	30/07/05	689	596	0.86
Heroes of Granada	01/08/05	2,033	1,120	0.55
Peasant Self-Defence Forces of Meta and Vichada	12/08/05	209	232	1.1
Pacific	23/08/05	358	144	0.4
Rings of Security	27/08/05	300	195	0.65
Centauros	03/09/05	1,134	705	0.6
Northwestern Antioquia	11/09/05	222	153	0.69
Vichada Front	24/09/05	325	282	0.87
Tolima	22/10/05	207	51	0.25
Northeastern Antioquia, Bajo Cauca, and Magdalena Medio Fronts	14/12/05	1,922	1,386	0.72
Mártires de Guática Front	15/12/05	552	351	0.63
Victors of Arauca	23/12/05	548	399	0.73
Mineros	20/01/06	2,789	1,433	0.51
Self Defence Forces of Puerto Boyacá	28/01/06	742	316	0.43
Central Bolívar-South of Bolívar	31/01/06	2,519	1,094	0.43
Tayrona Resistance	03/02/06	1,166	597	0.51
Peasant Self Defence Forces of Magdalena Medio	07/02/06	990	757	0.76
Central Bolívar Bloc Heroes of Caguán, Heroes of Andaquíes, and Heroes of Florenia	15/02/06	552	341	0.62
South Putumayo Front	01/03/06	504	292	0.58
Julio Peinado Becerra Front	04/03/06	251	179	0.71
North Bloc	08/03/06	2,215	625	0.71
North Bloc	10/03/06	2,544	835	0.32
Heroes of Llano and Guavire Front	11/04/06	1,765	1,024	0.33
Costanero Front	12/04/06	309	220	0.58
Élmer Cárdenas Bloc Pavarandó and Dabeiba Fronts	30/04/06	484	360	0.74
Élmer Cárdenas Bloc North and Middle Salaquí Front	15/08/06	743	488	0.66
TOTAL (12/03 - 08/06)		31,671	18,051	0.57

*Divided into Pacific (208), Liberators of the South (12), Centauros (18), and Victors of Arauca (62).

Chart 05. Demobilization per year

Year	Combatants	Arms	Arms / combatant
2003	1,035	546	0.53
2004	2,645	2,110	0.8
2005	10,417	6,834	0.66
2006	17,573	8,561	0.49
TOTAL	31,671	18,051	0.57

A total **18,051 weapons** have been collected, that is, 0.57 weapons per person. In order to prevent losses or thefts from arsenals, the arms were stored for safekeeping or destroyed in late 2006, as in previous demobilizations. Various NGOs warned, however, the destruction of weapons could impair investigations into crimes committed by the AUC.

Demobilizations have taken place in the departments of Antioquia, Córdoba, Bogotá, Cesar, Magdalena, Santander, Atlántico, Meta, Valle del Cauca, Bolívar, Cundinamarca, Norte de Santander, Sucre, Boyacá, Tolima, Risaralda, Chocó, and Casanare.

Numerous crises have arisen in Colombia over the years. Crises have materialized over attempts to include wanted drug traffickers in AUC negotiations teams, over demands to extradite AUC leaders, over diverging views held by the AUC and Colombian government regarding the Justice and Peace Law, and over violations of cessations of hostilities. A crisis erupted in early October 2005 over the incarceration of an AUC leader sought by the United States. Demobilizations, affecting some 12,000 AUC members, were temporarily stopped.

The OAS said at least 4,000 demobilized paramilitaries returned to criminal activity, becoming actively reengaged in the drug trade and controlling territory for exporting cocaine and contraband weapons. The OAS identified 22 new armed groups. According to the media, a new armed group called the Black Eagles infiltrated 226 municipalities in 24 departments of Colombia, most notably in the departments of Valle, Cauca, and Nariño.

The OAS said stigmatization of demobilized individuals was a major impediment to social reinsertion. Although most ex-combatants have returned to home communities and have found ways to deal with the difficulties of returning to civilian life, prolonged involvement in criminal activities by a minority has produced negative stereotypes, which have worked to prevent full inclusion into communities, families, and civilian life.

Reintegration

Between 2002 and 2006, the Colombian government ran 48,907

training courses in different areas. The courses were imparted by the Ministry of Interior and Justice. 11,023 took courses offered by SENA and 2,883 by universities, while 14,309 had stable employment. In late 2006, the High Commissioner for Reintegration said the aim of the training was to assist with the transition from reinsertion to reintegration. A report looking at the demobilization of paramilitaries, published by the Colombian police in September 2007, said that from 2003 to present 737 ex-paramilitaries died in a variety of circumstances involving violence. 251 deaths took place in Antioquia. The report said the police arrested 1,553 demobilized persons for criminal acts after weapons were surrendered as part of demobilization.

In March 2007, representatives for 15,000 demobilized persons brought criticisms of the reintegration process to the High Commissioner. The ex-combatants criticized the lack of work and training opportunities for them, and more generally, the fact they did not participate in creating alternatives. Representatives of the demobilized persons warned new paramilitary groups would produce insecurity and some ex-combatants were considering rearmament. The High Commissioner agreed the government had delayed in equipping demobilized persons and made public figures showing basic services had reached only a minority of people.

A report by the International Crisis Group (ICG), similarly, said although the Colombian government's work in demobilizing the AUC was positive, a lingering presence of groups not participating in AUC-government negotiations, as well as a rearming of some demobilized paramilitaries, was worrisome. The report said new armed groups, totalling at least 3,000 combatants, were linked to criminal organizations and drug trafficking, and had business dealings with the FARC and ELN. Nevertheless, 95 percent of ex-combatants were still committed to reintegration, the High Commissioner said in July 2007. The ICG recommended a comprehensive strategy, administered by the military, be put in place to combat the new groups, while the government focuses on coordinating intelligence, maintaining the law, respecting human rights, and holding up as examples

demobilized paramilitaries who had successfully reintegrated into civil life. The comprehensive strategy, said the ICG, should find ways to incorporate large rural infrastructure and development programmes. The ICG report included concrete recommendations for the government, the Armed Forces, the police, the attorney general, the Supreme Court, the OAS Verification Mission, the EU, the OAS, and the Government of the United States.

A quarterly report by the MSPP/OAS, published in November 2007, warned of the continued "influence of ex-paramilitary commanders who refused to partake in the government's demobilization effort and of the presence of middle commanders in hiding." It drew clear links between areas of illicit cultivation and rearmed and fortified throughways. Because of these links, dismantled AUC members had moved into private armies with marked Mafia-like organizations servicing the drug trade. The quarterly report also said that with policy changes in Colombia, reintegration had taken a different course than that pursued by the High Advisory Group on Reintegration. Nevertheless, in the medium term, Colombia could overcome the obstacles it faced, including faltering interest from some local governments; institutional dismantlement; stigmatization felt by demobilized persons, straining community reinsertion; lacking motivation on the part of ex-combatants due to delays in policy implementation; poorly functioning employment projects and lacking formal employment; and insecurity felt by demobilized persons, sometimes made victims of homicides and threats in certain parts of Colombia.

The IOM, the Presidential High Advisory Group on Reintegration, and the Ethanol Consortium Board, a private corporation, signed an agreement in July 2007 to create 1,500 jobs for demobilized combatants and vulnerable persons in the ethanol industry. The Controlsud International Group and USAID agreed to finance the project as part of the IOM's public-private cooperation strategy. The project aims to hire workers to plant sugarcane and build three production plants in three municipalities of Colombia's north, where armed groups operate in great numbers and unemployment is high. Similarly,

the Comexa Corporation said in late November 2007 that it intended to purchase 1,840 tonnes of chilli harvested by 320 demobilized soldiers and civilians in vulnerable circumstances. The chilli plantation, together with the Argos Cement Company, is part of the IOM's Community Development and Reintegration Programme, which operates in the departments of Antioquia and Sucre as pioneering public-private initiatives.

In late 2008, the Colombian government destroyed more than 18,000 arms collected from the AUC as part of demobilization. The arms were melted down in a foundry of the Department of Boyacá, in the presence of the High Commissioner for Peace and other officials. The High Commissioner for Reintegration said the Colombian government expected most FARC members to demobilize. He also said that of 36,000 ex-combatants overlooked by the Office of Reinsertion, 20,000 were employed, while the remaining 16,000 were studying.

In a report of a joint visit with psychologists to demobilization regions, the High Commissioner condemned the fact that domestic violence existed in 70 percent of homes with a demobilized person. The report said the departments with the highest levels of domestic violence were in the north. The commissioner criticized the fact that few formal complaints were issued by the women because they feared subsidies of 130 to 175 euros might be taken from them, or they would be subject to revenge attacks from their partners if they reported them.

In mid-2008, the attorney general reported that only 5,915 demobilized persons (13 percent of the total) were actively engaged in reinsertion programmes created by the government. Yet, the attorney general questioned that some 5.7 million euros in payments to ex-combatants, in exchange for cooperation in military operations and intelligence work, had been made.

The Government of Colombia signed an agreement with the Guevarista Revolutionary Army (known by its Spanish acronym ERG) in July 2008 to demobilize some 40 combatants of the small group, which splintered from the ELN in 1995. Put in a temporary placement zone, the ERG surrendered 35 light weapons, 5,000

units of ammunition, and 20 grenades and explosives, which were destroyed. The agreement stipulated the ERG be subject to the Justice and Peace Law and that it could access the Programme for Reincorporation into Civilian Life.

The role of private business in reintegrating demobilized ex-combatants remains to be analyzed more thoroughly. The High Commissioner said more than 1,500 positions and 158 individual initiatives had been created in the private sector for persons qualifying for reintegration. Meanwhile, some 23,000 demobilized combatants, a figure to be verified by the National Department of Statistics, DANE, were engaged in informal employment.

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Glossary

AUC:	Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia	MAPP-OEA:	OAS Mission to the Support the Peace Process
CIDH:	Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos	NGO:	Non Governmental Organisation
ELN:	Ejército de Liberación Nacional	OAS:	Organisation of American States
EU:	European Union	SENA:	Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje
FARC:	Frente Armado Revolucionario de Colombia	UNDAF:	Marco de Asistencia al Desarrollo de las Naciones Unidas en Colombia
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product	UNICEF:	United Nations Childrens Fund
ICBF:	Instituto de Bienestar Familiar	UNODC:	Oficina de Naciones Unidas sobre Drogas y Crimen
ICG:	international Crisis Group	USAID:	United States Agency for International Development
IDP:	Internal Displaced Person		
IOM:	International Organisation for Migrations		

Congo

(NPDDR, 2005 – 2008)

Context

Conflict

The Republic of the Congo has suffered four consecutive conflicts, in 1993-94, 1997, 1998-99, and 2001-03. Essentially, these conflicts resulted from the fight for political power and general instability in the country since independence in 1960. Dennis Sassou Nguesso ruled the Republic of the Congo from 1979-92. In 1992, Pascal Lissouba won elections for the presidency, but in 1997 Sassou Nguesso returned to government in a violent manner with help from Angola. The fight for control of the government developed into a cycle of conflict with confrontations occurring between political factions. In the latest conflict, 15,000 persons died, predominantly from the Pool region in the south. The Ninja militias, who have fought the government, reside in the Pool region.¹

Peace Process

In November 1999, through mediation from the president of Gabon, the Republic of the Congo signed a Cessation of Hostilities Agreement, and a month later, a Ceasefire Agreement. In January 2002, the country approved a new constitution, and in March of the same year, fighting resumed between the armed forces and the Ninja militias for a year. In August 2002, a transitional government was created. In April 2003, 2,300 Ninjas surrendered their arm after signing a peace accord in March.²

On the Transitional Justice matter, in November 1999, after signing the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement, the government of the Republic of the Congo offered a general amnesty for all the war activity which occurred in different conflicts throughout the country since 1993. In August 2003, the National Assembly approved an amnesty for the Ninjas, militias, and mercenaries who had participated in these conflicts, with the agreement that human rights abuses committed after 2000 would not be investigated.³

Security Sector Reform

Security sector reform has entailed a reorganization of the military, gendarme, and national police. Out of a total 30,000 ex-combatants, 6,000 belonged to the Armed Forces. Persons in the military with no basic level of education, who fail to meet the minimum age requirement, or who are not physically fit for military work are to be disarmed and demobilized.⁴

Other Disarmament Initiatives

Minister of Defence General J. Yvon said in April 2007 a large number of illegal arms in circulation constitute a security risk, particularly for elections, scheduled for June and July 2007. There are 34,000-40,000 illegal small arms in the Republic of Congo, mostly found in the Pool region.⁵

Disarmament is the responsibility of the NPDDR. In January 2008, a second Project for the Collection of Weapons (known by its French acronym PCAD II) launched and expected to run until June 2009.⁶ In November 2006, the UNDP temporarily postponed arms collection to fix provisioning difficulties and delays in the distribution of equipment to ex-combatants surrendering arms.⁷ The Armed Forces resumed arms collection in January 2008, with help from the NPDDR and \$2 million from Japan.

1 Gonsolin, *Congo: Country Briefing*

2 CICS, *DDR and Human Security in Congo Brazzaville*, p. 2.

3 CICS, *Ibid.*

4 CICS, *ibid.*

5 *Xinhua*, August 27, 2006.

6 Gonsolin, *op. cit.*

7 RW, October 20, 2006.

Summary

Type of DDR	DDR in the Republic of Congo is administered by the National Programme of Demobilisation, Disarmament, and Reinsertion (NPDDR). It involves bilateral demobilization of militias for post-war security sector reform.
Groups to demobilize	30,000 ex-combatants of various militia groups
Implementing bodies	National Commission for Demobilization and Reintegration (CONADER)
Budget	\$25 million
Timeline	From December 2005 to December 2008
Status / synopsis	The MDRP says 11,869 ex-combatants have so far demobilized, or 39 percent of the overall anticipated number.

Basic facts

Population: 64,704,000

Food emergency: Yes

IDP: 7,800

Refugee population: 19,734

GDP (dollars): 7,645,842,432

Per capita income (dollars): 2,750

IDH: 0,619 (130th)

Military population:

10,000 (armed forces);

2,000 (paramilitaries)

Arms Embargo: No

To cite this report:

Caramés, A., "Congo (PNDDR, 2004-2008)", in A. Caramés and E. Sanz, *DDR 2009. Analysis of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) Programmes in the World during 2008*. Bellaterra: School for a Culture of Peace, 2009, pp. 59-64.

Background to DDR

A variety of sometimes overlapping initiatives linked to one phase or other of DDR have launched since 1999.

Chart 01. Antecedents and results

Date	Event	Actors	Results
January 2000	Creation of an agreement oversight committee, which ran a broad initiative to buy back weapons and register some of the many existing combatants. At the time, the government proposed registering and demobilizing as many as 22,000 ex-combatants of the Ninja, Cocoye, and Cobra militias, and collecting some 71,500 weapons.	Government of the Republic of Congo	Only 6,500 arms and approximately 15,000 ex-combatants were registered in 2000 (though not demobilized or reintegrated). Individuals received \$20, for an overall program cost of \$300,000.
July 2000 - December 2002	Creation of a new ex-combatant disarmament project involving weapons collection, destruction, and a component for reintegration and micro-projects.	UNDP and IOM	In late 2002, some 11,000 ex-combatants received partial assistance for reintegration. The assistance, however, was interrupted for a year in 2002 due to renewed fighting between the Ninja militia and government. In the end, 11,140 weapons (3,100 small arms and 8,000 grenades and explosives) were destroyed. By late 2002, a total 8,019 ex-combatants officially received reintegration services by way of 2,610 micro-projects valued at \$3.6 million, an average of \$448 per combatant.
October 2001	Creation of a new reintegration project for three militias containing 3,800 ex-combatants, with \$5 million from the World Bank.	High Commissioner for the Reinsertion of Ex-Combatants (HCREC) and the World Bank	The High Commissioner opened an office in the capital Brazzaville and five regional branches funding 1,505 micro-projects for 3,732 ex-combatants, at an average cost per combatant of \$270. Other sources cite 2,417 projects for 6,658 ex-combatants, of which only 1,130 were from the highly conflictive region of Pool. 500 ex-combatants received assistance for reintegration, totalling 16,500 individuals reintegrated.
April 2003	DDR valuing 730,000 euros for 1,000 members of the Ninja militia in Pool.	European Union	The initiative launched in 2004 with the surrender, by Ninja leader Reverend Ntoumi, of one cannon. Shortly thereafter, however, Ntoumi placed new conditions, which were unacceptable to the government, on the disarmament of his combatants. After a year without progress, the EU withdrew its funding. The initiative ended in July-August 2005 after 478 combatants were demobilized and 478 weapons and 3,632 munitions were surrendered and destroyed.
August 2004	Launch of a second DDR process, known as "Disarmament for Development," to target the Ninjas, with a budget of 2 million euros.	UNDP	It is estimated that 16,000 Ninjas have not participated in any kind of DDR.
March 2005	Start of a special DDR process for 450 Ninjas, overlooked entirely by the government at a cost of \$430,000 for three months of work.	Government of the Republic of Congo	Although a commission of the government and Ninja militia operated jointly to deal with disarmament and social reintegration, because DDR has suffered repeat setbacks, it has generated a climate of insecurity that endangers the already weak peace process.

In February 2005, development donors met in Paris to review the Republic of Congo's National Programme of DDR. The Government of the Republic of Congo said the program should focus on five key areas: disarmament, demobilization and social and economic reinsertion, child soldiers (\$352,000 from the United States), conflict prevention, and security sector reform.

Program Design

Type and Designation of DDR

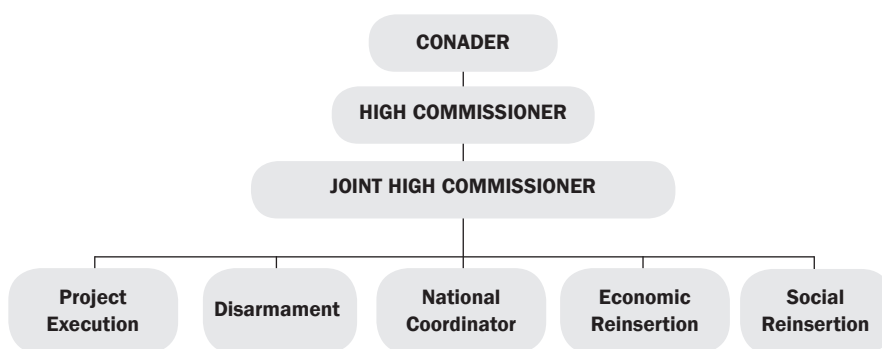
DDR in the Republic of Congo is administered by the National Programme of Demobilisation, Disarmament, and Reinsertion (NPDDR). It involves bilateral demobilization of militias for post-war security sector reform.

Implementing bodies

The national executive is the National Commission for Demobilization and Reinsertion, CONADER. Its role is varied: it determines government policy and strategies for oversight of program implementation, it overlooks programming, and it approves the budget of the High Commissioner. HCREC, the High Commissioner for the Reinsertion of Ex-Combatants, was created in 2001. The UNDP, ILO, and IOM have worked with HCREC. Four units were established to oversee operations. These include

- an Information and Communication Management Unit,
- a Finance and Accounting Management Unit,
- a Contracts Adjudication Unit, and
- an Evaluation and Control Unit.

Graph 01. Implementing bodies and functions



Source: World Bank, 2005

Unit offices are located in Dolisie, Sibiti, Nkayi, Kinkala, Brazzaville, Gamboma, and Owando.

The MDRP applied experiences acquired from DDR in the Great Lakes region of Africa. By studying the Great Lakes, the MDRP found that successful DDR required commitment from the parties to the conflict, effective demobilization, combating reintegration difficulties, focusing assistance, creating long-term employment, facilitating social reintegration for extended families, preventing violence and the stigmatization of ex-combatants, reunifying youth with families, and coordinating and decentralizing institutions.⁹ The UNDP and IOM assist the MDRP by supporting the NPDDR, Arms for Development, and youth employment initiatives.

Guiding Principles

The NPDDR's main objective is to contribute to the peace process, promote political stability, promote national security in the region, advance national reconciliation, and support social and economic reconstruction. More specifically, the national program looks to

- disarm individuals bearing illegal weapons,
- disarm ex-combatants and reinsert them into social and economic life,
- prevent re-mobilizations of self-demobilized ex-combatants,
- integrate child soldiers and disabled ex-combatants,
- prevent and regulate conflicts to redirect violence, and
- contribute to defence and security sector reform.

The first three goals are overlooked by the High Commissioner, the UNDP manages disarmament, and the Armed Forces deal with security sector reform.

⁹ World Bank, op. cit.

This work is centred on the regional level, with consideration given to the insecurity plaguing the entire region of the Great Lakes as a result of illegal cross-border arms trafficking.

Participants

The data on past and future recipients of programming is contradictory, however a realistic figure of the number of combatants to demobilize is probably 30,000. 19,000 ex-combatants were demobilized in two programs run from July 2000 to August 2004, and 5,000 rebels from Pool, together with 6,000 members from the Armed Forces, were demobilized in a program in 2005.¹⁰

Combatants come in five varieties:

- regular;
- irregular members of the Ninjas, Cocoyes, and Cobras;
- self-defence and auxiliary units;
- regular combatants from Angola, Rwanda, Burundi, and the DR Congo, and an estimated 4,000 soldiers from the DR Congo and more than 1,000 Rwandans in the Republic of Congo; and
- irregular combatants from Angola, Rwanda, Burundi, and the DR Congo.

The UN estimates around 1,500 youth are held in the ranks of armed groups. The World Bank MDRP puts the number at 1,800.

According to official figures, 5 percent of combatants are women, though experience suggests the numbers are higher.

Eligibility Criteria

To qualify for programming in the Republic of Congo, an individual must

- have participated in armed combat or have provided some form of logistical support during the civil war;
- have indicated a desire to be trained or participate in micro-projects for employment;
- not have other forms of remunerative work;
- not have participated in either the UNDP-IOM Collection and Reintegration program run from 2000 to 2002 or the HCREC's Reintegration Project.

¹⁰ Gonsolin, op. cit.

Budget

A budget of \$25 million, \$17 million from the World Bank, was allotted for a 2006 integration program targeting 30,000 combatants. Combatants received on average \$613 per person for every \$833 of program expense. The budget, distributed in phases, is indicated in the chart.

Chart 02. Budget by stages (WB contribution)

Phase	Millions \$	%
Demobilization and transition	2.4 (1.5)	9.6 (6)
Socioeconomic reintegration	16.5 (10.8)	66.0 (43.2)
Reintegration support for communities	1.0 (0.65)	4.0 (2.6)
Assistance for special groups	1.0 (0.65)	4.0 (2.6)
Violence prevention	0.5 (0.33)	2.0 (1.3)
Other	3.6 (2)	14.4 (8)
Estimated total	25	100

Source: World Bank, *Republic of Congo Emergency Demobilization and Reintegration Project*.

Japan, through an agreement with the UNDP signed in February 2007, agreed to give \$2 million for disarming and reintegrating ex-combatants. This disarmament and reintegration is part of the Project for the Collection of Arms, which has collected some 1,000 arms and expected to collect as many as 15,000 arms by late 2008. The initiative also received \$17 million from the World Bank and \$2.6 million from the European Commission.¹¹ Remaining funds (\$3.4 million) were to be provided by the Government of the Republic of Congo and bilateral donors.¹²

Schedule

A variety of initiatives, some lasting months and others years, have launched since 2000. The World Bank PCAD I and PCAD II programs were supposed to begin in late 2005 and conclude in 2008, running a total 36 months, but did not start until June 2008. The NPDDR planned to remain active until February 2009, having prolonged three projects in mid-implementation. It remains to be determined whether the schedule will be reorganized given that programming was delayed considerably.

Phases

Demobilization

Demobilization commenced with a payment of \$150 per ex-combatant, paid monthly over three months, to cover necessities. Regular Armed Forces were barracked while armed opposition groups were placed in designated cantonments. Identity cards were issued and other information was processed. Material on health and HIV/AIDS prevention was distributed.¹³

Reintegration

Reintegration in the Republic of Congo is both social and economic in nature. In terms of social reintegration, the HCREC allocated communities \$25,000 each for rehabilitation as part of current social or cultural projects, in a preparatory stage involving input from representatives of civil society. In terms of economic reintegration, macro-projects were planned to create opportunities in agriculture, fishing, cattle rising, and crafts, with assistance from the HCREC and ILO.¹⁴

Evolution

The government put in place a pilot project for the reintegration of 115 former child soldiers in Brazzaville in March 2006. The Office of Government Work oversaw the one-month project, which involved giving youth access to formal education and promoting HIV/AIDS prevention. The project, amounting to \$312,000, was funded by the United States.¹⁵

While waiting for reintegration money (only 2,417 of 7,778 ex-combatants received financial support) and for negotiations to link DDR to agricultural initiatives, demobilization in the Republic of Congo concluded in 2007 after having registered all demobilized combatants. In 2007, focus was given to reintegrating 10,000 ex-combatants, but this was achieved for just 2,417, though 9,160 received medical and psychosocial assistance.

CONADER planned to remain active until August 2009 with extensions to three projects. The MDRP says 11,869 ex-combatants, 39 percent of the overall expected numbers, have demobilized.

In January 2004, 1,875 child soldiers, 375, or 20 percent, of them girls, were registered for demobilization. In September 2005, Japan gave \$1 million to the UNDP for a project called "Community Action for the Reintegration of Youth Ex-Combatants." The project aimed to reach 15,000 at-risk youth. The German Technical Cooperation also committed, until 2009, money for reintegrating child soldiers.

¹¹ IRIN, February 28, 2007.

¹² CICS, op. cit.

¹³ Gonsolin, op. cit.

¹⁴ Gonsolin, op. cit.

¹⁵ IRIN, March 24, 2006.

¹⁶ World Bank, op. cit.

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Glossary

CONADER: Commission National pour la Désarmement et la Réinsertion

EU: European Union

GTZ: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit

HCREC: Haut Commissariat pour la Réinsertion des Ex Combattants

IDP: Internal Displaced Person

ILO: International Labour Organisation

IOM: International Organisation for Migrations

MDRP: Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program

NGO: Non Governmental Organisation

PCAD: Projet de Collecte des Armes de guerre pour le développement

PNDDR: Programme National du DDR

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

WB: World Bank

Côte d'Ivoire

(PNRRC, 2007 - present)

Context

Conflict

In 2002, a group of dissident soldiers, congealing later as the Forces Nouvelles (FN), attacked the city of Abidjan in a failed coup to depose President Laurent Gbagbo. Since that time, the Forces Nouvelles have held sway over the north of Côte d'Ivoire. One cause for the rising was the exclusion from political decision-making of the population in the north, in addition to social and economic discrimination faced by it. In 2003, the Government of Côte d'Ivoire signed the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement in France and a security zone patrolled by the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) and the French Forces Licorne was established to prevent further confrontations in the Côte d'Ivoire and comply with ceasefire agreements. Failure to implement such agreements in later years, however, has made it impossible for the country to reunify.¹

Peace Process

The Linas-Marcoussis Peace Agreement, signed on January 24, 2003, recognized the need to disarm and demobilize armed groups under the supervision of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Forces Licorne, as well as create a national-unity government. The agreement, more specifically, said the job of the Ivorian national reconciliation government was to reintegrate military personnel through repatriation, resettlement, and reintegration programmes and to restructure the Armed Forces.²

In August 2003, after declaring an official end to the conflict, an amnesty law was approved for prisoners and members of armed groups who had fought the government but not committed serious violations of international humanitarian law, human rights abuses, or been involved in illicit economic activities.

On March 4, 2007, President Laurent Gbagbo and the leader of the Forces Nouvelles, Guillaume Soro, signed the **Ouagadougou Peace Agreement** in Burkina Faso to make up for prior unfulfilled negotiation commitments. The **Ouagadougou Peace Agreement** was negotiated over a period of a month with mediation from then Head of ECOWAS and Burkina Faso President Blaise Compaoré. The new agreement stipulated that after the first five weeks of the agreement's signing, a new transitional government be created with an equitable sharing of power between parties, a new military command structure be created to unify the old Armed Forces and Forces Nouvelles, a schedule be established for disarmament, voters be registered, and elections be held. The agreement also stipulated a security zone, controlled by UNOCI and the Forces Licorne and dividing the country into north and south, be dismantled. The agreement specified a gradual withdrawal of peacekeeping forces from the security zone, replaced by an impartial security force mandated to facilitate the free movement of people and goods across the country.³

The most important element of the Ouagadougou Political Agreement (OPA) was to stabilize the security situation so elections could take place, a census of the population could be created, and the crisis could be put to an end. "Security stabilization" in the OPA depends on SSR, both of the old Armed Forces and Forces Nouvelles. OPA was a new attempt to disarm, demobilize, and reintegrate ex-combatants, and disarm and dismantle militias (DDM) in west Côte d'Ivoire.

The signatories to the Ouagadougou Agreement committed to creating a new amnesty law, except for instances involving war crimes, crimes against humanity, or economic crimes, effective from the start of the conflict on September

Summary

Type of DDR	Bilateral demobilization of Armed Forces and armed opposition groups for security sector reform (SSR) in a post-war context
Groups to demobilize	42,500 members of the Forces Nouvelles and 5,000 of the Armed Forces
Implementing bodies	<i>National Programme for Reintegration and Community Rehabilitation (NPRCR)</i>
Budget	The World Bank has committed \$40 million thus far
Timeline	The peace process launched in December 2007, with a planned duration of three months
Status / synopsis	In mid-2007, President Laurent Gbagbo and Prime Minister Guillaume Soro hosted a "Flames of Peace".

Basic facts

Population: 19,624,000

Food emergency: Yes

IDP: 621,000

Refugee population: 22,232

GDP: \$ 19,570,176

Per capita income: \$ 1,590

IDH: 0,431 (166th)

Military expenditure: \$ 286,000,000

Military population:
17,050 (armed forces);
1,500 (paramilitaries)

Arms Embargo: Yes

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School for a Culture of Peace, 2009, pp. 65-72.

¹ School for a Culture of Peace, *Alert 2008!*

² See the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement at www.usip.org/library/pa/cote_divoire/cote_divoire_01242003en.html.

³ School for a Culture of Peace, op. cit.

19, 2002 to the first active day of the agreement. The Ouagadougou Agreement, finally, stipulated the creation of a monitoring body to implement the agreement and a body to dialogue on a permanent basis with opposition groups.

Security Sector Reform

The Linas-Marcoussis Agreement expressed the need to create a new unified and restructured Armed Forces, which could be done by hiring younger military personnel and refurbishing equipment, improving activities, and boosting investments to the military.

The Government of Côte d'Ivoire created a working group to restructure and recreate the Armed Forces. As a place for brainstorming, the working group's aim is to propose a framework for organizing, creating, and making operational a Defence and Security Forces (known by the French acronym FDS). The FDS restructuring involved barracking FDS members and regrouping and dismantling the FN in the west of the country. There are different strategies for demobilizing different armed groups, accounting for their diversity and idiosyncrasies.⁴

Other Disarmament Initiatives

Another problem in Côte d'Ivoire is the proliferation of small arms. During an initial ceremony to launch DDR called "Flamme de la paix" (Flames of Peace), only poor quality weapons were registered while useful, quality arms went missing. A potential new insecurity in Côte d'Ivoire arises from the uncontrolled proliferation of small weapons. A process to collect weapons from civilians is needed to stem the proliferation. As in Liberia and Sierra Leone, where processes exist for this, proposals have been put forward by the UNDP under its Arms for Development programme. Ultimately, however, weapons proliferation is linked to the current arms embargo. President Laurent Gbagbo questioned the persistence of the embargo at the UN General Assembly after the war had ended and requested a partial lifting of it, except for those parts applying to Charles Goudé Ble, Eugène Djue,

and Kouakou Fofie, high military commanders of the Jeunes Patriotes and the Forces Nouvelles, accused of destabilizing the peace process. The UN ignored the request.

The UN accused the FDS of using equipment originating outside the country for military purposes, thus violating the embargo. The FDS denied the accusation and said it was committed to the existing peace process. UNOCI inspectors said they were prevented from visiting military bases controlled by the Forces Nouvelles.⁵

A report to the UN Security Council by a group of experts on the embargo said pro-government members of the Armed Forces and Forces Nouvelles were receiving military training abroad. The report also expressed concern that UNOCI, charged with supervising the arms embargo, was prevented from inspecting installations of the Republican Guard and that government officials repeatedly refused to allow access to the guard, saying UNOCI was not mandated to inspect them. The group of experts also said there were attempts to export diamonds through Mali, suggesting corruption among customs officials in regards to the import and export of embargoed goods.

DDR Process

Background to DDR

DDR was postponed numerous times after the end of the conflict due to political disagreements between the parties to the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement. In December 2003, the Armed Forces and armed opposition groups started dismantling some heavy artillery and surveillance posts. Disagreements between the government and UN over the cost of DDR, however, remain. The peace process was supposed to restart on May 14, 2005 and conclude on July 31, 2005, after a new round of negotiations. However, negotiations were suspended as a result of Forces Nouvelles demands to first disarm militias in the west, before restarting negotiations. Disarmament was planned next, from June 27 to August 10, 2005, then delayed to deal with requests for \$960 per person to reintegrate ex-combatants. The overall process was postponed first so it could be coordinated with census taking and identification, later because groups close to the government refused to link up with the Forces Nouvelles.⁶

In mid-July 2006, militias in the southwest asked for the constitution to be respected, that greater attention be given to them, and that compensation in the form of logistical support and assistance to victims be offered for those who had defended the country and surrendered weapons. This work was stopped just weeks after it started, after only small quantities of weapons were turned in relative to the numbers of demobilized combatants. Thus far, 981 combatants have demobilized at a cash cost for reintegration of \$970 per combatant over three months, but only 110 arms and 6,975 rounds of ammunition have been surrendered.⁷

If something was achieved it was the demobilization of child soldiers, accomplished in meetings with General Philippe Mangou of the general staff of the Armed Forces and General Soumaïla Bakayoko of the Forces Nouvelles. The men signed action plans promising not to enrol further children in their ranks. Through family regroupment efforts, 3,000-4,000 child soldiers were reintegrated at the end of the conflict. UNICEF took in 2,800 of

⁴ School for a Culture of Peace, Côte d'Ivoire: *Challenges and Prospects a Year after Ouagadougou*.

⁵ UN, 15 April 2008.

⁶ IRIN, 24 August 2005.

⁷ AFP in Jeune Afrique, 16 July 2006.

the children, 1,300 from the Forces Nouvelles and 1,000 girls. Currently, 1,300 are engaged in formal education, where they will remain until reaching the minimum legal age. The remaining 1,500 are receiving vocational training, some 930 as apprentices in the informal sector and some 600 in the agro-pastoral sector. Support for the latter comes from the National Agency for Support to Rural Development in Côte d'Ivoire, ANADER.

Type of DDR

DDR in Côte d'Ivoire is managed by the *National Programme for Reintegration and Community Rehabilitation (NPRCR)*. It involves bilateral demobilization of Armed Forces and armed opposition groups for security sector reform in a post-war context.

Implementing bodies

The OPA said recommendations, proposed after the signing of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement, to create a Joint Operations Plan for DDR, implement a national DDR programme, and accelerate the disarmament and dismantlement of militias (DDM) in the west needed to be developed further. In December 2007, new political agreements complementing the OPA were struck to establish an Integrated Command Centre (ICC) operated by the Office of the Prime Minister, with input from the Ministries of Reconstruction and Reconciliation, and led by the General Staff of the Armed Forces, the state security forces, and the Forces Nouvelles, for the purpose of disarming and demobilizing combatants. The main aims of the ICC are to suggest defence and security policy, establish a National Programme for DDR (NPDDR), train new defence and security forces, protect civilians, and ensure the free movement of persons throughout the country.

A National Programme for Reintegration and Community Rehabilitation (NPRCR), run also by the Office of the Prime Minister, was created to reintegrate ex-combatants not yet placed in the new Armed Forces. The general aims of the NPRCR are "to restore peace and security by assisting ex-combatants, at-risk youth, and populations in situations of crisis and strengthening their skills sets so they can become agents

of development." The aims of the NPRCR, more specifically, are to

- reinsert demobilized ex-combatants into society and to reintegrate them into the economy,
- rehabilitate community infrastructure in war-affected zones,
- rehabilitate organizational capacities in war-affected communities,
- strengthen the population's productive capacities,
- give vulnerable groups access to basic social and economic services,
- reintegrate child soldiers into families and reincorporate them into the education system, and
- contribute to building and consolidating social cohesiveness.

The work of the NPRCR is divided into three activity streams: social reinsertion, economic reintegration, and community rehabilitation. The work is done by three cells, a Support Cell, a Reinsertion Cell, and a Community Rehabilitation Cell, distributed throughout 19 regional offices.

The following diagram summarizes the process.

The international community issues certifications and gives economic and logistical support to the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire. Through a DDR section, UNOCI and the Forces Licorne help prepare and apply the work of the international community. UNOCI heads an informal interagency coordination group together with the World Bank, the EU, Japan, and France. The group debates the current state of programming and harmonizes international accompaniment efforts. The UNDP issues certifications and manages outstanding funds, or a basket fund, drawn mainly from the EU, Japan, Norway, Denmark, and France. Assistance is also provided by the UN Population Fund, UNOCI, the EU, GTZ, and USAID.⁸

Groups to Demobilize

An estimated 35,000 Forces Nouvelles (5,000 for the new FDS, 6,000 for the NPRCR, 20,000 for the National Civil Service Programme, and 4,000 for the police) and 5,000 FDS need to be demobilized.⁹ Numerous international observers, however, put the total

number of armed opposition combatants at between 8,000 and 10,000.¹⁰

UNOCI said five separate militias contained a total 5,600 combatants: UPRGO (the Union of Patriots for the Resistance of the Great West), FLGO (the Front for the Liberation of the Great West), MILOCI (the Ivoirian Movement for the Liberation of the West of Côte d'Ivoire), AP-Wê (the Patriotic Alliance of the Wê), LIMA FS, and COJEP (the "Young Patriots"). The groups vary in terms of size, location, and the weapons they use.¹¹

Eligibility Criteria

Combatants qualifying for demobilization must have been recruited by the Armed Forces or Forces Nouvelles after September 19, 2002, when the conflict began officially.

Special Needs Groups

The pro-government militias in Guiglo and the Forces Nouvelles in Korhogo and Bouaké were confirmed to be using child soldiers in their militias. It is calculated there could be as many as 4,000 child soldiers. UNOCI, UNICEF, and the World Food Programme initiated activities to rehabilitate and reinsert 511 children (among them 204 girls), who Forces Nouvelles leaders handed over to UNICEF. UNICEF created three centres for child soldiers, two for boys and one for girls, with \$3.64 million of economic aid from Japan. In June 2005, 58 child soldiers in Man and Guiglo demobilized with the help of the NGO Famille, Éducation et Développement.

Although UNOCI planned a variety of DDR programmes for women combatants, the National Commission for DDR (NCDDR) did not give information on the total number of affected women, despite repeated requests. This data is crucial for logistical and planning purposes.

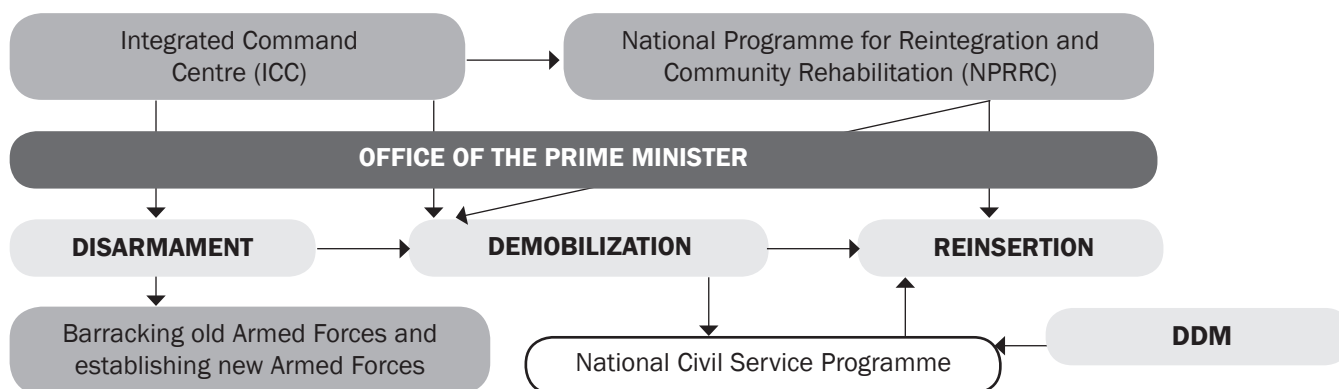
Budget

In May 2007, the World Bank approved \$40 million in financing for the "economic (re)integration" of ex-combatants, child soldiers, and at-risk youth. The funds were earmarked

⁸ School for a Culture of Peace, Côte d'Ivoire: *Challenges and Prospects a Year after Ouagadougou*.
⁹ ICG, Côte d'Ivoire: *Ensuring a Viable Electoral Process*.

¹⁰ ICG, *ibid*.
¹¹ *Ibid*.

Graph 01. Implementing bodies



for the Office of the Prime Minister, however, after issuing a memorandum of understanding on reintegration in November 2007, the World Bank withdrew the funds, claiming the Office of the Prime Minister was being opaque and showed signs of corruption. The admonishment raised concerns about continued funding and the high cost of reintegrating ex-combatants. The bank said fiscal problems could arise if the number of military personnel was not properly streamlined once the military reunified. Instead, the World Bank redirected economic aid to at-risk youth and demobilized persons.¹²

The CCI calculated the cost for regrouping Forces Nouvelles to be around 8 billion CFA francs, or \$18.9 million.

Schedule

Lacking an official launch date, disarmament and demobilization were forecasted to last for four months, and reintegration for more than two years. December 22, 2007 was settled as the start date for disarmament, planned to last three months. New planning put the disarmament start date at December 22, 2007 and the end date at January 30, 2008, yet failure to concretize aspects of planning and financing raise doubts about the schedule's feasibility.

Phases

Disarmament

Six regroupment centres, divided into zones for regroupment, disarmament and encampment, and demobilization of the old FDS, were created in Abidjan, Bondoukrou, Daloa, Guiglo, San Pedro, and Yamoussoukro. Six additional centres were created in

the north. UNOCI rehabilitated and handed over control of three of the centres, in Bouaké, Korhogo, and Man, to the government in mid-March 2008. According to official figures, 4,000 ex-combatants of the FDS were barracked between December 20, 2007 and January 25, 2008. Other sources, however, put the number to as low as 700. As a result of this and UN Security Council Resolution 1795, the international community's top representation in Côte d'Ivoire, UNOCI, has been consigned to tasks of certification and validation, thereby reducing its former influence in other areas.

Activities for child soldiers rely on the sensitization of communities to protect children and the dangers inherent in joining armed groups; on ICC advocacy and the needs and wants of children; on the work of a technical support and verification commission; on economic aid and materials; on local capabilities and the work of NGOs; and on psychosocial, professional, medical, and educational efforts.¹³ In 2006, the Child Protection Forum created a Verification Commission comprised of the High Commissioner for Refugees, the international Committee of the Red Cross (as observer), Save the Children, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, UNOCI, and UNICEF, in order to determine the status of child soldiers in Côte d'Ivoire.¹⁴

Demobilization

Pre-cantonment is essential before later, more permanent cantonment and collection of weapons from combatants can be achieved. The Forces Nouvelles were required to barrack before their weapons were collected, though the FDS says this should have happened at the same time as barracking. The Forces Nouvelles did not agree to this demand because they wished to maintain their military ranks, preserve their command structure, and receive back payments.

The government and Forces Nouvelles agreed they needed to determine the total cost, from disarmament to reinsertion or incorporation into the new Armed Forces, of demobilizing ex-combatants (the relevant political agreements stipulate only that they were to be fed). The final cost was to be determined by the Council of Ministers. The demobilization process agreed to establish 5 DDR zones and 10 cantonments for the Forces Nouvelles, and 6 DDR zones and 14 cantonments for the Armed Forces. In all, demobilizations will take place in 17 distinct locations: Abidjan, San Pedro, Guiglo, Duekoué, Daloa, Yamoussoukro, Daoukro, Bondoukou, Bouaké, Man, Séguéla, Kani, Odienné, Korhogo, Ferkéssédougou, Ouangolodougou, and Bouna.

Reinsertion and Reintegration

Each combatant receives a reintegration package valuing \$924, paid out in three instalments: during and after sensitization, and before reinsertion into society. Funds for this, however, were not secured at the start of the DDR process. Reinsertion and reintegration includes a final phase for Community Rehabilitation, whose purpose it is to repair public and economic infrastructure in the most war-affected communities.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

Reinsertion, a transitional stage from demobilization to reintegration, involves giving social and psychological assistance to facilitate social and economic integration. Reintegration involves organizing transit and orientation centres for a limited number of youth linked formally and informally to armed groups, registering combatants in regional offices, providing orientational counselling, providing medical and psychological aid, and supporting sensitization efforts by local authorities. The work is similar to that for demobilization and is focussed markedly on the needs of ex-combatants rather than communities.¹⁵

Economic reintegration aims to give ex-combatants the skills they need to sustain themselves and participate in economic activities. Economic reintegration can be divided into numerous focuses: reintegrating demobilized ex-combatants into their old work or into new self-employment; giving ex-combatants literacy, job, or management training; placing qualified persons into existing employment; signing partnership agreements with existing financial partners; accompanying ex-combatants in workplaces and evaluating their work; and helping to create activities for income generation. For economic reintegration to work, development policies promoting public infrastructure rehabilitation, the production and commercialization of agricultural products, and support for small businesses must be in place.¹⁶

In mid-2008, UNOCI launched a project, backed with \$5 million, to speed up reintegration. The initiative, comprising 1,000 micro-projects, was announced in Bouaké by UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General Yung Jeong Choi, who not only pledged UN support for ex-combatants but at-risk youth, children, and women linked to the conflict. The 1,000 micro-projects of the initiative are funded by the UN. Between 450 and 640 euros per person are allotted. The initiative aims to demobilize ex-combatants, members of militias and self-defence groups, at-risk youth, and women and children linked to armed groups. A selection committee will operate locally and will be composed of representatives from UNOCI, the UNDP, NPRCR, and PSCN (National Civil Service Programme). The initiative focuses on fishing, agriculture, and mechanics. Sub-projects are executed by agencies

such as GTZ, the IOM, the UN Office for Project Services, and national NGOs. The aim of the initiative is to reduce youth unemployment and create a secure and stable environment for upcoming elections.

Finally, **community rehabilitation**, an emergency measure, is designed for the most disadvantaged communities in states of crisis, both those hosting ex-combatants and those welcoming war-displaced persons. Community rehabilitation looks to restore public infrastructure, generate income for the community, restore social cohesion, and train individuals in participatory methods. Groups targeted by community rehabilitation include displaced persons returning home, war-affected communities, communities suffering high rates of displacement, and highly vulnerable groups such as women, youth, the disabled, widows and widowers, and orphans. Diagnoses of needs are participative in nature, meaning target groups themselves identify, at the community level, their own needs. Community, as defined by the community rehabilitation process, is the collective of persons hosting target groups. Decision-making needs to be defined, especially as it connects to national reconciliation.¹⁷

The mission in Côte d'Ivoire intends to create a National Civil Service Programme, PSCN, including additional training in civic and vocational education. Geared towards the reinsertion of militias in the west and ex-combatants requiring training before joining the NPRCR, the service will involve three months of civic training and another six months of vocational training. Currently, the basic guidelines for the programme have not been created.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Evolution

In mid-2007, President Laurent Gbagbo and Prime Minister Guillaume Soro presided over a “Flames of Peace” which included a symbolic destruction of arms and served to launch the disarmament process in Côte d’Ivoire. A symbolic gesture, the ceremony was also historic. It was the first time since armed conflict erupted in 2002 that the president travelled to Bouaké in the north, an area controlled by the Forces Nouvelles.¹⁸

In late 2007, a pilot disarmament process commenced with two ceremonies, both essentially symbolic in nature. Detachments on both sides of the conflict withdrew from front lines to cantonments in Tiebissou and Bouaké. The FDS Head of the General Staff said that the logistical and infrastructural difficulties faced by the Forces Nouvelles were more complicated than those faced by his army. He said slight delays had resulted in cantoning the armed group.¹⁹ At the ceremony in Bouaké, only 1,606 of a total 2,121 firearms were turned over, meaning 515 were recuperated by the Forces Nouvelles.²⁰

In March 2008, the OPA signatories met to discuss the progress of the agreement. Disarming and demobilizing the Forces Nouvelles and DDM in the west began only in mid-March with UNOCI’s surrendering to the government of three cantonments in the north. Reintegration was also unsatisfactory. The NPRCR said there was an alarming lack of funds for reintegration, a 70-percent gap according to the worst estimates. The PSCN, meanwhile, awaits design.²¹

In early May 2008, regroupment of the Forces Nouvelles resumed with a ceremony in Bouaké. 1,000 members of the Forces Nouvelles attended the ceremony. Those pledging to leave the Forces, 100 in all, were given assistance worth \$210. It is estimated there are 34,678 Forces Nouvelles to regroup, and the time needed to accomplish this is approximately five-and-half months (until mid-October 2008). Regroupment is planned to occur in four main regions:

- Bouaké and Seguela;
- Katiola and Mankono;
- Man, Toubia, and Odienné; and
- Korhogo, Bouna, and Boundiali.

DDM has barely begun, with a disarmament and dismantlement of 250 ex-combatants of the Forces Nouvelles in late May 2008, though 981 demobilized combatants requested a “*filet de sécurité*” (safety net) worth some 762 euros. At a ceremony in May 2007, only 555 of a total 1,027 weapons to be surrendered were handed over, said UNOCI, and none contained registration numbers. The *filet de sécurité* is a cause for an increase in DDM candidates. The NCDDR, NPDDR, and NPRCR have run sensitization activities which have bolstered the sense of unfulfilled promises felt by ex-combatants, and this could result in insecurity.

DDR began with protests and rioting by ex-combatants over a lack of promised payments. The UN Secretary-General’s latest report on Côte d’Ivoire pointed to problems in cantoning combatants, low numbers of usable arms surrendered by combatants, and limited advances in disarming and dismantling militias in the west. Forces Nouvelles ex-combatants continued to protest the way funds were managed. In Yamoussoukro and Daoukro, the military also protested payment of monthly bonuses, saying it had not received money since early 2007.

The current situation in Côte d’Ivoire is unsatisfactory. Peace initiatives in the north and west have barely begun, while the regroupment of Armed Forces has concluded officially, even though only 700 of a total 5,000 soldiers have been registered. These points caused logistical problems. Another problem is the proliferation of small arms. During the “*Flamme de la paix*” ceremonies, some unusable weapons were registered, but usable arms went missing. New insecurity could arise from the uncontrolled proliferation of small weapons. A process to collect weapons from civilians is needed to stem the proliferation, as in Liberia and Sierra Leone, where such processes, administered by UNDP, exist. The idea was put forward by the UNDP under its Arms for Development programme.

With respect to reintegration, there is an enormous gap in financing the activities of the NPRCR, particularly after the World Bank cancelled its funding. Though the NPRCR said it was prepared to fulfil its designated programming, it is not clear whether the NPRCR must take in only 8,150 ex-combatants, as originally planned, or that there is a budgetary gap of 60 percent, as some calculations suggest, since figures remain to be determined.

A process to create the PSCN has not begun. Therefore, a selection criterion for the PSCN remains to be determined, which presents other problems. Though the PSCN in Côte d’Ivoire is essentially civic in nature, it is overlooked mainly by the military, which manages civic training in the first three months. Another concern is the estimations of the numbers of ex-combatants to demobilize, figures which are in general much lower than real figures. Then there is the issue of lodging demobilized youth combatants in youth centres. This, too, could result in insecurity. Rather than in youth centres, these combatants should be reinserted into their home communities. Further difficulties include a lack of socio-economic study and unfulfilled promises of public employment, civil and military, available at the end of 18 months of demobilization. This latter could produce yet more violence.

¹⁸ BBC and Reuters, 22/12/07.

¹⁹ BBC, Reuters, and *Mail & Guardian*, 22/12/07; APA, 25/12/07, 04, and 07/01/08.

²⁰ *Fraternité Matin*, 22/03/08.

²¹ School for a Culture of Peace, Côte d’Ivoire:

Challenges and Prospects a Year after Ouagadougou.

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Glossary

- BCPR: Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery
- ECOWAS: Economic Community Of West African States
- GTZ: German Cooperation Agency
- IDP: Internal Displaced Person
- IHL: Interantional Humanitarian Law
- MJP: Mouvement Pour la Justice et la Paix
- MPIGO: Mouvement populaire ivoirienne
- NCDDR: National Commission on DDR
- NGO: Non Governemntal Organisation
- UN: United Nations
- UNDP: United Nations Development Program
- UNOCI: United Nations Côte d'Ivoire Assistance Mission
- UNICEF: United Nationd Childrens Fund
- UPCI: Mouvement Patriotique de Côte d'Ivoire du Grand Ouest
- WFP: World Food Program

Eritrea

(Demobilization and Reintegration, 2002 - present)

Context

Conflict

Eritrea achieved independence from Ethiopia in 1993, though the border between the two countries was not clearly defined, leading to fighting between the two sides from 1998 to 2000 in which more than 100,000 people died. A cessation of hostilities agreement was signed in 2000 and the UN Security Council set up the UNMEE peace-keeping mission to supervise the arrangement. The year ended with the signing of a peace agreement in Algiers. This stipulated that both sides would abide by the decision of the Eritrea-Ethiopia Border Commission (EEBC), which was charged with establishing a definitive border on the basis of the relevant colonial agreements (1900, 1902 and 1908) and international law. In April 2002, the EEBC issued its decision, which assigned the disputed border village of Badme (the epicentre of the conflict which was at that time administered by Ethiopia) to Eritrea, a decision rejected by Ethiopia. As of 1 December, the border was established virtually on the basis of the colonial treaties. As a result, concern increased over the volatility of the situation and the risk that it would descend into a new outbreak of violence. However, both governments rejected the EEBC's suggestion that it should suspend its functions and establish the border demarcation solely on paper, and reiterated that they did not want a return to hostilities.¹

Security Sector Reform

Eritrea's Demobilization and Reintegration Project (DRP) is a strategy to reform the security sector, reduce the number of Armed Forces members, and decrease government budgetary spending.

Background to DDR

Eritrea has been called a "mobilized nation."² In 1993, when Eritrea declared independence from Ethiopia, Eritrea had 95,000 armed guerrillas, which became the Armed Forces after independence. By 1997, Eritrea had some 54,000 demobilized soldiers. Demobilization and reintegration were considered successes until war broke out with Ethiopia and reversed the demobilization process.

Mehreteab³ provides a list of both the demobilization lessons learned and not learned.

Lessons learned:

- the fact that consideration was given for social reintegration,
- that institutional responsibilities and structural definitions were made clear,
- that thought was given to the incorporation of gender,
- that training occurred in accordance with labour-market need,
- that participation took place from NGOs and the private sector (though more in theory than in practice), and
- that a survey was conducted to gather data on soldiers.

Lessons not learned:

- the fact that a general framework of rehabilitation was absent;
- that reconstruction, rehabilitation, and reintegration were not integrated; and
- that ex-combatants and communities did not participate in planning.

¹ Adapted from School for a Culture of Peace, *Alert 2008!*, p. 52. This report draws extensively on the following sources, from which only direct quotations are cited: World Bank, *Technical Annex for a Proposed Credit of SDR 48.1 Million to the State of Eritrea*; World Bank, *Status of Projects in Execution-FY07*; Healy, *Eritrea's Economic Survival*; Mehreteab, "Borderconflict"; UNDP, *Country Programme Action Plan*; UNDP, *Technical Assistance to Demobilize Soldiers*, 2004 and 2006; and Pretorius et al., *Evaluation of the European Commission Support to the State of Eritrea*.

² Healy, op. cit., p. 6.

³ Op. cit., see also European Commission, *Eritrea-European Community*, Annex I, p. 16.

Summary

Type of DDR	Mass disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of armed forces via security-sector reform in a post-war context.
Groups to demobilize	200,000 soldiers.
Implementing bodies	NCDRP with assistance from the UNDP and World Bank.
Budget	\$197,2 million.
Timeline	April 2002 – December 2008.
Status / synopsis	Process of demobilization neutralised for continued recruitment of troops and personnel to the armed forces. Currently, efforts are centred on the reintegration of decommissioned officers.

Basic facts

Population: 5,006,000

Food emergencies: Yes

IDPs: 23,000

Refugee population: 208,743

GDP: \$ 1,201,009,920

Per capita income: \$ 520

HDI: 0.422 (164th)

Military expenditure: -

Military population: 201.750

Arms embargo: No

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DDR Process

Type and Designation of DDR

DDR in Eritrea has involved mass demobilization, reinsertion, and reintegration of the Armed Forces, as part of security sector reform in a post-war context.

DDR in Eritrea is administered by the DRP, the Demobilization and Reintegration Program. The Emergency Demobilization and Reintegration Project - Emergency Recovery Loan (EDRP-ERL or sometimes just EDRP), funded by the World Bank, is practically synonymous with DRP, or DRP for Eritrea.

Implementing bodies

The implementing agency for DDR is the National Commission for the Demobilization and Reintegration Program (NCDRP), created by the Government of Eritrea in April 2001. The NCDRP is responsible for DDR programming. The NCDRP received training and technical support from the UNDP from 2002 to 2006 and cooperation from the World Bank. Program execution is the responsibility of the government, private consultants, and NGOs.

Guiding Principles

According to the European Commission, the guiding principles of DDR are to

- approach DDR in an integrated fashion,
- attend to the psychosocial needs of demobilized individuals and their families,
- strive for inclusive reintegration to promote social cohesion,
- offer job training in relation to the job market,
- give counselling and training for micro-business development,
- focus efforts on gender and disabled persons, and
- utilize existing agencies and institutions for program implementation.

The EDRP-ERL in its demobilization work strives to meet the goals of

- transferring economic resources from military to social spending and
- strengthening institutional abilities and macroeconomic stability.

Participants

Between 300,000 and 350,000 soldiers were mobilized during the war with Ethiopia. Before the war, approximately 40,000 soldiers were already members of the Armed Forces, another 40,000 were reincorporated ex-soldiers, and the rest were new recruits. The government aimed to demobilize 200,000 soldiers.

Special needs groups

The composition of the Armed Forces, according to one survey, is the following: 54 percent between the ages of 20 and 29, 16 percent considered to be disabled, and 13 percent considered to have psychological problems. Since the minimum recruitment age to the Armed Forces is 18, there are no child soldiers in the military, though there are soldiers under the age of 25 who require specialized programming.

Budget and Financing

In April 2002, the World Bank budgeted a total \$197.2 million for the EDRP, which works out to an average \$985 per soldier for 200,000 soldiers scheduled for demobilization. The budget distribution is indicated in following the chart:

Table 01. Budget by component

Component	Million \$	%
Demobilization	9.2	4.7
Reinsertion (cash)	105	53.2
Reinsertion (kind)	15	7.6
Reintegration (NCDRP)	35	17.7
Reintegration (sector programming)	15	7.6
Special needs groups	2	1
Institutional strengthening	1.2	0.6
Executive Secretariat	5.4	2.7
Contingencies	9.4	5
Estimated total	197.2	100

Source: World Bank, *Technical Annex...*, p. 6.

It is important to note that reinsertion packages accounted for more than 60 percent of budgeting, while reintegration, mainly in the form of micro-credit, accounted for a fourth.

The EDRP is financed by an Emergency Recovery Loan and the following sources:

1. a pledge from the World Bank, through the African Infrastructure Fund, of \$60 million for the 2002-08 period, though currently more than \$64 million has been paid out;
2. \$15 million from the World Food Programme in the form of food subsidy; and
3. a Multi-Donor Trust Fund (MDTF) managed by the World Bank to cover any outstanding budgetary expenses.

At a donor conference held in October 2001, the World Bank pledged \$37 million to the MDTF. So far, it has paid out \$24 million of this. The European Commission, expressly citing demobilization as a priority for cooperation with Eritrea, committed 47 million euros (\$42 million in 2001) through the European Development Fund. In 2005, it had paid out 27 million euros. The remaining 20 million euros were allotted for post-conflict rehabilitation. The Netherlands gave 4 million euros for a pilot project targeting 5,000 ex-combatants and pledged an additional 12.5 million euros. Denmark pledged 2.5 million euros and Norway 1 million euros. Other donors, said the World Bank, included Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland.⁴

⁴ European Commission, *ibid.*; Addendum No. to the Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme; and the "EU Relations with Eritrea" website

The World Bank's Post-Conflict Fund offered an additional \$700,000 to support the Eritrean government in preparing a post-conflict program. The UNDP's Technical Assistance Programme (TAP) was funded in part by USAID (\$580,000) and the UNDP itself (\$200,000).

The Japan International Cooperation Agency allocated some 1.5 million euros to job training for approximately 500 ex-combatants over the 2005-07 period.⁵

Schedule

Initially, the Eritrean government planned to spend a year to a year and a half on demobilization, and five years on reintegration. A pilot project targeting 65,000-70,000 individuals was designed to begin in November 2001 after the NCDRP was created earlier that year, even though 20,000 soldiers had already demobilized. Mehreteab⁶ published a detailed schedule.

The World Bank designed EDRP for 18-24 months of demobilization and reinsertion, beginning in April 2002, and 3-4 years of reintegration, to be completed by late 2007. Further DDR, however, meant the schedule was not abided by. Demobilizations occurred from July 2002 to June 2006, while reintegration was scheduled to take place in the 3-4 years after demobilization. The World Bank set December 2008 as the final conclusion date for the EDRP. UNDP TAP and USAID, initially planning to be operational from April to December 2002, extended their work until December 2006.

Phases

"The demobilisation programme in Eritrea is arguably one of the best planned programmes of its kind," said the UNDP. Maheratab, however, said there were considerable discrepancies between planning and execution.

Disarmament and demobilization

Designed in 2002 to demobilize 200,000 combatants over a period of 18-24 months, disarmament and demobilization have involved return-

ing military equipment, including weapons and uniforms, identifying ex-combatants, transporting ex-combatants to decommissioning centres, providing information on demobilization, offering medical checks, and finally transporting ex-combatants to reinsertion centres. A pilot project was planned to target 5,000 soldiers. Three phases, each managing 60,000-70,000 soldiers, were established to disarm and demobilize soldiers. In the first phase, priority was given to "special groups," including women, disabled individuals, veterans, economically productive persons, and remobilized soldiers. The decommissioning process was designed to last approximately a week, with 500 soldiers being decommissioned each week at each decommissioning centre.

The pilot project ran from April to September 2002. The UNDP said 104,400 soldiers had demobilized by late 2006. The World Bank, meanwhile, took stock of 65,000 demobilized soldiers participating in its programming in late 2007. Demobilizations were slow and frustrated by two parallel phenomena: continued recruitment of combatants and combatant reintegration into "militarized work service" (see the Reintegration section below). As a result, the number of soldiers in the military rose from 300,000 at the end of the war to 350,000-420,000 soldiers by late 2007, with half this number in active military service and the other half in "militarized work service."⁷

Maheratab said there was no "political will to demobilize soldiers/combatants," and said most demobilized combatants were disabled, chronically ill, or pregnant or nursing women. The military, meanwhile, recruited "nearly the same number" of youth. If this is true, male youth have filled in for the apparent priority of demobilizing "special groups." Maheratab sees in these facts the cause of the gradual donor withdrawal of support for demobilization, starting in 2005, and the transferring of interest initially to the reintegration of demobilized soldiers and later to general development work.

Reinsertion

A grant under the Transitional Safety Net (TSN) sustains the rein-

sertion initiative in Eritrea. Salaries for demobilized soldiers are akin to the \$50 per month received by regular soldiers and are sufficient in theory to support a family. The TSN involves average cash payments of \$525 per demobilized soldier. The precise amount depends on the rank and military service time of the ex-combatant. The average amount, in the end, adding the World Food Programme's contribution of food, works out to be \$600 per person. Some disabled combatants receive an additional \$300-\$450. Payments are made in two instalments: during the first three months of decommissioning and sometime during the fourth to sixth months.

The UNDP says it provides a monthly payment of approximately \$33 over 6-12 months for (140,400?) ex-combatants, while the World Bank says it has paid out \$330 per capita in allowances to 65,000 ex-combatants.⁹

Reintegration

Reintegration slowed in late 2006, but picked up again in 2007. By October 2007, 44,432 of a final goal of 83,868 ex-combatants and members of the community had received reintegration assistance.

Work reintegration

In 2006, 1,722 demobilized soldiers received a total \$1.47 million as part of a Microcredit and Loan Plan.

Some demobilized soldiers, as mentioned, were assigned to "militarized work service" as part of a government development and reconstruction initiative called Warsai Yekaalo. In exchange for nominal remuneration over an unspecified period of time, or until the border with Ethiopia was settled, the government requested soldiers work to reconstruct the country. Talk of demobilization and reintegration covered up the true nature of the campaign. In early 2003, for instance, 3,000 soldiers employed in civilian roles were classified as "demobilized," with a promise they continue to work for two more years in the same institutions. The Government of Eritrea said this form of military reintegration and

⁵ JICA, *The Project on Basic Training for Reintegration of Demobilized Soldiers in Eritrea*.
⁶ Op. cit., p. 57.

⁷ Mahreteab, op. cit., pp. 34, 38.
⁸ See also Pretorius et al., op. cit., p. 88 and Annex II, p. 54.

⁹ World Bank, *Status of Projects in Execution-FY07*, p. 2; UNPD, op. cit.

recruitment of new soldiers was justified because of the instability on the Ethiopian border.¹⁰

Training

The Ministry of Education offers training for the creation of micro-enterprises and rural development, though there tends to be a lack of material resources and specialists for training teachers.

The Japan International Cooperation Agency funded and gave technical support for a project run by the Ministry of Education to train ex-combatants. The ministry ran 23 courses in construction, hairdressing, agriculture, and plumbing from 2005-07, with participation from some 500 ex-combatants. 98.9 percent of participants completed their studies and more than 60 percent subsequently found employment, 45 percent in the field of their training in the first five months after graduation. Through this project, ex-combatants assisted by a Savings and Microcredits Program, also opened businesses.¹¹

The National Union of Eritrean Women, NUEW, ran courses for women ex-combatants in tailoring, craftsmanship, and hairdressing. NUEW aimed to furnish the 230 participating women with the necessary equipment and resources to start generating income after their training.¹²

Psychosocial assistance

The NCDRP agreed there was need for psychosocial services for ex-combatants reintegrating into host communities. UNDP TAP trained 500 psychosocial counsellors. Maheratab, however, said this was insufficient and warned of the high incidence of psychological trauma coupled with feelings of disorientation and a rise in suicide and alcoholism amongst ex-combatants.

Vulnerable groups

Disabled persons are given differentiated assistance in the form of counselling, vocational training, loans, employment, grants, and access to housing. In 2006, the Ministry of Labour and Human Welfare proposed allocating \$2.6 million in loans from the World Bank to demobilized disabled soldiers. The Eritrean National War-Disabled Veterans Association, ENWVA, created a variety of micro-projects for disabled veterans, while the Ministry of Labour and Human Welfare planned to offer loans to approximately 5,000 disabled ex-combatants. Specific, monitored assistance and orientation is also persons living with HIV/AIDS.¹³

Lessons Learned

Reports by Pretorius and Healy, the latter containing a conference paper delivered by Maheratab, record the lessons learned and assessment of work in Eritrea.

¹⁰ A discussion on the positive and negative socioeconomic role played by the enlarged Armed Forces, both as a source of employment for youth and as a site of ideological indoctrination, for example, can be found in Healy, op. cit., p. 8 and Mahreteab, op. cit., p. 58.

¹¹ JICA, op. cit.

¹² Seyoum, "NUEW giving training to women"

¹³ "Government working diligently to ensure social justice", *Shabait*; Seyoum, "MLH plans to give loans to disabled fighters".

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Glossary

- EDRP (BM/EU): Emergency/Eritrean Demobilization and Reintegration Project
- (E)DRP (NCDRP): (Eritrean) Demobilization and Reintegration Programme
- EEBC: Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission
- ENWVA: Eritrean National War-disabled Veterans Association
- ERL: Emergency Recovery Loan
- JICA: Japan International Cooperation Agency
- NCDRP: National Commission for Demobilisation and Reintegration Programme
- MDTF: Multi-Donor Trust Fund
- TA(P): Technical Assistance (Programme/Project) to Demobilize Soldiers
- TSN: Transitional Safety Net

Indonesia

(DDR in Aceh, 2005-2009)

Context

Conflict and Peace Process

After almost 30 years of armed conflict between the Indonesia armed forces and the GAM separatist group, both sides signed a peace agreement in August 2005, a few months after the Tsunami completely devastated Aceh province and prompted the arrival of hundreds of NGOs. The peace agreement which established wide-reaching autonomy for Aceh, disarmament of the GAM, and deployment of an international mission to oversee the implementation of this agreement implied a significant reduction to the level of violence and permitted for the first time in the history of the region the holding of regional elections, for which a former leader of the GAM resulted victor. Despite a good start to the peace process and to reconstruction, various strains linked to the reintegration of combatants, demands to create new provinces, or accusations of corruption and incompetence directed at public authorities have been recorded in the last few years.¹

International Intervention

The Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM) is a joint effort of the European Union, Switzerland, Norway, and five member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, ASEAN. Its objective is to act as a facilitator and build trust between the parties to the conflict in Indonesia. The AMM's mandate involves overseeing the DDR of GAM troops and the relocation of Indonesian security forces. It is also responsible for monitoring human rights, legislative reform, the regulation of amnesty cases, and the supervision and management of possible violations to the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). The mission is civil in nature and falls within the framework of the European Security and Defence Policy. It is the first European Union mission to Asia. The mission concluded on 31 December 2006 without a clear exit strategy, since many of its objectives, such as the reintegration of GAM ex-combatants, had not been accomplished.²

Transitional Justice

The MoU includes a provision, number 2, on human rights. This provision includes a commitment by the government of Republic of Indonesia to ratify the United Nations Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. It proposed the creation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Court of Human Rights. However, the jurisdiction that would be granted to this court has been an object of controversy over the years.

Despite the fact that courts and truth and reconciliation commissions created through peace agreements are mostly used to settle responsibilities and to grant compensation to victims for abuses committed during specified conflicts, since the start the Indonesian government has said its intension for the courts is that they have only authority to judge matters subsequent to the date of the signing of the agreements. Infringements of human rights committed over thirty years of conflict remain, for the time being, unpunished.³

Other Disarmament Initiatives

An amnesty, effective until December 31, 2005, was issued for citizens prepared to surrender weapons and coinciding with the disarmament of the Free Aceh Movement (known by its Indonesian acronym GAM).

Summary

Type of DDR	Disarmament and reintegration of the armed opposition group the Free Aceh Movement (GAM in Indonesian) and redeployment of state security forces.
Groups to demobilize	3.000 member of GAM.
Implementing bodies	Government of Indonesia
Budget	Over \$130 million
Timeline	Decommissioning and redeployment: September 2005 to June 2006. Reintegration: until 2009
Status / synopsis	Concluding. Only the economic reintegration aspect shows serious complications.

Basic facts

Population: 234,342,000
Food emergencies: Yes
IDPs: 200,000
Refugee population: 20,230
GDP: \$432,817,307,648
Per capita income: \$3,580
HDI: 0.726 (109th)
Military expenditure: \$5,314,000,000
Military population: 302,000 (armed forces); 280,000 (paramilitary)
Arms embargo: No

1 Extracted from *Barómetro*, No. 16, p. 60. This report draws extensively on the following sources, from which only direct quotations are cited: World Bank, *GAM Reintegration Needs Assessment*; Beeck, *Re-paving the Road to Peace*; ICG, *Aceh: Post-Conflict Complications*; y Wiratmandinata, *An Evolving Model for Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding in Aceh*.

2 Adapted from School for a Culture of Peace, *Países en Rehabilitación Posbélica*.

3 Extracted from School for a Culture of Peace, *Indonesia*, p. 2.

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Program Design

Type and Designation of DDR

DDR in Indonesia is the disarmament and reintegration of the Free Aceh Movement armed opposition group and the redeployment of state security forces from Aceh.

Normally, DD&R is used in reference to the GAM, however, AMM, the Aceh Monitoring Mission, also uses “Decommissioning and Redeployment” to refer to a first phase of DDR for the GAM, police, and Armed Forces of Indonesia.

Implementing Bodies

The Indonesian government is responsible for implementing a Memorandum of Understanding. The National Development Planning Agency, BAPPENAS, comprised of the Ministries of Information, Interior, Justice, and Human Rights, is responsible for DDR design, short-term reinsertion, and the coordination of donors.

The constitution of the AMM, created under the Memorandum of Understanding on behalf of the EU and ASEAN, empowers the AMM to supervise the memorandum. The signing of the memorandum together with an International Monitoring Presence from August 15, 2005 to September 15, 2005, made international supervision redundant and paved the way for AMM.

AMM deployed from September 15, 2005 to December 15, 2005. Its responsibilities were to supervise GAM DDR, relocate surplus troops and police, monitor the human rights situation, and resolve disputes between parties, including controversial cases of amnesty.⁴

COSA, the Commission on Security Arrangements, was established by local and provincial representatives to both sides of the conflict, with participation from AMM, to discuss and resolve issues such as the interpretation of ambiguous passages in the Memorandum of Understanding. After 18 months of operations, the commission turned into the Coordination and Cooperation Forum for Peace in Aceh (FKK) and the Commission on Sustaining Peace in Aceh (CoSPA).

During the signing of the memorandum, it was unclear which agency would be responsible for supervising

ex-combatant reintegration. BRA, the Aceh Reintegration Board, was created by the Forbes Damai civil society group and later, in February 2006, was sponsored by the Government of Aceh as a consultative and implementing agency. After a few months of operations, civilian organizations and the GAM withdrew their participation from BRA. BRA oversees the channelling of 80 percent of funds for reintegration designated by the government, while USAID supports the BRA secretariat. BRA intends to remain operational until December 2009, even though it was supposed to have transferred its responsibilities to local government in late 2007. BRA is responsible for giving economic assistance to GAM ex-combatants and non-combatants, combatants who had surrendered before the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding, political prisoners, and members of anti-separatist groups. BRA also runs a broader program of Community-Based Assistance to Conflict Victims through KDP (BRA-KDP).

The GAM’s Majelis Nasional (National Council), its highest representative body, created the Aceh Transition Committee (KPA) in December 2005 to oversee demobilization and reintegration. The IOM is involved in reinsertion and reintegration.

Guiding Principles

Section 4 of the memorandum outlines demobilization for 3,000 GAM combatants and a surrendering of at least 840 weapons between September 15, 2005 and December 31, 2005, under the supervision of AMM. In the same period, the Indonesian government agreed it would decommission all police officers, military soldiers, and “surplus” forces (those explicitly located in Aceh to combat the GAM) in Aceh, reducing the soldiers to 14,700 and police to 9,100. Section 3 of the memorandum stipulates that the government, as a reintegration measure, must allocate sufficient arable land, create employment opportunities, and provide subsidies for ex-combatants, amnestied persons, and victims of the conflict. Former GAM members must also be permitted to apply for employment with the “regular” police and Armed Forces in Aceh free from discrimination.⁵

Participants

DDR participants in Aceh are the members of the GAM, a total 3,000 individuals and approximately 32,000 soldiers withdrawn from Aceh. Non-combatant groups will also have access to reintegration programming (see [Eligibility Criteria](#)).

Special Needs Groups

According to the *GAM Needs Assessment*, more than 75 percent of GAM combatants were between 18 and 35 years old. Less than 4 percent were women. There is no data on child soldiers, but estimates suggest the numbers are low.

Eligibility Criteria

Although the Memorandum of Understanding puts the number of GAM members at 3,000, analysts say the actual number is much higher and the figure cited by the memorandum is low because of the restrictive definition used for combatant.⁶

The memorandum specifies three groups that are eligible for reintegration: ex-combatants, amnestied political prisoners, and war-affected civilians.

In response to demands by the GAM and recommendations made by the World Bank, the BRA widened the eligibility criteria to include six different groups:

- 3,000 GAM ex-combatants,
- 2,035 amnestied prisoners,
- 3,204 GAM activists who had surrendered before the signing the memorandum,
- 6,500 members of pro-government militias or “anti-separatist groups”, and
- war-affected civilians and ex-combatant host communities.

Most women were excluded from the definition of combatant. The definition did not account for persons linked to the conflict through other means. Later, nevertheless, an agreement was settled to deal with 800-1,000 former female GAM combatants.⁷

The GAM, after opposing a petition issued by the government, submitted a list of 3,000 combatants eligible for

⁴ Memorandum of Understanding, 15 August 2005.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ IOM Indonesia, *Former GAM Combatants Target of IOM Employment Efforts*.

⁷ Ibid.

reintegration to AMM. The event was unforeseen in the memorandum.

Budget and Financing

The Government of Indonesia officially funds the DDR process in Indonesia. Its last payment was supposed to be made in the 2007 fiscal year. Though data is scarce, especially data on disarmament, the following is the yearly budgetary breakdown of the Bali Rehabilitation Fund (BRF) for reintegration:

2005-06:	21 million
2006-07:	21 million
2007-08:	25 million
2008-09:	68 million
2009-10:	to be determined
Total:	135 million

The IOM runs unofficial reintegration projects on an independent basis. Japan has given support for reintegration since March 2006, with funds totalling \$8.74 million.⁸ The German GTZ funds a Vocational Training Project.

Schedule

Disarmament and demobilization occurred from September 2005 to June 2006. Reintegration was extended until December 2009.

Phases

Disarmament and Redeployment

An agreement between the government and GAM stipulated that GAM disarmament and redeployment of the Armed Forces of Indonesia (known by the Indonesian acronym TNI) was to be done in four stages from September 15, 2005 to December 31, 2005. In stage one, between the 10th and 20th of each month, the GAM was to surrender a minimum 25 percent of 840 weapons it agreed to surrender to AMM Mobile Disarmament Units. Once the weapons were verified and destroyed, the government was to redeploy a proportionate number of troops and police, until their overall numbers in Aceh were reduced to 14,700 and 9,100 respectively, or 25,890 troops and 5,791 police less than the levels during the conflict. The process was administered without

noticeable difficulty, except for a slight delay in the third stage. The final figures are outlined in the chart below.

Table 01. Disarmament and redeployment, by phase

Stage	Disarmament (GAM)			Redeployed		
	Arms surrendered	Disqualified	Accepted	TNI	Police	Total
I (September 2005)	279	36	243	6,671	1,300	7,971
II (October 2005)	291	58	233	6,097	1,050	7,147
III (November 2005)	286	64	222	5,596	1,350	6,946
IV (December 2005)	162	20	142	7,628	2,150	9,778
Total	1,018	178	840	25,890	5,791	31,681

Source: Website of the Aceh Monitoring Mission

Numerous observers say the disarmament was “incomplete” and that the DDR process left weapons in circulation which are now responsible for a rise in crime. (see [Reinsertion and Reintegration](#)).

Demobilization

On December 25, 2005, the GAM dissembled its military wing Tentara Negara Aceh, or TNA. Beeck, at the same time, raised questions about talk of demobilization from the GAM. Combatants were not registered or licensed and the military chain of command was left intact, he said. The KPA, meanwhile, was a reincarnation of the TNA.

Reinsertion and Reintegration

The World Bank said nearly 90 percent of ex-combatants returned home without problem. Three quarters of ex-GAM said they attended some kind of welcoming or reconciliatory ceremony upon arrival. Normally, ex-combatants maintained some form of contact with home communities over the period of the conflict, while in some cases combatants never left their communities. Reintegration, therefore, may not be the most precise term to use to describe this part of DDR.

Good decommissioning and redeployment, in conjunction with an IOM initiative to work with 1,900 amnestied prisoners through an Information, Counselling and Referral Service, ICRS, meant most analysts felt reintegration would progress without any major obstacles. For this reason, said an International Crisis Group report,⁹ problems with ex-combatants did not emerge until after December 2006 elections in Aceh. The report gave examples of corruption and extortion involving the KPA and suggested a rise in crime was linked to ex-combatants. The GAM rejected the view ex-combatants, “embittered by an opaque, unaccountable reintegration process and still without employment,” were responsible for the problems and said the real perpetrators were disgruntled GAM members expelled from the movement.

The Memorandum of Understanding did indeed contain “very vague provisions for reintegration,”¹⁰ which resulted in delays and problems of misinterpretation on both sides, including questions as to who should get reintegration assistance and what more precisely reintegration meant. The government delayed involvement in reinsertion and reintegration and its coordination of participants was not optimal.

The governor of Aceh, in one instance, paid out \$900,000 dollars in three instalments (October 2005, November 2005, and January 2006) through the BRA and KPA. In November 2006, some 1,000 ex-GAM members began receiving payments from the BRA. But by late 2006, many GAM members had not received anything. Only amnestied prisoners who had registered immediately after leaving prison received subsidies for reintegration. At the time, the GAM opposed a government demand to submit a list of 3,000 ex-combatants eligible for reintegration. Beeck provides two explanations for the GAM’s behaviour: he says the movement distrusted the government’s

⁸ IOM Indonesia, *Japan Contributes \$8.6 Million to IOM’s Aceh Peace Efforts*.

⁹ Op. cit., p. 4ff.

¹⁰ Beeck, op. cit., p. 6.

intentions generally and, more particularly, was sceptical the government ever intended to distribute resources to the widows and orphans of combatants. The GAM, in the end, did submit the list to AMM, and AMM forwarded it to the BRA. Though ex-combatants were supposed to receive three payments of \$100, the actual money paid out was less than this, approximately a fourth on average. A World Bank report said ex-combatants received less money than they were supposed to because the GAM re-divided payments among GAM non-combatants and vulnerable groups such as widows and orphans. This view ignores potential corruption and contrasts with views held by others that the problem was to blame on poor practices. The problem damaged short-term efforts and did not help reintegration. Ultimately, reintegration subsidies became reinsertion subsidies.

Table 02. BRA/BRF Economic Assistance Activities (2005-2007)

Target group	Target	Achieved			Planned 2007	Amount (per capita)
		2005	2006	Total		
GAM Ex-combatants	3,000	1,000	2,000	3,000	0	Rp 25 million \$ 2,750
Amnestied political prisoners	2,035	0	1,500	1,500	535	Rp 10 million \$ 1,100
GAM non-combatants	6,200	1,200	5,000	6,200	0	Rp 10 million \$ 1,100
Surrendered GAM, pre-MoU	3,204	500	2,668	3,168	0	Rp 5 million \$ 550
Anti-separatist groups	6,500	1,000	3,000	4,000	2,500	Rp 10 million \$ 1,100
Total	20,939	3,700	14,168	17,868	3,035	
Conflict-affected persons	1,724 villages	1,724				Rp 60-170 million \$ 6,600-18,700 (per village)
	1,059 persons				175	10 million Rp \$ 1,100

Based on BRA data, <<http://bra-aceh.org>> and <<http://www.conflictanddevelopment.org/aceh-bra>>

In mid-2007, Beeck claimed long-term reintegration for ex-combatants had still not begun. Nevertheless, the IOM, through the ICRS, said it had helped approximately 5,000 ex-combatants and ex-prisoners create small businesses, such as kiosks, cafeterias, and brick works. An IOM survey in July 2007 showed ex-combatants were receiving more than the minimum salary in Aceh of \$90 per month, earning on average \$105 in the north and \$195 in the south.¹¹

There have been reports of a rise in criminal activity, especially extortion and kidnapping by ex-combatants. Some have claimed that reintegration aid has not been divided equitably and that many ex-GAM have not received any support. A KPA spokesperson said in October 2008 that reintegration was “in disarray.”¹² The World Bank, in a report in late 2008, partially agreed and recommended that priorities be shifted to ex-combatant and youth demands for employment in order to ensure smooth elections in 2009, combat patronage, and reduce the potentials for violence.¹³

The World Bank report said past disputes over the sharing of reintegration aid were to blame for current GAM/KPA/PA political and economic quarrels linked to bureaucratic appointments, land distribution, and contract concessions.¹⁴

The ICG concluded that reintegration efforts were “plagued by unclear objectives,” suffered from “poor implementation,” and showed “a lack of transparency that seemed to produce as much polarization as reconciliation.”¹⁵ Others said the BRA had not evolved into an institution capable of implementing a long-term plan of peacebuilding that could incorporate reconciliation, reintegration, and sustainability. Rather, it had devoted all its efforts to little more than distributing funds.

11 OIM, *Former Combatants' Business Thriving*.

12 Gelling, “Legendary Aceh leader returns to a tense province”; Sukma, “Peace, DDR in Aceh cannot be taken for granted”.

13 Clark and Palmer, *Peaceful Pilkada, Dubious Democracy*, p. 57.

14 Ibid., pp. 46, 48.

15 ICG, op. cit., p. 85b.

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Glossary

- AMM: Aceh Monitoring Mission
- ASEAN: Association of Southeast Asian Nations
- BAPPENAS: Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (National Development Planning Agency)
- BRA: Badan Reintegrasi Aceh, Aceh Reintegration Agency
- BRF: BRA Reintegration Fund
- BRR: Badan Rehabilitasi dan Rekonstruksi (Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Board)
- COSA: Commission on Security Arrangements
- GAM: Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh Movement)
- ICRS: Information, Counselling and Referral Service (IOM)
- IMP: International Monitoring Presence

KDP:	Kecamatan Development Program
KPA:	Komite Peralihan Aceh (Aceh Transition Committee)
MoU:	Memorandum of Understanding
RRM:	Rapid Reaction Mechanism
TNA:	Tentara Negara Aceh, Aceh State Army
TNI:	Tentara Nasional Indonesia, Indonesian National Defence Forces (Armed forces of Indonesia)

Liberia

(DDRR, 2003-2008)

Context

Transitional Justice

On 18 August 2003, a Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed in Accra, Ghana between the government of Liberia, the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL), and Liberia's registered political parties. The agreement stipulates the creation of an Independent National Commission on Human Rights (INCHR) to oversee fulfilment of the rights guaranteed by the agreement, the creation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), free access for vulnerable groups to all humanitarian agencies, and the opening of a process of stationing, disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation, and reintegration.

Although created in 2006, implementation of the TRC has been very slow, in part because the commission has not had the funds it requires and because support from the international community has been minimal. A budget of 1.1 million euros for the commission's operations came almost entirely from the government. This financing was exorbitant for a country with a national budget of less than 100 million euros. The TRC held its first hearing to clarify the crimes committed during 14 years of civil war in the country in January 2008. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, president of Liberia and the TRC, maintained that the commission did not aim only to achieve the reconciliation and healing of Liberian society but also to deal with the realm of justice. Public hearings will continue until the end of July 2008.

Liberian ex-President Charles Taylor is currently on trial in a Special Court for Sierra Leone at The Hague. He is accused of crimes against humanity and for having directed and financed civil war in Liberia and neighbouring Sierra Leone with the sale of so-called blood diamonds.¹

Security Sector Reform

Police

Training for the Liberia National Police (LNP) began in July 2004 with help from the UN Police and Transitional Government of Liberia. An aim to train 3,700 officers, 350 of them women, was attained in July 2007. Five hundred of the officers were to constitute an Emergency Response Unit and receive additional training in 2008-09. The United States, Great Britain, Nigeria, China, the European Commission, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, Ghana, Egypt, Interpol, and various UN agencies contributed to the initiative.²

Armed Forces

Through the DynCorp private security corporation and with \$200 million in funds, the US led a process to restructure the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL). The mandate of the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) stipulates cooperation with US-led security sector reform. Nigeria, the UK, Ghana, China, and France also gave support. The goal of security sector reform was to train 2,100 soldiers. The first phase of newly trained officers graduated in November 2006, and by September 2008, the overall projected numbers had been trained.³ The original reform plan also aimed to reinsert ex-combatants (see *Reinsertion and Reintegration*).

Summary

Type of DDR	Multiple and massive disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation, and reintegration (DDRR) targeting various groups of combatants, with special attention paid to child soldiers and political power-sharing.
Groups to demobilize	Over 100,000 members of different armed groups and militias.
Implementing bodies	NCDDRR
Budget	A minimum of \$110 million
Timeline	Disarmament and demobilization from December 2003 to November 2004. Reinsertion and reintegration from November 2004 to June 2008.
Status / synopsis	The process has been long and full of difficulties involving financing, corruption, etc. Currently, it is in the last stage of reintegration.

Basic facts

Population: 3,942,000
Food emergencies: Yes
IDPs: 91,537
Refugee population: 725,100,032
GDP: \$725,100,032
Per capita income: \$290
HDI: 0.364 (176th)
Military expenditure: \$6,000,000
Military population: 2,400 (armed forces)
Arms embargo: Yes, except against the Government. UN since November 1992, EU since May 2001.

¹ Adapted from School for a Culture of Peace, *Liberia*. This report draws extensively on the following sources, from which only direct quotations are cited: Alusala, "Liberia: 'DD' and 'RR'"; UN Inter-Agency Working Group on DDR, "Liberia. Country Programme"; Nichols, "Disarming Liberia"; UNMIL Focus; and UNMIL website, <<http://www.unmil.org>>.

² Momodu, "No to arms, yes to development"; Wesley, "Police training crosses target".

³ Momodu, *op. cit.*; Wesley, "Army training continues"; Agence de Presse Africaine, "Three West African military officers to command the Liberian army".

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Other Disarmament Initiatives

Civilian disarmament takes place under the Arms for Development program, overlooked since January 2006, following the disarmament phase of DDRR, by the UNDP, with funds from Japan. UNMIL is responsible for weapons management and control. By November 2007, UNMIL had collected 500 arms and 45,000 rounds of ammunition. A total 19 community projects were also implemented, including a project to rebuild administrative buildings, hospitals, and schools. A National Commission on Small Arms, consisting of eight government secretariats, was established, while a 1956 law on firearms was under review.

Program Design

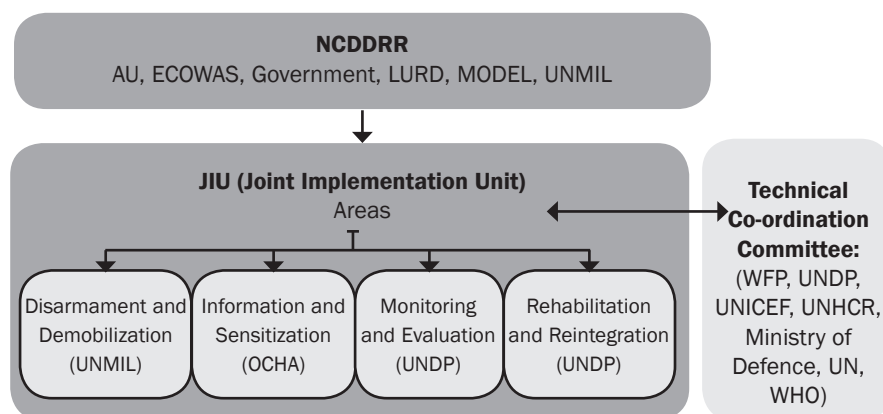
Type and Designation of DDR

DDR in Liberia involves multiple, mass disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation, and reintegration (DDRR) targeting a wide variety of combatants, with special emphasis placed on child soldiers and political power redistribution. UNMIL designates DDRR as disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, and repatriation. The CPA uses National Process of Cantonment, Disarmament, Demobilization, Rehabilitation, and Reintegration (CDDRR).

A program of RRR (reintegration, rehabilitation, and recovery) is broader than DDRR or CDDRR and targets war-affected populations. Persons who have filtered through a process of disarmament and demobilization (DD) are then eligible for ex-combatant reintegration and rehabilitation (RR) programming.

Executive Bodies

Figure 01. Bodies and functions



The National Commission for DDRR (NCDDRR) overlooks the peace process in Liberia. It has a staff of 400 individuals. The Liberian government, various armed groups, ECOWAS (the Economic Community of West African States), the UN, African Union, and International Contact Group for Liberia have representatives on the commission. The Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General said in a press conference on DDR ownership in 2004 that

“Contrary to many other countries where there are DDRR programs, this is not a government, NTGL [National Transitional Government of Liberia] ownership. The CPA [Comprehensive Peace Agreement] said clearly that the NCDDRR consists of the three factions [sic], NTGL, the United Nations, ECOWAS, and the European Union.”⁴

The NCDDRR established a Joint Implementation Unit (JIU) to take operational responsibility for planning and coordination. The JIU works jointly with a Technical Coordination Committee, of which many UN agencies are members. The JIU oversees four areas:

- Disarmament and demobilization, the responsibility of the DDRR Unit of UNMIL. UNMIL is responsible for disarmament, cantonment, and joint operations. Other participating organizations include the World Food Programme (provision of foodstuffs), UNDP (orientation and transport), WHO (medical examinations), UNPF (reproductive health and gender violence), UNICEF (youth), and the UNDP/Fast Intervention Telecommunications and Information Technology - FITTEST (communications).
- Information and sensitization, the responsibility of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, OCHA. The NCDDRR was also active in this area, especially in the beginning.
- Supervision and evaluation, the responsibility of the UNDP.
- Rehabilitation and reintegration, RR, was implemented by the UNDP until April 2007, when it was transferred to the NCDDRR, even though the UNDP had not completed DDRR until October 2007. RR is part of reintegration,

⁴ Seraydarian, *UNMIL Press Briefing*.

rehabilitation, and recovery, or RRR, and is managed by the government, UNMIL, the UN Country Team, NGOs, and other related bodies. UNICEF has administered reintegration programs for child soldiers since 2003 with collaboration from over 700 community organizations, including child welfare organizations and youth groups and clubs, and the Ministry of Education. UNFPA, the UN Population Fund, has managed reintegration projects for women and girl ex-combatants.

Participants

The total number of combatants in Liberia has varied from 103,000 to 107,000, depending on the source. Combatants are divided amongst a variety of armed groups and militias, including 35,000 members of the LURD (Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy), 14,000 members of MODEL (Movement for Democracy in Liberia), 16,000 pro-government militia fighters or paramilitaries, and 12,000 Armed Forces soldiers. Roughly 4 percent of the population is a combatant, the second highest percentage after Eritrea of the countries studied in this report and the highest for intra-state conflicts.

Special Needs Groups

Women and child soldiers are considered special needs groups in Liberia. The number of women and children tallied after disarmament is outlined in the following chart.

Table 01. Demobilization, by sex and age

	Men	Women	Total
Adults	69,281	22,456	91,737
Youth	8,771	2,511	11,282
Total	78,052	24,967	103,019

Source: Joint Implementation Unit, *DDRR Consolidated Report Phase 1, 2 & 3*.

Eligibility Criteria

To qualify for DDRR, a combatant must have surrendered a weapon in good condition or 150 rounds of ammunition. Women and child soldiers were excepted from this condition, and since it was not upheld strictly, a verification process complemented it, but was ineffective.

Budget and Financing

Summary

Budgeting for DD amounts to at least \$12.4 million. Budgeting for RR amounts to \$68 million from the Trust Fund, at least \$8 million from parallel reintegration programs, and an additional \$20 million. Total budgeting is at least \$110 million. Disarmament and demobilization, including a Transitional Safety Allowance, or TSA, fell under the regular budget of UNMIL. Some criticized a lack of transparency in UNMIL's management of its budget. But one thing is known, the UNDP advanced UNMIL \$12.4 million to defray disarmament and demobilization costs. UNMIL later returned \$6.4 million of this sum. (Ball 2005: 21) The UNDP's Trust Fund for DDRR financed the bulk of reintegration.

Table 02. DDRR Trust Fund 2004-07: Contributions in \$ millions

European Commission	22.2	33%
United States	19.9	29%
SIDA (Sweden)	6.8	10%
UNMIL (returned)	6.4	9%
DFID	5.4	8%
Denmark	3.5	5%
Ireland	1.2	2%
Norway	1.2	2%
Switzerland	0.8	1%
CPR-Small Arms Reduction	0.6	1%
Iceland	0.01	>1%
TOTAL	68	

Source: Adapted from Pugel, *What the Fighters Say*, p. 44.

Other initiatives were funded by the European Commission, USAID, and UNICEF. The other initiatives include:

Table 03. Other initiatives

Donor	Project	Recipients	Participants (Goal / attainment)	Contributions (in millions \$)	Periodo
EC	Job training and placement	The NGOs CESD and LOIC	2,940 / 1,030	3.8	2003-06
USAID	Contingency projects, training	DAI-LCIP, World Vision, IRC, SC-UK	21,000 / 10,739		2004-present
UNICEF	CEIP, ALP		7,000 / ?	4.1	2006-present

Sources: Joint Implementation Unit, op. cit.; USAID, *USAID/Liberia Annual Report FY 2005*, p. 5; UNICEF, *UNICEF Humanitarian Action: Liberia*, p.11; Christian Children's Fund, *Revitalization of War Affected Communities*; President of Liberia, *Executive Order No. 8 Extending the Mandate of the NCDDRR*.

The NCDDRR says an additional \$18 million is needed to reintegrate 23,000 "residual" ex-combatants. Finally, a final phase of rehabilitation and reintegration for 9,000 ex-combatants began in January 2008 and was funded with a \$20 million contribution from Norway.⁵

Schedule

After more than four years in Liberia (December 2003 - June 2007), the peacekeeping operation was extended an additional year by a presidential decree, bringing the operation's total lifespan to 55 months.⁶

The peacekeeping operation was administered in two phases: DD lasting from December 2003 to November 2004 and RR lasting from November 2004 to June 2008. The last phase of RR began in January 2008.

⁵ Government of Liberia, *Vice President Launches Final Phase of DDRR Program*; Agence de Presse Africaine, "Liberia launches final phase of reintegration of ex-combatants".

⁶ President of Liberia, op. cit.; Government of Liberia, op. cit.; Sonpon, "Ex-combatants want DDRR implemented in full".

Phases

A Draft Interim Secretariat comprised of the UNDP, UNMIL, World Bank, USAID, UNICEF, UNHCR, OCHA, and World Vision targeted 38,000 combatants for demobilization in three phases over five months, planning to reintegrate them as well within three years. In the end, the secretariat spent a year disarming and demobilizing more than double the original projected number and extended reintegration to four years.

Disarmament and Demobilization

The first phase of DD was a pilot project and began on December 7, 2003 in Monrovia. Due to logistical and infrastructural problems, the project was halted temporarily on December 27 and redesigned. Many more ex-combatants than projected rendered to be disarmed and demobilized, resulting in rioting and nine deaths caused by individuals not immediately given a \$150 initial allowance as promised.⁷

The second phase began on April 15, 2004, following an information campaign begun in January and run by UNMIL. The phase ended on September 14 after the construction of four cantonments near Monrovia. The third phase began on August 17 and ended in late November, after the construction of four more remote cantonments.

Aspects of the verification process were criticized, including UNMIL's poor preparation and execution; the inappropriateness of eligibility criteria (see Eligibility); the use of non-standard verification criteria, allowing some commanders to manipulate lists and wrongfully including ineligible and excluding eligible persons; in addition to other program distortions. Critics said as many as 40,000 persons who failed to comply with eligibility requirements participated in disarmament and demobilization programming. If this is true, it raises the question of who these participants were and who was excluded from DD. The high incidence of combatants without verifiable affiliation to an armed group, approximately a fourth (see

Table 02), suggests civilians may have gotten hold of guns to qualify for DD programming. Nichols says many women and children not qualifying as combatants because they were unable to furnish a weapon, nevertheless benefited from the lax criteria of being simply linked to an armed group. At the same time, Amnesty International and Specht⁸ argued that manipulated lists and a lack of early information disproportionately harmed women combatants, most of whom were excluded from programming. Nichols also says male soldiers were excluded from programming because, quite possibly, they did not go along with the corruption of their unit commanders. A study by UNDP/JIU claimed 12 percent of combatants were excluded from programming. This figure does not seem anomalous.⁹

Final figures given by UNMIL and NCDDRR/UNDP on disarmament and demobilization vary only slightly. NCDDRR's disarmament figures were as follows:

Table 04. Disarmed combatants, by group

Group	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	TOTAL
AFL	4,164	6,830	1,260	12,254
LURD	48	19,721	14,504	34,273
MODEL	11	2,854	10,283	13,148
Government / militias	12	5,107	10,476	15,595
Other	8,890	16,957	1,902	27,749
TOTAL	13,125	51,469	38,425	103,019

Source: Joint Implementation Unit, *DDRR Consolidated Report Phase 1, 2 & 3*.

In all, 28,314 arms, 33,604 projectiles and explosives, and 6.5 million rounds of ammunition were collected. The ratio of arms surrendered to combatants was very low, just a little more than one arm for every four combatants or associated individuals.

The final figures for demobilized individuals were slightly less. UNMIL said 101,495 combatants had been demobilized by February 15, 2005. In addition to this count, 612 foreign combatants, mainly from Sierra Leone and Guinea, 127 of them child soldiers, and 379 other combatants, demobilized after 2005.

In cantonments, disarmed combatants received basic orientation, food, training in peace and human rights, and a medical examination. Each demobilized individual also received a Transitional Safety Allowance of \$300, paid out in two instalments.

Women and child soldiers were always separated from men, in particular from commanders who could abuse them,¹⁰ and their demobilization, occurring in just three days, was given priority. Although programming was streamlined to provide for women and children, in practice both UNMIL and JIU were criticized for a lack of will in incorporating a gender dimension into their work. This was reflected in women's lack of participation in planning and implementation. Amnesty International and Specht said little information was given to prospective participants of the DD phase and that integration in the RR phase lacked flexibility.

Reinsertion and Reintegration

According to NCDDRR statistics, the median participant age was 26 and the majority of participants were between the ages of 18 and 34. The level of education of participants was very low. Most participants had no education or only elementary education. 38 percent of participants had families of their own and almost all had some access to farmland.

RR was done irregularly and stagnated due to a lack of funding. Critics said 40,000 or more ex-combatants were left unattended and 60-70 percent abandoned programming.

Table 05. Disarmed combatants, by phase

Phase 1	11,805
Phase 2	51,341
Phase 3	38,349
TOTAL	101,495

Source: Joint Implementation Unit, *DDRR Consolidated Report Phase 1, 2 & 3*.

4 Amnesty International, *Liberia: A Flawed Process Discriminates Against Women and Girls*, p. 24; Liberia Needs Assessment; Nichols, op. cit., p. 113.

8 Specht, *Red Shoes*, pp. 82-83.

9 Pugel, op. cit., p. 4.

10 Specht, op. cit., p. 14, argues that it was not always in the best interests of women and child soldiers to be separated from unit commanders. Some felt this might increase their vulnerability.

In April 2007, due to recommendations by the NCDDRR and Concerned Ex-combatants Union of Liberia (CECUL), President Johnson-Sirleaf extended the reintegration period by an executive decree in order to accommodate a "residual quantity" of approximately 22,000 demobilized individuals. Programming to deal with this residual quantity ended with 9,000 ex-combatants remaining unattended. They were targeted subsequently by the latest phase of RR. Reintegration began in June 2004. As part of RR, ex-combatants were given \$30 a month over 6-8 months covering the length of the training period. Demobilized combatants were offered the following training opportunities:

1. Formal education 40 %
2. Vocational training
 - Automobile mechanics 14 %
 - "Generic" skills 11 %
 - Driving 7 %
 - Tailoring 7 %
 - Bricklaying 3 %
3. Agriculture 4 %

A UNMIL survey conducted in December 2006 revealed that some 23 percent of ex-combatants worked in agriculture, 19 percent were unemployed, and only 17 percent were students. One ex-combatant said the \$30 per month allowance over the training period was equivalent to only one or two weeks of salary in a rubber plantation. It is believed many reinsertion kits were resold. According to the UNDDR, 30,000 ex-combatants enrolled in formal education in 2006. The students were given an allowance for two years and help with uniform and registration expenses. A variety of vocational training opportunities were offered by organizations after approval from the JIU. Many remain active. Approximately two thirds of ex-combatants participated in DDRR Trust Fund programming. The remaining third participated in projects administered by the European Commission, USAID, and UNICEF.

A task force established by the government and UNMIL in 2006, offered solutions to the question of rubber plantations occupied illegally by ex-combatants. The strategy proposed enabling the state to repossess the plantations, avoiding a loss of public revenue, in conjunction with ex-combatant reintegration. UNICEF offered specialized programming, such

as CEIP for youth. CEIP provided basic primary education, vocational training, and psychosocial counselling. Vocational training courses lasted for six to nine months. Specializations included cosmetics, bricklaying, carpentry, and bread making. A toolbox was given to each student. A training program was developed for teachers to be able to give psychosocial support to youth.¹¹ UNDDR said 60,000 persons had participated in reintegration programming by late 2006. Half had already completed their programming of choice.

Table 06. Reintegration programming participants, October 2006

	Men	Women	Total
Completed	25,597	7,279	32,876
Underway	21,238	5,717	26,955
Total	46,835	12,996	59,831

Inter-Agency Working Group on DDR, "Liberia. Country Programme".

UNMIL claimed in August 2007 that at least 78,000 ex-combatants participated in some way or other in RR. According to a survey conducted in 2006 by Pugel, a quarter of ex-combatants said they had work. This was considered a good proportion given that 80 percent of Liberians are unemployed. The economic situation for most ex-combatants, nevertheless, was poor, so that more than half approached or were under the poverty line. The same survey indicated 94 percent of ex-combatants experienced no difficulties reintegrating socially into their host communities, which in 58 percent of cases was the ex-combatant's home community.

Some complained DDRR focussed on rapid disarmament and that psychosocial assistance was not sufficiently taken into account. Problems with HIV/AIDS, drug addiction, sexual violence, and general aggression have resulted from this lack of attention. Some observers also linked insufficient work reintegration to a rise in crime. An article in *The Analyst*, published in Monrovia, directly connected the failure of RR to a decision to reintroduce the death penalty in cases of armed robbery or rape. According to the article,

The short-circuiting of the DDRR programme on the alibi of donor fatigue, according to observers, saw the spiraling upsurge in armed robbery, rape, and bushwhacking.... This must have forced the Sirleaf administration to amend the New Penal Laws of Liberia making rape and armed robbery punishable by death....

The reintroduction of [the] death penalty was wrong because neither the government nor the UN did anything to rehabilitate and reintegrate some 39,000 ex-fighters who were lured into demobilization and disarmament without adequate compensation and/or training to prepare them for civilian life. A USIP survey confirmed a lack of work and employment solutions as the main reason for ex-combatants, especially women, contemplating rearming themselves. The survey recommended better management of the social and economic expectations of ex-combatants.¹⁶

For the final phase of RR, the UNDP signed contracts with 25 agencies offering vocational training, psychosocial and employment counselling, education in human rights, and sensitization around HIV/AIDS. The final phase takes in all 15 counties of Liberia and incorporates women associated with armed groups who were excluded from earlier programming (approximately a third of the total). Employment and psychosocial counselling for 7,200 ex-combatants over three weeks was managed in summer 2008 by the YMCA. Vocational training targeted a variety of mixed groups of a few hundred ex-combatants. In Monrovia, for example, the IOM ran a program for 200 residual ex-combatants, CEP in Paynesville trained a hundred or so in tailoring, and the Landmine Action NGO offered agricultural training to approximately 400 persons. RR also involved UNICEF attention to youth. UNMIL said "almost all" 10,000 demobilized child soldiers were reunited with family. CICR repatriated 55 of the youth.

¹¹ Scott, "Skills training for former child soldiers".

¹² Chea-Annan, "UNMIL to draw down troops in 2008".

¹³ Op. cit., pp. 64ff.

¹⁴ "Mental health problems breed violence", IRIN News; Mbadlanyana, "Crime on the increase as Liberia prepares to celebrate its 161st Anniversary".

¹⁵ "Death penalty under fire".

¹⁶ Hill, Taylor and Temin, *Would You Fight Again?*

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Glossary

JIU: Joint Implementation Unit

LURD: Liberians United for Reconciliation and Development

MODEL: Movement for Democracy in Liberia

NCDDRR: National Commission for Disarmament, Demobilization, Rehabilitation and Reintegration

NTGL: National Transitional Government of Liberia

TSA: Transitional Safety Allowance

Nepal

(AMMAA, 2007-present)

Context

Transitional Justice

In February 1996, the Maoist Communist Party of Nepal (CPN-Maoist) commenced armed struggle against the Nepalese government with the aim of overthrowing King Birenda's constitutional monarchy and replacing it with a popular republic. Nepalese society is an unequal system based on ethnicity and castes. At the root of the conflict are also institutional corruption and a malfunctioning party system. In June 2001, the king and various members of the royal family were assassinated and, consequently, a state of emergency was declared and the political crisis worsened. At the end of August 2001, a first meeting between the government and CPN-Maoist took place, but months later the Maoists returned to the offensive and the government declared the state of emergency, responding with a large military offensive of its own.

The political situation in Nepal changed entirely in 2006 after massive and prolonged popular demonstrations in April which forced the king to restore parliament. The vice prime minister declared a definitive ceasefire by the government and withdrew the classification of terrorist applied to the PLA. From this point, a process of dialogue with the PLA was launched and culminated in June 2006 with an historic meeting between Prime Minister Koirala and PLA leader Prachanda and the signing of an eight-point agreement between the sides. Prachanda had previously claimed he would not oppose his troops' integration into new armed forces. In May, the government announced that elections would be held for a Constituent Assembly within a year and that it hoped the PLA would be disarmed by then. In September, the government and CPN-Maoist agreed on a draft interim constitution in which sensitive political questions such as the role of the monarchy were not included. In the second half of November, the government and CPN-Maoist signed a peace agreement and formally declared an end to the armed conflict.¹

International Intervention

The UN Mission in Nepal, UNMIN, established under Security Council Resolution 1740, is administered by the Department of Political Affairs. It employs unarmed military inspectors, electoral experts, police teams, and civilian administrators. UNMIN's mandate is to supervise disarmament and the ceasefire in Nepal, give technical assistance to an Electoral Commission, oversee elections to the Constituent Assembly, and monitor the human rights situation.²

Security Sector Reform

Security sector reform is highly charged in Nepal. It has been part of peace negotiations, both explicitly and implicitly. Throughout the "three sided" conflict, involving the government, Maoists, and monarchy, the Nepal Royal Army (NRA) has traditionally aligned with the king. Democratizing the security forces is therefore key to agreements between the Seven Party Alliance (SPA) and CPN(M).³ In accordance with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), the AMMAA established the Interim Council of Ministers to "prepare and implement the detailed action plan of the Nepal Army's democratization by taking suggestions from the concerned committee of the Interim Parliament/legislature. Under this to carry out activities like assessing the appropriate number of the Nepal Army, to train the army in democratic and human rights values while developing democratic structure, national and inclusive character."⁴

Summary

Type of DDR	Cantonment and identification of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) with debate on military versus civil reintegration, in a context of political transition.
Groups to demobilize	Nearly 20,000 members of the PLA.
Implementing bodies	JMCC.
Budget	Around \$50 million.
Timeline	Cantonment from the start of January 2007. Verification from August to December 2007.
Status / synopsis	Process of reintegration pending political decisions by a Constitutional Assembly, once it is established.

Basic facts

Population: 28,757,000

Food emergencies: Yes

IDPs: 60,000

GDP: \$10,207,169,536

Per capita income: \$1,040

HDI: 0.530 (145°)

Military expenditure: \$158,000,000

Military population:

69,000 (armed forces);

62,000 (paramilitary)

Arms embargo: No

1 Adapted from Fisas, *Peace Processes Yearbook 2007*, pp. 96-99.

2 Karki, "UN Mission in Nepal".

3 Kumar and Sharma, *Security Sector Reform in Nepal*; Pathak and Niraula, Another Milestone for Peace.

4 *Agreement on Monitoring of the Management of Arms and Armies*, p. 6; see also Comprehensive Peace Agreement, p. 5.

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Program Design

Other Disarmament Initiatives

The CPA obliges the parties to the conflict to contribute data on the location of landmines and improvised explosive devices. Although disarmament has centred on firearms, the role other weapons have played in the conflict needs to be borne in mind also (see the Disarmament section under Evolution). Additionally, the disarmament process has failed to promote policy on small arms control, in a context that activists say is dire given Nepal's history of conflict and the porous border between Nepal and India.⁵

Type and Designation of DDR

DDR in Nepal involves the cantonment and identification of members of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), as well as debating military and civilian reintegration in a context of political transition.

DDR, AMMAA, or CMR?

A former Nepali military advisor for the DPKO wrote: "In Nepal, we have not used the term 'DDR' because no side has wanted to appear to be surrendering. Instead, the model used is campment, UN monitoring, and reintegration (CMR), though the goal is essentially the same as DDR in the long term."⁶ The term CMR is not used widely in the English literature on the process, but is used, together with AMMAA, consistently in Nepal. DDR is found more commonly in outside sources.

The distinction is not an erudite discussion of terminology. It generated controversy which broke down relations between the CPN(M) and UNMIN and paralyzed the verification process in July 2007. Prachanda said DDR was not an appropriate model for the restructuring of the Maoist army. Since the PLA represents popular sovereignty, he said, DDR "should rather be applied to the state army."⁷ The CPN(M) went even further in declarations likening DDR to surrender and accusing UNMIN of adopting the "Sudanese model" of DDR for verification in order to "dissolve" the PLA. Ian Martin disagrees that UNMIN conformed to such a model. He said that both the CPA and AMMAA have determined the terms of the mission and have never mentioned "disarmament" but rather the "separation" and "monitoring" of weapons. He said the Maoists are "allergic" to the term DDR. The Maoists, thus, clearly prefer the terms CMR or security sector reform (depending on the source) and see the confusion in naming as a political matter. It is important to remember that terms used by the international community can be politically charged, even if they are intended to be merely technical.⁸

Guiding Principles

The Nepali government and CPN(M) signed a series of agreements to settle aspects of the disarmament process in a gradual manner. The sequence of agreements was as follows: a 12-Point Understanding (November 12, 2005) and 8-Point Accord (June 16, 2006) agreed that the UN would monitor combatants and NRA and PLA weapons; a 25-Point Code of Conduct (May 26, 2006) added a prohibition to mobilizations and other shows of force by armed actors; a 5-Point Agreement (August 9, 2006) assigned supervision of the truce and verification of cantonment and barracking to the UN; finally, a 6-Point Political Agreement (November 8, 2006) and 10-Point Comprehensive Peace Accord (November 21, 2006) outlined details for cantonment, stationing, barracking, storage, etc.⁹

Section four of the CPA, titled "Management of Army and Arms," forms the basis of the electoral process for elections in the short term and democratization and Armed Forces restructuring in the long term. The CPA specifies seven main PLA cantonment areas, the method of arms storage for the parties, a government obligation to provide for the PLA while encamped, Interim Government responsibility in creating a Special Committee for "adjustment and rehabilitation" of Maoist ex-combatants, and Interim Council of Ministers responsibility in designing a plan of action for democratizing and restructuring the Armed Forces. The CPA specifies the UN as verifier of combatants and weapons.¹⁰

On November 28, 2006, the government and CPN(M) signed the AMMAA and reaffirmed their commitments to restructuring the country along more demo-

6 Gurung, "So far, so good".

7 "Re-integration of armies", *The Rising Nepal*.

8 Pudasani, "UNMIN and Maoists' heartburn on arms management"; "Press Conference by Special Representative for Nepal", 26 July 2007; Lee, "In Nepal, UN's Martin balances Maoists and snakes in the camps"; "DDR model not adopted as claimed by the Maoists", *eKantipur*; "Intentional obstacle?", *eKantipur*; "Resumption of verification only after political consensus", *eKantipur*.

9 Pathak and Niraula, op. cit.

10 Comprehensive Peace Agreement, pp. 4ff.

5 IRIN, "Government urged to do more to curb small arms".

cratic lines. Again, they resolved to entrust the UN with weapons monitoring and management and cantonment of armed actors from both sides.

From this point forward, it is worth noting that neither the CPA nor AMMAA has mentioned DDR.

Implementing bodies

National coordination and supervision is the responsibility of the Joint Monitoring Coordinating Committee (JMCC). The committee includes more than 100 members, government representatives including the Nepal Armed Forces, and the CPN(M), including the PLA. UN representatives from UNMIN, the UNDP, and UNICEF preside over the committee, which is divided into 10 groups.

The 10 groups of the committee are known as the Joint Monitoring Teams (two per area) and are composed of a UN observer, a member of the Armed Forces, and a member of the PLA. The teams monitor cessations of hostilities at the regional and local levels. Verification teams are composed of UNMIN, UNDP, and UNICEF members.

SGCMIC, the Special Government Committee on Monitoring and Integration of Combatants, is responsible for design and implementation of security sector reform and ex-PLA reinsertion in the Armed Forces.

The UNDP Afghanistan's New Beginnings Program participated in the process in Nepal by sending 10 experts to assist the AMMAA in training officials in weapons registration over a period of approximately two weeks.

Participants

Program participants in Nepal included initially more than 32,250 PLA members, of whom 19,602 (15,756 men and 3,846 women) qualified for programming, in addition to 2,973 youth. The CPN(M) proposed that its militias be included in the AMMAA, but the proposal was rejected.

Eligibility Criteria

The AMMAA defines "Maoist army combatants" as "regular active duty members of the Maoist army who joined service before 25 May 2006, who are not minors [born after

May 25, 1988] and who are able to demonstrate their service, including by CPN(M) identity card and other means agreed by the parties."¹¹ The agreement leaves open the verification mechanism to be used by the parties to the conflict, and this has resulted in difficulties.

Budget and Financing

The government is responsible for funding the core of the process in Nepal, including cantonment and reintegration. Information on government spending is scarce. In December 2007, the Ministry of Finance said it spent approximately 25 million euros on cantonments.

The World Bank in 2008, through an Emergency Peace Support Project (EPSP, 2008-11), dedicated \$50 million to reintegrating ex-PLA members and others. 18 million of this was earmarked for subsidy payments and 3 million for supervision and other program expenses. Most of the funds were paid out in the first year of EPSP.

Additional funding figures available include the budgets of NGOs working with children associated with Armed Forces and groups (CAAFAGs). UNICEF cited around \$3.5 million for 7,500 youth, 4,500 of them CAAFAG; Save the Children cited \$3 million; the International Rescue Committee quoted \$400,000 for 4,000 youth, 1,000 of them CAAFAG; and Search for Common Ground, the Transcultural Psychosocial Organization, and Partnerships for Protecting Children in Armed Conflict recorded \$1.2 million between them.

UNICEF contributed \$500,000 to mine action and landmine sensitization, while the Nepal Red Cross and Save the Children contributed \$150,000 each.

Schedule

The AMMAA said the peace process in Nepal was to begin immediately after the signing of the agreement. The detailed implementation schedule, however, determined by a variety of committees (or wider ranging political bodies), was to be determined only after the committees were created. The first phase of the process,

"disarmament" (arms registration for the NRA and arms and combatant registration for the PLA), began in mid-January 2007 and concluded three months later. The second phase, verification of PLA fighters, began in August 2007.

Phases

Management of Arms

Both the Peace Agreement and in large part the AMMAA specify barracking for Maoist combatants in 7 main campments and 21 satellite campments under UN supervision. As part of weapons management, weapons are registered and deposited in containers locked by a key held by the Maoists, as stipulated in the peace agreement, while the Nepal Army is required to deposit an equal quantity of arms into warehouses. Military training is prohibited in campments and CPN(M) weapons are held in 70 metal containers monitored by the UN.

The first phase of PLA registration of arms and combatants occurred on April 10-12, 2007 and 31,350 combatants turned up at cantonment centres. The number of arms surrendered was 3,475.

An incident in March 2007 revealed a certain peculiarity to the conflict, which explained in part the low percentage of the arms surrendered by combatants: after cantonment and arms surrender, Prachanda declared the PLA retained thousands of armed combatants outside of cantonments and thereby aroused great disquiet among the government and UNMIN. Later, the PLA said Prachanda was not referring to firearms and troops but to "thousands of Maoists capable of making bombs and prepared to fight." He was reminding his followers, said the PLA, that the "insurgency was fought mainly with bombs and not firearms." The PLA added that their explosives were under UNMIN supervision, but were not in cantonment warehouses as per the peace agreement. Rather, they were in far-off places.¹²

Cantonment and Verification

In May 2007, combatant verification stopped and paralyzed the process after protests by Maoists over poor

11 Agreement on Monitoring...

12 Haviland, "Nepal Maoists in damage control".

living conditions in cantonments. The Maoists cited water, electricity, transportation, and communication as problems and said these were the government's responsibility. The CPN(M) also demanded the government give some kind of remuneration to registered individuals awaiting verification and that a committee be struck to decide on the new Nepal Army, as stipulated in Article 146 of the Interim Constitution. UNMIN agreed conditions in cantonments were in need of urgent attention. In late May 2007, the government announced it would give combatants in cantonments a \$46 allowance and improve conditions. In late May, SGCMIC was created as well.

After a number of false starts, the JMCC launched a second phase of operations on June 19, 2007. In the first phase, 100 UN workers administered a verification process for more than 3,000 Maoist fighters in the eastern district of Lumbini. The phase ended on June 27, 2007. At this point, the process stagnated. Those issues disputed in the media included the ineligibility of combatants (1,300-3,200 of them, including youth, combatants recruited late to the conflict, and cantonment absentees, though UNMIN did not confirm these numbers) and accusations that the government was not fulfilling agreements, both these matters framed around whether the process was about DDR or CMR/security sector reform. The Maoists demanded a "political" agreement be reached before continuing verification and reminded the government that both security sector reform and compensation for ex-combatants remained to be discussed. The International Crisis Group warned that the low number of registering supervisors impeded independent work and permitted the Maoists to wrangle with numbers.¹³ UNMIN said the verification terms were outlined in the AMMAA and requested that the PLA immediately free the youth it held in its ranks.

In late July, the JMCC struck an agreement to continue the verification process. UNMIN agreed to revise mistakes of combatant identification and retrain its staff, after the CPN(M) complained that verification had taken place using "unplanned" questions. The agency also agreed that identified

combatants would not be demobilized until all cantonments were reviewed. Due to delays in the verification process and the poor conditions in cantonments, a large number of registered combatants decamped prior to verification. There was debate over the numbers. In the Nawalparasi District, 1,000 of a total 5,000 combatants decamped. Individuals leaving the Nawalparasi cantonment said sanitary conditions were poor and ex-combatants did not receive the promised government subsidies, possibly because the CPN(M) blocked the payments or because they were made erratically. Sources said ex-combatants received the subsidy payment for just a month, and then only half of it. The Maoists said some 12 percent of combatants were given leave each month and that these persons were not "deserters."

Table 01. Final figures for verification, December 2007

32,250 Registered in the first phase	19,602 Verified as adult	15,756 Men
	PLA combatants	3,846 Women
	8,640 Absent for verification	
	4,008 Ineligible	2,973 Youth
		1,035 Incorporated into the PLA after 25/05/06

Source: Martin, *Press Statement*, 27 December 2007.

By late 2008, demobilization had not advanced. Prachanda agreed to demobilize almost 3,000 ineligible youth still in cantonments to coincide with a visit from the UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict in December 2008. The deadline was late February 2009 and the operation was to be done with assistance from UNMIN, UNICEF, and the UNDP. Reintegration packages were designed to meet the needs of the youth. By March 2009, however, the youth were still not demobilized. Save the Children Nepal said 10,000-12,000 youth PLA combatants were never registered in cantonments and were experiencing serious difficulties reintegrating into civilian life.

Reintegration

The AMMAA mentions "integration into the security forces," but the terms for the reintegration and rehabilitation of Maoist ex-combatants in the CPA are vague and open to interpretation. The overall process should have been designed and managed by SGCMIC (or the "146 Committee"), created in May 2007 by the Interim Council of Ministers, but in its lifetime it has not held a single meeting. Integration of the PLA in the Nepal Army, then, was a matter of verbal agreement and quite possibly the Interim Government had no intention of implementing it and banked (incorrectly) on electoral defeat for the CPN(M) in order to delegitimize it. The new government created a new commission in October 2008 composed of representatives from the CPN(M), UML (Unified Marxist-Leninist party), MPRF (Madhesi People's Rights Forum), the Nepali Congress (NC) Party, the Ministry of Interior (UML), and the Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction (CPN(M)). The NC disagreed with the commission, opposing its mandate and composition. In early 2009, these objections had still not been resolved.

The views of politicians range from complete integration to no integration. The following is a summary of the main positions held:

- Complete integration (CPN(M) and PLA): Rehabilitation through integration into the (New) National Army and a collective process.
- No integration: The NC and MPRF speak of "rehabilitation and management" of the PLA, but done on an individual basis. The security forces are opposed to mass integration into the army, but accept individual integration if candidates comply with specific and sometimes rigid criteria, such as not having affiliations to a political party.
- Partial integration: the UML criticizes the "extremist" stances of the CPN(M) and NC. The international community represented by UNMIN wants to widen integration and rehabilitation, but has not shown great interest in integrating the Maoists into the army. It supports, therefore, a partial integration option and alternative solutions.

¹³ International Crisis Group, *Nepal's Peace Agreement*.

- Neither integration nor rehabilitation: Minority communist factions call for the PLA to replace the “bourgeois” Nepal Army.
- Civil society, meanwhile, does not seem to have an independent position.

The Nepal Army has argued most strongly recently for no integration, saying politically indoctrinated combatants cannot be absorbed into an army hoping to maintain a sense of neutrality. The International Crisis Group rebutted this view by saying the PLA is more transparent and disciplined today than the politically independent Nepal Army. Other common related arguments touch on the lack of conventional academic education of ex-PLA members (compensated for with military experience, say the Maoists), the leapfrogging that would occur due to each army having differing systems of rank, and the budgetary problems of an oversized military (bearing in mind, however, that Nepal is a net exporter of military services to the UN).

Currently, only the Maoists have made public proposals to reduce the Nepal Army to some 20,000-30,000 and have opened themselves up to negotiations. The Maoist Minister of Defence, for instance, said not all ex-PLA needed to be integrated into the Nepal Army, but could be incorporated instead into the police or a potential “industrial security force.” The Nepal Army, for its part, is prepared to consider assimilating some PLA combatants and reintegrating the rest into a body created specifically to protect public infrastructure, national parks, and borders. Analysts say there is some informal contact between the Nepal Army and PLA at the top levels, even though the Nepal Army exhibits a non-conciliatory stance in public.

UNMIN said in November 2008 that integration continued to be “very important and quite difficult,” and an international mission was needed to resolve the impasse.¹⁴

This statement was made against a backdrop of discussion on the cantonment of Maoist fighters, occurring already for two years and causing tension. A PLA leader said to the Swiss International Relations and Security Network, ISN:

Our People’s Liberation Army (PLA) soldiers are up to their necks in debt... They have been borrowing heavily to buy food after the government stopped paying them the monthly allowance it had promised. There’s no drinking water in the camps, little electricity and acute shortage of medicine. If the PLA is not rehabilitated, it is going to impact the peace process. There won’t be any restructuring of the state [and] there won’t be any new Constitution.¹⁵

The \$45 monthly allowance to the Maoists in cantonment stopped in July 2007 and was replaced by daily food aid equivalent to 8 cents. In April 2008, the World Bank agreed to subsidize the government so it could pay the allowances, both to the Maoists and other war-affected persons, especially family members of persons killed in battle. In August 2008, the government received the funds and paid the ex-combatants approximately \$600 in back payments. The rest was to be paid out in regular instalments. Family members of mortally wounded combatants received \$1,500 per individual killed in battle.

Rearmament of the Nepal Army and PLA

In November 2008, the Nepal Army opened 2,884 new positions for recruitment, alleging it needed to make up for an “annual wastage rate.” In February 2009, it published a list of candidates and ignored criticisms from UNMIN and an order by the Ministry of Defence to stop recruitment, corroborating the view held by observers that the army was becoming more autonomous and the government had little control over it. In response, the PLA, in a press release, said it was going to begin recruitment of new members. The press release said the PLA made the decision because of the Nepal Army’s recruitment and the “attrition” it suffered during the verification process and subsequent cantonment. Because the verification process reduced its numbers from 31,000 to

19,000 soldiers, the PLA planned to recruit 12,000 new members.¹⁶

The Supreme Court of Nepal ordered both sides to stop recruitment. Political groups and civil society, UNMIN and the EU, said the recruitment activities violated part or all of past agreements, including the Ceasefire Code of Conduct, the CPA, AMMAA, and Interim Constitution, and could derail the peace process.

¹⁴ “Integration of Maoist fighters in Nepal remains difficult issue”.
¹⁵ Sarkar, “No peace dividend for Nepal’s guerrillas”.

¹⁶ Pathak and Uprety, *The Culture of Militarization in South Asia*.

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Glossary

CAAFAGs: Children Associated with Armed Forces and Groups

CPA: Comprehensive Peace Agreement

CPN(M): Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

DPKO: UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations

IED: Improvised Explosive Device

NA: Nepal Army (armed forces of Nepal), formerly NRA

NRA: Nepal Royal Army (armed forces of Nepal), then NA

SPA: Seven Party Alliance

Rwanda

(RDRC, 2001 – 2008)

Context

Conflict

Following Rwanda's 1994 genocide, amongst the more than two million displaced persons in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (herein DR Congo) were members of the former Armed Forces of Rwanda (FAR, in *French Forces armées rwandaises*) and the Interahamwe militia belonging to the Hutu ethnic group. This situation enabled armed combatants to regroup and launch new attacks on Rwanda, with consent from the government of the Congo. In the DR Congo, both armed factions formed the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR, in *French Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda*). On numerous occasions, the Rwandan Defence Forces (RDF, in *French Forces rwandaises de défense*) intervened in the DR Congo in efforts to dismantle the FDLR, which led to a rise in tensions in both countries.

Peace process

Following the Arusha cessation of hostilities agreements (1993) and the Lusaka ceasefire agreements (July 1999, cessation of hostilities in the DR Congo, regularisation of borders, Joint Military Commission, etc.), Rwanda and the DR Congo signed the **30 July 2002 Pretoria Accord**. Amongst other promises, the Rwandan government committed to withdrawing its troops from the DR Congo and adopting effective measures to return its combatants, with collaboration from MONUC (United Nations Organization Mission in the DR Congo) and different UN agencies. The agreement also agreed to a later dismantling of active members of the FDLR. Both countries agreed to stabilise security on their common border.

Transitional Justice

The new national unity government of Rwanda has attempted to create mechanisms to try 100,000 persons accused of participating in the 1994 genocide. The government created the Gacaca court system, incorporating traditional mechanisms of justice and reconciliation, and its first rulings were passed in early 2005. Gacaca courts use participatory justice mechanisms to uncover truth, accelerate trials for genocide, eradicate the culture of criminal impunity, and strengthen Rwandan unity. The courts do not work to recover or trace the origins of weapons.

Gacaca courts have jurisdiction over suspected planners, organizers, and leaders of the genocide. A major challenge for the system is to connect reconciliation to DDR, an essential element of Rwanda's post-war rehabilitation strategy. Human rights organizations have questioned the adequateness of Gacaca, arguing the courts cannot pass just sentences because court officials lack training and are susceptible to being used for revenge.

In September 2006, the government submitted a list of leaders sought for serious crimes in Rwanda and worked with MONUC to expand a list of leaders of the Hutu Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (known by its French acronym FDLR). According to official Gacaca sources, approximately 55,000 individuals accused of participating in the genocide will be sentenced to community service rather than imprisoned.

Security Sector Reform

A lack of real reconciliation between the different actors has complicated greatly changes to the security sector and has contributed to political instability both regionally and nationally. The main problem lies in the mass proliferation of private security companies. In early 2007, the government completed research into private security companies after growing concern about their use of weapons. The research concluded with the government issuing prohibi-

Summary

Type of DDR	Demobilization of armed opposition groups and security-sector reform
Groups to demobilize	Total Demobilization of approximately 36,000 ex-combatants of the armed forces (20,000) and of armed groups (16,000)
Implementing bodies	Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission
Budget	\$67.6 million
Timeline	Begun in December 2001, previewed to end in December 2008
Status / synopsis	The Rwanda programme continued to demobilise armed persons, including some 38,731 ex-soldiers of the armed forces (100 percent of anticipated) and 6,423 adults of armed opposition groups (27 percent of anticipated). The Executive of the MDRP visited the country in February to evaluate the progress of the programme.

Basic facts

Population: 10,009,000
Refugee population: 80,955
GDP: \$ 3,319,993,600
Per capita income: \$ 860
IDH: 0,435 (165th)
Military expenditure: \$ 56,000,000
Military population: 33,000 (armed forces); 2,000 (paramilitaries)
Arms Embargo: No

To cite this report:
 Caramés, A., "Rwanda (RDRC, 2001-2008)", in A. Caramés and E. Sanz, *DDR 2009. Analysis of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) Programmes in the World during 2008*. Bellaterra: School for a Culture of Peace, 2009, pp. 101-108.

tions on a number of companies and demanding greater guarantees from companies on their use of arms, as outlined in national legislation. This strict abidance to legislation came as part of the government's commitments to the UN Program of Action for Small Arms and Light Weapons.¹

Other Disarmament Initiatives

Parliament approved in March 2008 a law to criminalize acquiring, possessing, manufacturing, selling, or storing illegal small arms and ammunition, with penalties ranging from a fine to imprisonment. The law is based on the UN Convention on Transnational Organized Crime.² The government destroyed 160 tonnes of ammunition and explosives in late July 2008. There is an estimated 629 km² of territory to demine.

Background to DDR

Demobilization and repatriation occurred in two phases. The first phase took place from September 1997 to February 2001 and involved the demobilization 18,692 soldiers belonging to the Rwandan Patriotic Army (known by its French acronym APR). 2,364 of the soldiers were children. Military operations in the DR Congo and difficulties on the border led to persistent insecurity, which impeded reductions to military expenditures and a higher diminution of APR combatants. A lack of economic resources, moreover, has limited the furtherance of social reintegration programming in Rwanda. Meanwhile technical and managerial limitations have frustrated the expectations of ex-combatants. The budget for the first phase of DDR was \$19.4 million, or an average \$1,036 per combatant (1997-2001).

Lessons adopted by the government include the creation of a Technical Secretariat, counselling before demobilization to avoid the generation of false expectations, giving economic aid for social reintegration, making available information and counselling, giving specific assistance to disabled combatants, centralizing information management, and bettering assistance and coordination in general.

Program Design

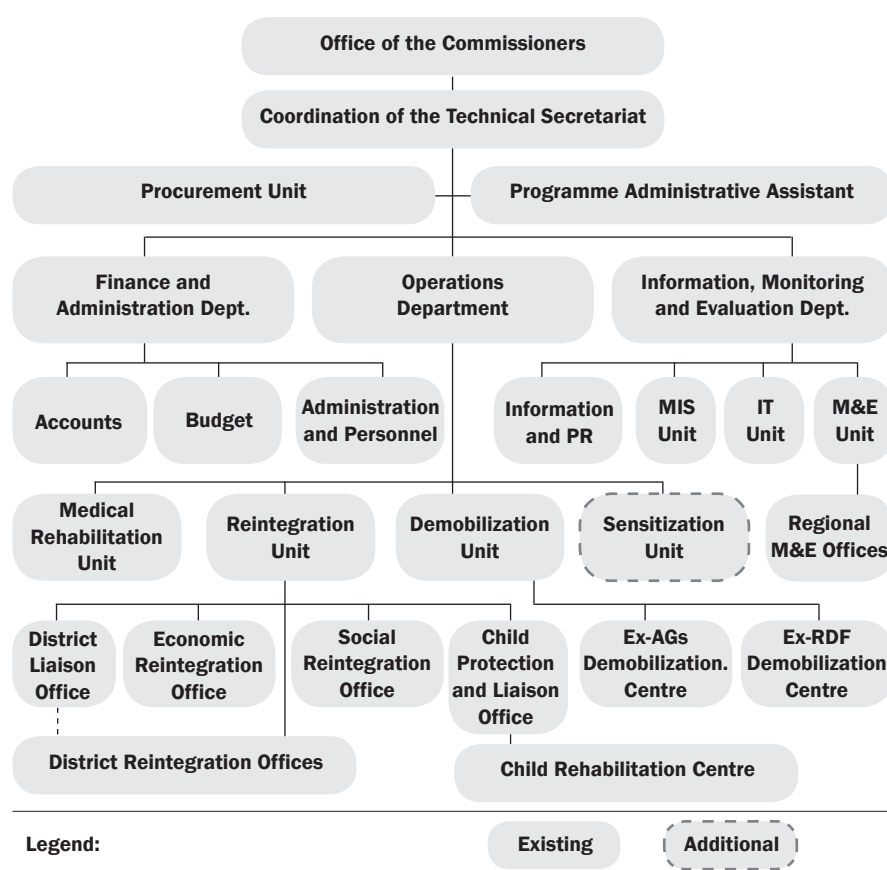
Type and Designation of DDR

DDR in Rwanda is overlooked by the Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Program, RDRP. It involves demobilization of armed opposition groups and security sector reform.³

Implementing bodies

MONUC is responsible for disarming combatants, ensuring their security, and transferring them to home countries where the MDRP helps them reintegrate into their national territories. Created in 1997, the RDRC is responsible for counselling the national government, identifying problems related to social reintegration, and giving guidance to the Technical Secretariat. The Technical Secretariat is responsible for program implementation, calculating annual programming costs, coordinating program phases, administering resources, and managing control and evaluation. The national office assists 12 provinces with reinsertion and reintegration, done by Community Development Committees. The DR Congo and Rwanda created joint strategies of information exchange and sensitization, in response to the presence of Rwandan armed groups in the DR Congo.

Graph 01. RDRC



Source: RDRC

The RDRC and its partners established a Technical Coordinating Committee whose goal it is to coordinate all agencies nationally and internationally. Members of the committee include the International Committee of the Red Cross, MONUC, UNICEF, the World Food Programme, the UNDP, and the Rwandan Ministries of Health, Local Administration, Youth, Finance and the Economy, and Defence. Other participants include NGOs and donors, the UK Department for International Development, German Technical Cooperation, the World Bank, and the embassies of the Netherlands, Japan, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, and France.⁴

¹ All Africa, January 14, 2007.

² The New Times, March 19, 2008.

³ RDRC, <<http://www.rdrc.org>>

⁴ RDRD, op. cit.

Given the variety of national demobilization and reintegration initiatives in the Great Lakes region, World Bank MDRP began work in Rwanda, after consultations with local governments, donors, and UN agencies. The aim of the MDRP was to centralize programming nationally and advise the Rwandan government on program implementation. UN agencies such as UNICEF, and various international NGOs, focussed their efforts on reintegrating child soldiers. It is important to note that no specific UN peacekeeping force exists in Rwanda, though MONUC plays a major role in the region. MONUC developed a series of methods to improve information sharing on the situation in Rwanda between combatants in the DR Congo and their families, with an end to returning the combatants to their home countries.⁵

Guiding Principles

DDR work in Rwanda focuses on

- demobilizing approximately 36,000 ex-combatants, 20,000 from the old Armed Forces and 16,000 from armed groups, with support for reintegration into civilian life;
- reinserting ex-FAR members and reducing government military spending by redirecting funds to social and economic projects;
- reintegrating ex-combatants demobilized in a previous phase into social and economic life, in compliance with the Arusha Agreement, bringing the total number of reintegrated ex-combatants to 57,000;
- providing consistent support for ex-combatants, assisting communities with reintegration, and promoting confidence measures in government; and
- ensuring social security and pensions for ex-combatants not given RDRC assistance.⁶

Participants

36,000 ex-combatants were expected to demobilize, 20,000 members of the old Armed Forces and 16,000 former members of armed groups. In the first phase of demobilization and repatriation, 47,400 and 57,000 ex-combatants were targeted for reinsertion and

reintegration respectively. In the second phase, 20,000 members of the Rwanda Patriotic Army (RPA) were scheduled for demobilization, in addition to 6,500 in the first phase (in total, 35 percent of all demobilized persons), 16,000 of a total 30,000 members of armed groups (the remaining 5,000 will be incorporated into the Armed Forces and will not receive reintegration money), and 15,000 former members of the Armed Forces resident in Rwanda.⁷

There were estimated 21,000-23,000 ex-FDLR combatants in the DR Congo. 13,000 have repatriated and 8,000-10,000 remain to be so. It is not clear whether all these combatants are Rwandan nationals.⁸

Eligibility Criteria

A member of a Rwandan armed group must show proof of⁹

- Rwandan nationality,
 - status as a combatant,
 - affiliation to an armed group;
- military experience combating the APR in the DR Congo or Rwanda; or
- military ability (e.g., the ability to use a gun).

Budget

According to the MDRP, the total budget for the second phase of demobilization and repatriation was \$67.6 million. Though the second phase focussed on a new group of 45,000, another 21,650 individuals will receive part of a \$7 million reinsertion and reintegration project.¹⁰

Table 01.

Donor	Million \$	%
World Bank (International Development Association)	32.7	48.3
MDTF	14.4	21.3
United Kingdom, DFID	8.8	13.1
Germany, GTZ	8.6	12.7
Government of Rwanda	2.7	4.0
African Union	0.3	0.4
TOTAL	67.6	100

Source: MDRP, *Rwanda Fact Sheet*.

Schedule

The first phase of DDR began in September 1997 and ended in February 2001, operating for a total 42 months. The second phase began in December 2001 and was scheduled to conclude in December 2008, according to the World Bank.¹¹ It is important to note that the MONUC repatriation program in the DR Congo remains active.

Stages

Demobilization

Key demobilization activities include transferring identity documents, gathering socioeconomic data, and creating a database of program recipients. Grouping ex-combatants is a good way to facilitate education on hygiene and HIV/AIDS, an opportunity to disseminate information on programming benefits and civilian life, and a way to organize transportation from camps to host communities for reinsertion.

Demobilization of the 20,000 ex-Armed Forces combatants is scheduled to occur in four phases, one phase per 5,000 combatants over an 18-month period, with no single combatant remaining in a phase for more than 15 days. Demobilization for returning Rwandan combatants is scheduled to occur after combatants abroad are repatriated. Returning Rwandans and members of armed groups in Rwanda requires additional counselling for reconciliation. Combatants will be allotted 45 days for demobilization.

Sensitization has centred on aspects of the national economy, unity and reconciliation, economic opportunities in integration, and counselling on a voluntary

⁵ MDRP, *Technical Annex*, p. 13.

⁶ MDRP, op. cit.

⁷ RDRD, op. cit.

⁸ MDRP, op. cit.

⁹ RDRD, op. cit.

¹⁰ RDRD, op. cit.

¹¹ MDRP, *The Demobilization and Reintegration Program*.

basis. Each armed group receives this sensitization prior to discharge.¹²

Reinsertion

Reinsertion is a transitional period for ex-combatants, for which the necessities of families of ex-combatants must be provided. The main goal of reinsertion is to return ex-combatants to communities and find sustainable means for them to support their families for a limited time.

Ex-combatants receive a kit of necessities including food for three months and basic survival items worth \$110. They also receive counselling and a national identity card. Individuals demobilized in the first phase are currently being given consideration for services.

Working towards equity in Rwanda, like in other countries, has meant providing, for an unspecified number of women, specialized economic attention to reintegrate women combatants, including women partners of male combatants and females in communities in counselling activities, and monitoring and controlling program impacts. Disabled combatants have been split into two groups, the chronically ill in need of special medical care and the disabled requiring economic and medical attention proportionate to need. Attending to disabled individuals involves medical rehabilitation and treatment for chronic illness.¹³

Reintegration

The main work of reintegration involves paying ex-combatants sums comparable to what they earned before taking up arms, assisting ex-combatants with reintegration proportionate to their degree of vulnerability, providing choice in electing communities for reintegration, minimizing market irregularities, and finding ways for host communities to participate in the reintegration process. Ex-APR members receive an allowance of \$220 six months after demobilization, with special attention paid to vulnerable persons. The work of social reintegration involves offering counselling, financial aid, job training, formal and informal education, and advocacy. Reintegration, like other approaches to DDR in Rwanda, is split into two phases:

- *Economic reintegration*: creating sustainable living conditions for a set period in order to avoid dependency. Long-term employment creation is connected closely to the private sector because ex-combatants serve as important resources for and contributors to the civilian economy. Specifically, economic reintegration involves counselling, financial support, and formal and informal education.

- *Social reintegration*: supporting family networks and creating informal networks of ex-combatants (discussion groups, associations, etc.) which can assist with reintegration. Another goal is to prevent the stigmatization that sometimes incurs from having been a combatant.¹⁴

Evolution

The second phase of demobilization and reintegration focussed on two key principles. The first was a goal to repatriate combatants in the DR Congo. Demobilization in the DR Congo involves returning combatants to their home countries so they can be reintegrated there. The Government of the DR Congo has, since October 2003, however, rejected MONUC efforts to repatriate combatants on a voluntary basis, and has demanded regional groups to drive out the FDLR. Interhamwe leader Paul Rwarakabije returned to Rwanda in late November 2003.

The second principle involved programming in Rwanda itself. After a good start to DDR in early March 2003, the Rwandan government requested assistance for demobilization and reintegration from NGOs and public and private institutions because it deemed Community Development Committees insufficiently competent. The government put emphasis on the demobilization of child soldiers, with funding from the ILO, Save the Children, and UNICEF. From November to December 2005, the MDRP organized three repatriations efforts in the DR Congo. Around 300 ex-combatants demobilized and returned with their dependents to Rwanda.

FDLR leaders remaining in the DR Congo, nevertheless, were accused of issuing threats against combatants intending to demobilize, raising doubts about the entire demobilization program. In an effort to stabilize the region and resolve mutual challenges, Rwanda, the DR Congo, and Uganda committed, in August 2004, to disarming militias operating in their territories over a period of one year, with assistance from the African Union. As part of the initiative, Rwanda destroyed 6,000 small arms in late 2004. Regrettably, though, this effort has progressed slowly and with low numbers of participants. A first group of just 24 FDLR combatants and 46 civilians repatriated in Rwanda on October 13, 2005.¹⁵

In May 2006, the UN Secretary-General asked for details on incentives offered to the FDLR. In response, MONUC set up six temporary camps, three in North

12 RDRC, op. cit.

13 RDRC, op. cit.

14 RDRC, op. cit.

15 IRIN, May 14, 2004

Kivu and three in South Kivu, with a capacity for each camp of approximately 400 persons. Participants were encamped for 48 hours. Camps were managed by MONUC, which provided all manner of humanitarian assistance, communicated data to the Mixed Commission, and coordinated the RDRC.

While APR child soldiers were demobilized in the first phase of demobilization, around 2,500 youth remained in armed groups. Demobilization and reintegration of the youth conducted in a separate camp involved reunifying them with family, attending to trauma and psychosocial injuries, and giving them access to education and recreation in host communities. Save the Children UK, UNICEF, the Ministry of Gender and Promotion of the Family, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and World Bank MDRP worked with MONUC.

The organizations assisted at an orientation centre where the child soldiers received medical attention and basic training for two or three months, before they were reunited with their families. Rwandan government social workers, working with the Red Cross, located families and distributed orphans to youth centres. Thus far, 624 child soldiers have been demobilized, and of these 534 have reunited with family.

The RDRC, meanwhile, demobilized 372 female ex-combatants. The Ndabaga Association, which advocates for the rights of highly vulnerable groups, is working currently with these women. As for disabled ex-combatants, 8,094 have been taken in.

Regionally, a slow disarmament of Rwandan ex-combatants in east DR Congo raised concerns. The issue concerned the low percentage of repatriated members of armed groups relative to the large-scale repatriation planned. Demobilization of ex-RDF, meanwhile, ran successfully.

Though Ugandan and Burundian armed groups have left the DR Congo largely voluntarily after the signing of peace agreements, remaining to be demobilized are 7,000-8,000 combatants belonging to the FDLR (three quarters in North and one

quarter in South Kivu) and an unknown quantity of combatants repatriated by means of their own. In 2008, MONUC said 6,000 Rwandan ex-combatants had effectively repatriated since 2002.

The MDRP concluded its work in late 2008, saying it had demobilized 29,456 ex-combatants (81.8 percent of the expected figure) and had reintegrated 40,843 (81.6 percent). The MDRP also said it repatriated 6,784 members of the FDLR operating in the DR Congo. Nevertheless, the worsening security situation in the DR Congo slowed the process.

In an evaluation of the reintegration process, the MDRP said ex-combatant and community trust and mutual acceptance improved because communities no longer perceived ex-combatants as threats to local security.

Most ex-combatants used reintegration subsidies to create income-generating work. A weakness was a need to increase awareness of environmental protection by ex-combatants, communities, and leaders. Regarding child soldiers, it was stated that children, as a group, were not homogenous and that greater support was required for education and training. Family reintegration was satisfactory, but psychosocial care and community reintegration need improvement through training. In terms of gender, it was argued more training, health care, and a specific budget were needed.¹⁶

In October 2008, the Congolese Armed Forces ordered FDLR combatants to demobilize as part of a Nairobi process and a treaty signed in November 2007 to disarm and repatriate 6,000 Rwandan combatants. The Congolese Armed Forces said they would intervene in east Rwanda if the FDLR did not abide by the order. Simultaneously, MONUC launched activities to sensitize residents of North and South Kivu to the process of DDRRR, or disarmament, demobilization, repatriation, reintegration, and resettlement. In November 2008,

the UN Special Envoy to the Great Lakes and advisor to Rwandan President Joseph Mutaboba said it was possible demobilized Rwandan soldiers were fighting again in east DR Congo and that their capture was the responsibility of the DR Congo. Rwanda denied Congolese accusations it was supporting rebel leader Laurent Nkunda, and though Rwanda could not show it, it accepted the possibility some Rwandan ex-combatants had joined Nkunda's militias. Rwanda warned the Rwandan Armed Forces would respond forcefully to interference on its territory by the Hutu FDLR or its Congolese allies.

¹⁶ MDRP, op. cit.

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Glossary

APR: Armée Patriotique Rwandaise

DFID: UK Department for International Development

FDLR: Forces Democratiques pour la Liberation du Rwanda

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GTZ: German Cooperation Agency

ICRC: International Committee of the Red Cross

IDP: Internal Displaced Person

JRPU: Joint Reintegration Programming Unit

MDRP: Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program

MONUC: UN Mission in DR Congo

RDF: Forces Rwandaises de Défense

RDRC: Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission

RDRP: Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Program

UNDP: United Nations Development Program

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for the Refugees

WB : World Bank

WFP: World Food Program

Sudán

(IDDRP/DDRP, 2006 – 2012)

Context

Peace Process and Conflict

In 2005, the SPLA armed group and the Sudanese government signed a comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) which brought an end to a 20-year armed conflict that had pitted the north of the country against the south. A lack of detail in several parts of the agreement has made any progress in the peace process difficult. In addition, the end of the conflict on a national level led to the resurgence of resentments and disagreements between the various ethnic groups and clans who have to co-exist and compete for the scant resources in the north of the country. The opposing stances of the elites in Khartoum and the Upper Nile states, which control all of Sudan's economic wealth, and the remaining states that make up the country are at the heart of the tension threatening peace in Sudan.¹

International Intervention

In June 2004, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1547 to establish UNMIS, the UN Mission in Sudan, with support from the government of Sudan and under the coordinated responsibility of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the Department of Political Affairs (DPA). The mission is a classic multidimensional peacekeeping operation. Its mandate includes the promotion of good will amongst parties, supervision of the ceasefire between Northern and Southern Sudan, supervision of withdrawal of armed groups, DDR, reorganisation of the police, observation of the human rights situation, promotion of the rule of law, facilitation of the return of displaced individuals, and preparation for elections and a referendum. The mission's principle difficulty arise from having to work with a strong centralised government and an emergent alternative government in the south, with neither wanting the United Nations to interfere in the management of relations between them.²

Other Disarmament Initiatives

Since 2007, a number of Community Security and Arms Reduction Control (CSAC) projects have operated in Southern Sudan, and in 2007, 2,406 arms were collected and destroyed. Both the Governments of Southern and Northern Sudan, and the UN, see the projects as instrumental to strengthening DDR and include them in the DDR annual plan under the "operations sector." The UN also works in the area of demining.

Summary

Type of DDR	Simultaneous disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to the integration of armed groups and the reestablishment of the armed forces
Groups to demobilize	Over 180,000 ex-combatants and persons associated to armed groups
Implementing bodies	NCDDR, NSDDRC, SSDDRC, UN Integrated DDR Unit
Budget	Over \$600 million
Timeline	DDRP: January 2009 to June 2012 (42 months)
Status / synopsis	Demobilization phase started after 3 years' preparation

Basic facts

Population: 39,445,000

Food emergencies: Yes

IDPs: 6,000,000

Refugee population: 523,032

GDP: \$47,632,433,152

Per capita income: \$1,880

HDI: 0.526 (146th)

Military expenditure: -

Military population: 109,000 (armed forces); 17,500 (paramilitaries)

Arms embargo: EU since March 1994; UN (Darfur only) since July 2004

¹ Extracted from School for a Culture of Peace, *Alert 2008!*, p. 53. This report draws extensively on the following sources, from which only direct quotations will be cited: Assessment and Evaluation Commission, *Factual Report on the Status of CPA Implementation, 2007*; UN Sudan, *UN and Partners 2008 Work Plan for Sudan (vols. I and II) and UN and Partners 2007 Work Plan for Sudan. Mid-Year Review*; Republic of Sudan and UNDP, *Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration Programme*; and Small Arms Survey, *Allies and Defectors*.
² Adapted from School for a Culture of Peace, *Sudán (Sur)*.

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Program Design

Type and Designation of DDR

DDR in Sudan involves bilateral disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration, occurring jointly with an integration of organizationally fragmented armed groups and a reconstitution of the Armed Forces.

The peace agreement refers to DDRR (disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, and reconciliation). The interim 2005-09 DDRR project was known as IDDRP, while the 2009-12 project uses the acronym DDRP (DDR Program). ESPA (Eastern Sudan Peace Agreement) DDR and DDR in Darfur are separate programs.

Implementing Bodies

According to DDRP, The primary responsibility for the positive outcome of the DDR process rests with national and local actors who are ultimately accountable for the peace, security and development of Sudan. In this context, the DDR process will be nationally owned and led, with the reintegration component of the DDR programme following the UNDP finance and procurement rules.³

The National Council on DDR Coordination Council (NCDDRC) was created under a presidential decree to fulfil requirements outlined in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). The functions of the council include formulating policies, supervising, coordinating, and evaluating DDR work. There are two commissions in addition to the NCDDRC: the North Sudan and South Sudan DDR Commissions (NSDDRC and SSDDRC). Their functions are to design, implement, and manage DDR at the regional level in conformity with national-level policies. Twenty state offices also operate as centres for coordination and implementation of reintegration (the reception, counselling, and referral of ex-combatants).

The CPA and Resolution 1590 established the UN as responsible for assisting with DDR design and implementation. The UN, more specifically, provides technical assistance and training, and coordinates the commissions. The Integrated UN DDR Unit (IUNDDRU)

consists of UNMIS, the UNDP, UNICEF, the World Food Programme, UNFPA, and UNIFEM. UN partners include the Government of Southern Sudan, NSDDRC and SSDDRC, the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Youth-Sport and Guidance, the ILO, IOM, the Southern Sudan HIV/AIDS Commission (SSAC), Save the Children, Sudan Education Network and Development (SENAD), CARE, PACT, and Islamic Relief Worldwide (IRW).

Disarmament is managed by the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). Reinsertion is done by UNMIS, the World Food Programme, and "other agencies."

During the registration process, the SSDDRC praised the cooperation offered by other commissions, including the War Veterans Commission, Demining Commission, and War Disabled, Widows and Orphans Commission.

Guiding Principles

DDRP aims to contribute to Northern Sudan's Strategic Five Year Plan and South Sudan's Three Year Strategic Plan for Recovery and Development. The guiding principles of DDRP are to

- assure national ownership and leadership;
- develop national capacity;
- balance equity, access to assistance, and security;
- link with wider recovery;
- target assistance;
- promote transparency and accountability;
- promote gender equality;
- support special needs groups;
- do no harm;
- encourage information management and proactive communication;
- achieve flexibility; and
- forge partnerships and coordination mechanisms.

The aims of the UN are to "strengthen security by disarming, demobilizing, and reintegrating combatants identified in the CPA, Darfur Peace Agreement, and ESPA... contributing to peace and security in communities, and developing the competencies of the DDR Commissions and national NGOs and institutions."⁴

Participants

The UN hopes to demobilize 79,000 ex-combatants. DDRP targets 180,000 ex-combatants and "associated members" (90,000 SAF and 90,000 SPLA). Sources, including the UN news service, caused confusion when they referred to the 180,000 ex-combatants to demobilize as "soldiers," "ex-combatants," and "adult ex-combatants."

Special Needs Groups

Among its priorities, DDRP includes reintegration for special needs groups. Special needs groups include youth, women non-combatants, disabled persons, and elderly persons connected to armed groups.

It is estimated that there are "thousands" of youth in armed groups. The UN says there are approximately 3,000 in the SPLA, SAF, Eastern Front, and Darfur, who will be incorporated into reintegration programming.

3 Republic of Sudan and UNDP, op. cit., p. 2.

3 UN Sudan, *UN and Partners 2008 Work Plan for Sudan. Volume I*, p. 39.

Budget and Financing

The UN budget for Sudan in 2006-08 was as much as \$129 million. The funds were used to support 11 projects. The 2008 Work Plan for Sudan divided funding into the following areas: "humanitarian" (\$700,000), "early recovery" (\$16 million), and "recovery and development" (\$113 million).

Table 01. Budget, by year

	HA	ER	RD
2006	0 %	0 %	100 %
2007	0 %	0 %	100 %
2008	1 %	12 %	87 %

Source: UN Sudan, UN and Partners 2008 Work Plan for Sudan. Volume I, p. 39.

Table 02. Budget, by region

Region:	Amount
National programs	99,990,279
Abyei	950,000
Blue Nile	2,644,000
Darfur	3,000,000
Eastern States	9,206,280
Khartoum and the north	1,425,202
Southern Kordufan	3,318,000
Southern Sudan	8,911,533

Source: UN Sudan, UN and Partners 2008 Work Plan for Sudan. Volume II.

The Government of National Unity (GNU) operates a budget of \$55 million to run and maintain the Joint Integrated Unit (JIU).

DDRP is responsible for a budget of \$430 million for the 2008-11 period. The Governments of Northern and Southern Sudan each contribute \$22.5 million through reintegration subsidy payments to individuals, amounting to \$250 per combatant. The rest of the budget is made up by the UN.

Schedule

The CPA outlined a schedule for Sudan which began with a start date called "D-Day." The schedule stipulated half a year for preparations, a year for the Interim DDR Program, and three years, split into four phases, for DDR proper. Though aiming to launch in July 2005, the program did not begin until late 2005.

Table 03. Estimated expenditures (millions \$)

	2009	2010	2011	January - June 2012	Total
Reintegration packages	165	114	67	4	350
Other (management, information, monitoring, etc.)	31	25	20	4	80
Total	196	139	87	8	430

Source: Republic of Sudan and UNDP, *Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration Programme*, p. 36.

IDDRP, or Phase I, began in January 2006. It is set to conclude in June 2009. The final schedule for DDRP (January 2009 - June 2012, 42 months) does not include fixed dates for phases, however the following are the numbers of persons expected to be assisted each year:

2009	51,530
2010	40,000
2011	46,730
2012	41,710

Demobilization began officially on February 10, 2009 and the first ex-combatants were reintegrated on March 24, 2009.

Phases

Disarmament

Disarmament, managed by the SAF and SPLA, is unspecified in DDRP. Working weapons are held by the SAF and SPLA. UNMIS helps destroy poor-quality weapons and ammunition.

Members of the South Sudan Defence Forces (SSDF) not incorporated into the SAF or SPLA, were disarmed and demobilized rashly and without participation from the commissions. Planning for reintegration was not done.

Demobilization and Reinsertion

DDRP included reinsertion as part of demobilization. Demobilization, more properly, includes verification, sensitization, a medical check (to determine disability and preferences for reintegration), information on HIV/AIDS, and counselling on access to reintegration aid. In Phase I, 58,800 combatants linked to the CPA and 1,500 combatants linked to the ESPA were identified.

In 2007, pre-registration of adult ex-combatants and associated women suffered from a scarcity of information on eligible groups. Registration began in the south once it ended in the north, in mid-2007. The SAF registered 25,000 adults. By September 2007, 13,209 had registered. At this time, the SPLA was estimated to have 170,000 troops, after 31,000 combatants were integrated in June and only youth were demobilized. In the end, approximately 50,000 SAF and SPLA combatants were pre-registered.

In February 2009, demobilization officially began with a ceremony in Ed Damazin, State of Blue Nile and the registration of 15 combatants. Six months later, 1,300 had demobilized in Blue Nile.

Reinsertion kits included food and other goods, while stopgap projects gave some cash to ex-combatants once they had entered the reintegration process. IRIN says \$400 was given in a single payment, in addition to food rations for a family of five to support itself for 10 weeks, a mosquito net, radio, and other objects.⁵ UNICEF demobilized some 1,300 youth in late 2008. UNMIS, however, said there were difficulties in truly demobilizing these youth because in many instances they returned to the SPLA even after reuniting with family. Youth tend to return to the SPLA, says UNMIS, because the SPLA offers them incentives of salaries and schooling.

⁵ IRIN, "Preparing for massive demobilisation".

Civilian Reintegration

DDRP outlines five action areas for reintegration:

1. Economic Reintegration

Economic reintegration consists of five Reintegration Assistance Packages.

Each includes psychosocial assistance and literacy education, if necessary.

- Agriculture and Animal Husbandry: training, equipment and seeds, plus the promotion of cooperatives and exchanges with specialized agencies. The FAO and other unidentified partners participate.
- Vocational skills training, apprenticeships, and job placement. Training and apprenticeships in construction, automobile mechanics, textile, etc., with salaries and toolboxes. Job placement, mainly in the construction sector (infrastructure rebuilding). Cooperation from government institutions (public works and schools), NGOs, and the private sector.
- Job referral and placement support in the public and private sectors based on certifications, predominantly in construction and transportation. Cooperation from agencies and institutions that issue the certifications.
- Small business start-up training and support. Business training, market studies, and loans or subsidies. Participation from NGOs.
- Formal education (primary, secondary, higher, polytechnic, and computer), including enrolment and school materials and stipends, in association with educational institutions.

2. Social and Political Reintegration

Social and political reintegration focuses on ex-combatant representation and participation in communities, and the promotion of social dialogue. Related programs linked to the UN include the MDG Youth Employment Fund, Conflict Prevention and Peace Building Fund, and Community Security and Arms Control.

3. Psychosocial Reintegration

Psychosocial reintegration involves mental health, the community impact of DDR, reconciliation (using traditional and non-traditional methods), and civic education, with special attention given to disabled ex-combatants, women associated with armed groups, and victims of sexual or gender violence.

4. Capacity Development

Capacity development involves strengthening government institutions, especially at the local level. Activities are provisional because their final management depends on local authorities.

5. Sensitization and Public Information

Sensitization involves informing ex-combatants, associated groups, and the community about programming for them.

Reintegration of the first group of demobilized combatants in Blue Nile (a dozen men and four women) began on March 24, 2009, with reception of the combatants in an Individual Counselling and Referral Service, or ICRS.

Integration of Armed Groups

The CPA states that “no armed groups allied to either party shall be allowed to operate outside of the two forces”⁶ and requires other armed groups (OAGs) which are not signatories to the agreement to incorporate within the SAF or SPLA before March 9, 2006, which was later extended for “special cases.” The incorporation of OAGs involves relocation to Northern Sudan (the SAF) or Southern Sudan (SPLA), or incorporating provisionally in the JIU.

Most SSDR were incorporated into the SPLA after January 2006 and the Juba Declaration, though some took longer and were not incorporated until early 2007. Others remained in the SAF. Unincorporated combatants and small groups remain active in Southern Sudan. By March 2007, 47,440 SSDF had integrated into the SPLA and 10,400 in the SAF. Later, SSDF leaders established a political party called the South Sudan Democratic Front.

Small Arms Survey gives six reasons for difficulties experienced in Southern Sudan in integrating OAGs:

- the SPLA does not have the resources needed to integrate “tens of thousands” of new members;
- the designation of ranks and promotions of new members has caused internal difficulties;

- many enlisted individuals have refused to leave their home communities;
- jealousies between old and new SPLA members have hampered cooperation;
- new members not given positions of responsibility or granted higher status feel frustrated about the new context; and
- a lack of trust in real civilian reintegration opportunities has generated a “fear of DDR.”

Small Arms Survey says it suspects official claims, which say that in mid-2007 OAGs linked to the SAF incorporated and demobilized. It says “demobilized” SAF troops previously belonging to the SSDF could have recreated militias in the south under SAF control. Small Arms Survey estimates there are some 4,000 SSDF and 6,000 OAGs aligned with the SAF and SPLA.

In “Transitional Areas,” the situation is even more delicate with “tribal” armed groups determining the balance of power through alliances with the SAF and SPLA.

Small Arms Survey concludes the majority of ex-OAGs are “only marginally integrated.”⁷

Although the original deadline for withdrawal of the SAF and SPLA, integration of OAGs, and creation of JIUs was July 2007, these processes have yet to conclude. The SAF, SPLA, and Ceasefire Joint Military Committee disagree on the numbers of withdrawn or demobilized troops, deadlines, and procedures for continuing in the future.

Joint Integrated Units

JIUs are mixed military units composed of members of the SAF and SPLA, who operate in Southern Sudan. They form a nucleus for the future national Armed Forces, if Sudan can hold together as a unified country. Advances in the composition of JIUs have been slow. Of 39,000 individuals designated for JIUs in August 2007, 82.5 percent were to come from the SAF and 77.7 percent from the SPLA.

6 Comprehensive Peace Agreement, Ch. 6, Annex I, §11.3.

7 Small Arms Survey, op. cit., p. 6.

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Glossary

- CJMC: Ceasefire Joint Military Committee
- CPA: Comprehensive Peace Agreement
- CSAC: Community Security and Arms Reduction and Control
- DPA: Darfur Peace Agreement
- ESPA: Eastern Sudan Peace Agreement
- GNU: Government of National Unity
- IDDRP: Interim DDR Programme
- JIU: Joint Integrated Unit
- NDDRCC: National DDR Coordination Council
- NSDDRC: Northern Sudan DDR Commission
- UNMIS: United Nations Mission in the Sudan
- OAG: Other Armed Groups
- SAF: Sudanese Armed Forces
- SENAD: Sudan Education Network and Development
- SSAC: Southern Sudan HIV/AIDS Commission
- SSDDRC: Southern Sudan DDR Commission
- SLM/A: Sudan Liberation Movement/Army
- SPLM/A: Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army
- SSDF: South Sudan Defence Forces, in 2007 became a political party, the South Sudan Democratic Front

Uganda

(Amnesty Act, 2000-2008)

Context

Conflict

Since 1986, the north of Uganda has been afflicted by an armed conflict in which the LRA armed opposition group, motivated by the religious messianism of its leader, Joseph Kony, has tried to overthrow the government of Yoweri Museveni and install a regime based on the Ten Biblical Commandments. The violence and lack of security caused by the LRA's attacks on the civilian population, the abduction of children to swell its ranks (around 25,000 since the conflict began) and confrontations between the armed group and Ugandan armed forces (together with pro-government militias) has left around 200,000 people dead, with some two million forcibly displaced at the height of the conflict. The LRA extended its activities into southern Sudan, a country that had offered it support, though in 2002 it allowed Ugandan armed forces to enter its territory to pursue the armed group. A peace process has been underway since 2006 and a cessation of hostilities has now been established.¹

Transitional Justice

DDR in Uganda revolves around the Amnesty Act. Judicially, amnesty is immediate and complete for rank-and-file combatants. According to a Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program (MDRP) survey, 99 percent of "reporters" said the conditions of the amnesty "fully met their expectations."² The amnesty has yet to be approved by parliament, upon the request of the Ministry of the Interior or Amnesty Commission (AC), for leaders of armed groups. The Amnesty Act, meanwhile, conflicts with the activities of the International Criminal Court (ICC). While the law is understood to be a more formal version of a previous "unofficial amnesty"³ (and reflects an apparently little problematic process of reconciliation), the ICC said in 2005 that it intended to try Joseph Kony, leader of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and its chief commander, accused of committing 33 war crimes and crimes against humanity.

The Amnesty Act, approved in 2000, includes two amendments. The first, incorporated in 2002, stipulated that reporters could receive an amnesty only once. The second amendment, added in 2006, extended the term of the amnesty to 2008.

Other Disarmament Initiatives

In August 2006, the Ugandan government and LRA reached an agreement in Juba, Southern Sudan. The agreement settled a cessation of hostilities between the parties and mandated the LRA to regroup in Southern Sudan, before finally signing a peace agreement to commence DDR.

Background to DDR

DDR in Uganda involved reducing National Resistance Army (NRA) troop levels by 37,000, from a total 90,000, from 1992 to 1996. A variety of lessons learned taken from the process of demilitarization served to facilitate design of similar programs in the region.⁴

Summary

Type of DDR	Disarmament, demobilization, and reinsertion programme targeting several armed opposition groups with large numbers of women combatants and child soldiers.
Groups to demobilize	22,000 members of several militias
Implementing bodies	JMCC.
Budget	Around \$50 million.
Timeline	Cantonment from the start of January 2007. Verification from August to December 2007.
Status / synopsis	Process of reintegration pending political decisions by a Constitutional Assembly, once it is established.

Basic facts

Population: 28,757,000

Food emergencies: Yes

IDPs: 60,000

GDP: \$10,207,169,536

Per capita income: \$1,040

HDI: 0.530 (145°)

Military expenditure: \$158,000,000

Military population:

69,000 (armed forces);

62,000 (paramilitary)

Arms embargo: No

1 Extracted from School for a Culture of Peace, *Alert 2008!*, p. 28. This report draws extensively on the following sources, from which only direct quotations are cited: UN Inter-Agency Working Group on DDR, *Uganda*; Hovil and Lomo, *Whose Justice?*; MDRP, *Supporting Demobilization and Reintegration through Information and Sensitization Activities*; MDRP, *MDRP Fact Sheet: Uganda*; MDRP, *Monthly Statistical Progress Report*; and MDRP, *The Status of LRA Reporters*.

2 MDRP, *The Status of LRA Reporters*, pp. 2-3.

3 Hovil and Lomo, op. cit., p. 13.

4 Coletta, Kostner and Wiederhofer, *Case Studies in War-to-Peace Transition*.

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Program Design

Type and Designation of DDR

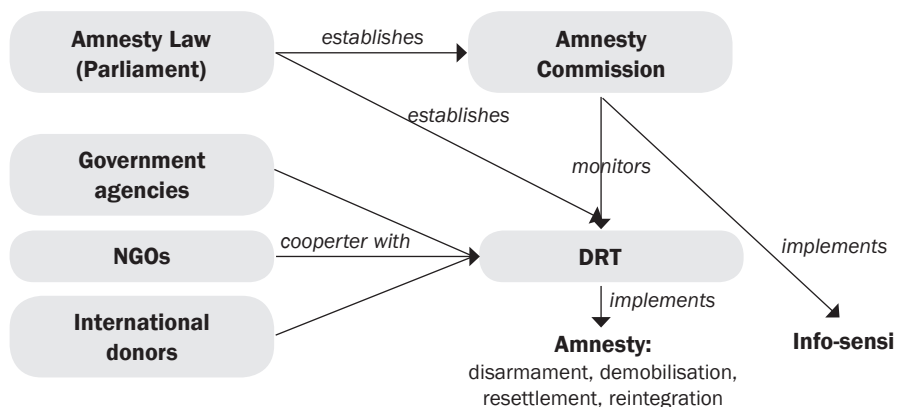
DDR in Uganda is premised on the Amnesty Act, or less commonly, the Program of Amnesty and Integration.

Multiple DDR targets armed groups containing high levels of child soldiers and women combatants, with repatriation for combatants active in other countries. The scope of DDR in Uganda is partial since it began prior to and in parallel with the peace process for the LRA and government.

The original MDRP reintegration component (2004-07) was called the Repatriation, Rehabilitation, Resettlement, and Reintegration of Reporters of Uganda Project, or the Amnesty Commission Special Project (ACSP). The current program, beginning in 2008, is called the Uganda Emergency Demobilization and Reintegration Project (EDRP).

It is debatable whether the Amnesty Act serves adequately as a substitute for a negotiated peace agreement and legal framework for authentic DDR. On the one hand, argue IDDRS, the Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards, there lacks “willingness on the part of the parties to the conflict to engage in DDR,” which is a prerequisite for DDR, together with a peace agreement.⁵ In most instances, armed groups have not agreed to participate in the disarmament and demobilization process, unlike small groups of individuals, who were given ad hoc guarantees on the impacts of the Amnesty Act on them. Instead of dealing with armed groups, the DDR process has focussed on fugitives, in a more or less orderly manner (see Phases). On the other hand, there were signs the Amnesty Act was “primarily a tactical device for ending conflict rather than [a device] based on a genuine desire to end conflict through peaceful means.”⁶ The original time period of the act, six months, renewed subsequently for seven years, exemplified the tactical nature of the Amnesty Act, as did frequently failed fulfillments of promises made to reporters.

Implementing Bodies



Source: based on Hovil and Lomo, *Whose Justice?*.

Approved by parliament, the Amnesty Act founded the AC and Demobilization and Resettlement Team (DRT).

The AC is composed of seven members designated by the president and approved by parliament. The commission is responsible for

- supervising demobilization, reintegration, and resettlement programs administered by the DRT;
- coordinating public sensitization; and
- studying and promoting reconciliatory mechanisms.

The other goals of the AC are to create a network of key actors in Uganda, including government institutions, national and international NGOs, and

international agencies. National NGOs include GUSCO (Gulu Support the Children Organisation), KICWA (Kitgum Concerned Women's Association), PRAFOD (Participatory Rural Action for Development), and Give Me a Chance. International NGOs include World Vision, the Catholic Relief Services, the International Rescue Committee, Caritas, the Save the Children Alliance, and Save the Children Denmark. International agencies include the UNDP, IOM, UNICEF, and the World Food Programme.

The DRT is composed of a maximum seven members appointed by the president and approved by the Parliamentary Committee on Defence and Internal Security. Directly supervised by the AC, the role of the DRT is to design and execute disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, and resettlement programs. The DRT operates regionally out of six offices and is supported by government agencies, NGOs (particularly World Vision and GUSCO), and community organizations such as religious missions.

The UNDP's *Action Plan 2006-2010* deals with areas coinciding with the AC's various work focuses. As part of *Action Plan 2006-2010*, Community Coordinator positions were established to serve as links between the different local offices of the AC. Under its program on human security and peace building, the UNDP supports LRA DDR and other activities involving small arms in Karamoja. The UNDP also participates in the community reintegration of ex-combatants and internally displaced persons and has introduced a gender dimension to programming in Uganda. The UNDP acts as an intermediary between the AC and DR Congo in repatriating ex-combatants and other displaced persons. Other participating UN agencies are UNICEF, which gives support for reintegrating child soldiers, and the World Food Programme, which supplies foodstuffs to reception centres.

The IOM has helped the AC since 2002 in identifying, documenting, and registering reporters located outside Uganda (in Sudan and Kenya), and in implementing repatriation.

⁵ UN Inter-Agency Working Group on DDR, *Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards*, § 2.10, p. 1.
⁶ Hovil and Lomo, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

NGOs involved in major work as partners in program execution are World Vision and GUSCO. Both NGOs assist the AC at reception centres and with psychosocial work. They also run vocational training courses.

Guiding Principles

The basic goals of the AC, according to the AC Handbook, are “to persuade reporters to take advantage of the amnesty and to encourage communities to reconcile with those who have committed the offences; and to consolidate the progress so far made in amnesty implementation and ensure that more insurgents respond to the amnesty and that the community is ready to receive them.”⁷

Participants

Though the Amnesty Act defined reporters broadly (see Eligibility Criteria), the Ministry of the Interior initially specified that 50,000 persons would be eligible for amnesty. The estimate was halved once it appeared the LRA was not prepared to demobilize en masse. The latest figure supplied by the government is 23,000 combatants, granted amnesty sometime between 2000 and 2008. The MDRP has said on different occasions that 16,256 individuals, demobilized through the ACSP since 2005, have been amnestied. The EDRP, in turn, has targeted its programming to 28,800 LRA, or “possibly” ADF (Allied Democratic Forces), in east DR Congo.

Special Needs Groups

UNDDR estimated the number of reporters to be 21,000 in 2006, which is consistent with the breakdown of demobilized ex-combatants by the MDRP, as outlined in the chart below.

Table 01. Demobilized combatants, by sex and age

	Men	Women*	Total
Adults	8,561	2,141	10,702 (66%)
Youth	3,776	1,778	5,554 (34%)
Total	12,337 (76%)	3,919 (24%)	16,256

Source: MDRP

*See detailed figures on aspects of gender in MDRP, *The Status of LRA Reporters*.

Youth have been kidnapped throughout the 19 years of the conflict in Uganda. UNICEF said the number of kidnapped youth may be as high as 25,000. Of these, 7,500 are likely female teenagers who have subsequently given birth to some 1,000 children.⁸

Eligibility Criteria

Amnesty, says the Amnesty Act, “is declared in respect of any Ugandan who has at any time since the 26th day of January, 1986 engaged in or is engaging in war or armed rebellion against the Government of the Republic of Uganda by a) actual participation in combat; b) collaborating with the perpetrators of the war or armed rebellion; c) committing any other crime in the furtherance of the war or armed rebellion; or d) assisting or aiding the conduct or prosecution of the war or armed rebellion.” Thus, the Amnesty Act targets both combatants and non-combatants such as collaborators, dependents, and kidnapped persons. The AC later said only children over 12 years of age could qualify for amnesty, since this is the age of majority in Uganda.⁹

Budget and Financing

Before 2004, the main financiers of the AC were the Ugandan government and various bilateral donors. Beginning in 2005, the World Bank became the chief financier.

The Amnesty Act states that all expenses incurred by the AC and DRT are to be covered by a Consolidated Fund. Apparently NUSAF, the Northern Uganda Social Action Fund, established in February 2003, contributed funds for reinsertion, until the AC was able to secure resources of its own. The government gave, through direct contributions, some \$1 million to fund local AC offices, while a number of countries provided assistance through predominantly the UNRF II process from 2002 to 2004. The countries included Belgium, Canada, Denmark, the United States, Ireland, Italy, Norway, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. In 2002-04, the IOM, USAID, UNICEF, and the EU contributed \$649,004. In 2003, UNDP aid amounted to \$300,000. Britain’s Department for International Development (DFID) gave funds and technical counselling to the AC from 2001 to 2005 and financed UNICEF and Save the Children in Uganda to support programs of economic and psychosocial reintegration for child soldiers. Britain was also a key backer of MDRP.

In 2004, having demobilized 14,000 combatants but overwhelmed by the number of applicants and lack of resources for managing them, the commission sought additional external financing and found it in the World Bank, which in May 2005, through the Multi-Donor Trust Fund, gave \$4.2 million for the ACSP over the 2005-07 period. The World Bank’s assistance, which rescued the AC from the dire financial situation it had experienced since 2004, was used mainly for LRA ex-combatants who still had not received any aid. The UNDP in 2005-06 paid out \$553,774. [UG061200_UNDDR] The later EDRP (2008-10) managed a budget of \$8.04 million, of which \$2.85 million was shored up in September 2008. The first phase of EDRP was financed by Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Britain, USAID, and the UNDP.

⁷ Quoted in Ibid., p. 7.

⁸ International Crisis Group, *A Strategy for Ending Northern Uganda’s Crisis*, p. 7b; see also, Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, “Uganda”.

⁹ Parliament of Uganda, *The Amnesty Act 2000*, § II.1.1; UN Inter-Agency Working Group on DDR, Uganda. *Country Programme*.

Table 02. Budget, by component

Component	Projected expenditures (US\$ million)
Demobilization	1.25
Repatriation	0.96
Reinsertion	2.49
Reintegration	1.27
Other	2.07
Total	8.04

Source: MDRP, *The Status of LRA Reporters*.

Table 03. Budget, by implementing body

Executing agency	Projected expenditures (US\$ million)
Amnesty Commission	5.03
Other partners	2.21
World Bank	0.8
Total	8,04

Source: MDRP, *The Status of LRA Reporters*.

Schedule

The Amnesty Act was approved on January 1, 2000 and ratified on January 17, 2000, but most reintegration activity did not start until the 2002-04 period. The Amnesty Act was extended first until May 2008 and later until May 25, 2010. The MDRP concluded the ACSP, initiated in 2004, in June 2007, but then in 2008 opened a new project, EDRP, and extended its term from July 2008 to June 2010.

Evolution

Communication and Sensitization

The AC ran intensive activities to inform combatants, ex-combatants, and civilians about programming. It made use of formal media outlets, such as the press and radio, and informal outlets, such as community workshops and meetings. The MDRP calculates that two thirds of reporters received information about the Amnesty Act by radio. Nevertheless, the AC said it faced three obstacles:

- the reluctance of LRA and ADF leaders to communicate Amnesty Act information to combatants;
- strained information dissemination in the north due to a lack of transportation and communication infrastructure; and
- pledges by the LRA and government not to spread propaganda, so that the AC has had to be very careful that its own information is not interpreted this way.

The World Bank said the EDRP aimed to tackle deficiencies in information and sensitization reaching both armed groups and host communities. The MDRP included dissemination of information to combatants and the population generally as one of its five main goals.

Disarmament and Demobilization

Disarmament was managed by the Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF), although reporters were not required to surrender a weapon to be accepted into the demobilization program, while the DRT managed demobilization. The UPDF received more than half of demobilized combatants, and an NGO a third, while 6 percent were captured and only 5 percent allowed to leave their groups freely. The MDRP says 99.8 percent of combatants it surveyed were kidnapped, the majority of them youth. For the majority of reporters, "leaving the LRA" meant "escaping" it. Reporters spent time in a reception centre managed by NGOs before returning to civilian life.¹⁰

Demobilization consisted of, (1) detention and interrogation in military quarters, (2) interrogation by the UPDF Child Protection Unit, and (3) rehabilitation in reception centres administered by NGOs.

Table 04. Amnestied reporters, by armed group

Group	Reporters	Percent
Lord's Resistance Army	12,119	55.6%
West Nile Bank Front	4,047	18.6%
Uganda National Rescue Front II	3,111	14.3%
Allied Democratic Forces	1,793	8.2%
NALU	194	0.9%
Uganda National Freedom Movement	159	0.7%
FOBA/NOM	98	> 0.5%
People's Redemption Army	45	"
Holy Spirit Movement	38	"
UPA	31	"
UPDA	30	"
UFDF	23	"
UNLF	22	"
Uganda Freedom Movement	19	"
Unspecified	13	"
Action Restore Peace	10	"
FUNA	6	"
National Democratic Alliance	5	"
NFA	4	"
Uganda Democratic Alliance/Front	4	"
FOBA/UPA	4	"
Uganda Salvation Army	2	"
UNDA	2	"
Uganda National Independence Liber	1	"
UNLA	1	"
CAMP	1	"
Anti-Dictatorship Forces	1	"
TOTAL	21,783	100.00%

Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs website, <<http://www.mia.go.ug>>.

¹⁰ MDRP, op. cit., p. 2.

In the first years of disarmament and demobilization, UPDF members, due to a lack of external supervision, committed a number of abuses against reporters, especially youth. Although the situation later improved, the UPDF was accused of using threats to recruit demobilized individuals into their ranks. A high frequency of “re-kidnapping” by the LRA has acted as an incentive for ex-combatants to voluntarily join the UPDF.¹¹

Once processed in reception centres, ex-combatants became the responsibility of NGOs under the supervision of the DRT. At reception centres the ex-combatants were identified, vocational information was gathered from them, and were given a medical check (in the early years a few received medical checks). An Amnesty Certificate and a basic assistance kit were provided as well (see Reinsertion and Reintegration). The MDRP says 85 percent of ex-combatants received psychosocial counselling. Most received reproductive education and education on HIV/AIDS.

The following is a group-by-group breakdown of the amnestied reporters (January 1, 2000 - December 31, 2006).

In late 2006, the MDRP said it had demobilized 16,133 combatants, 105 percent of the forecasted number. In 2007, after 60 persons were demobilized, the MDRP concluded the demobilization process in midyear, with a total 16,193 demobilized individuals. In August 2008, the AC said nearly 23,000 ex-combatants had been granted amnesty.

In early 2008, the Amnesty Act was extended until 2010 in anticipation of a signing of a peace agreement between the government and LRA, and demobilization and repatriation of the LRA. Though the negotiations failed, there have been some individual demobilizations of leaders and unit commanders, both LRA and ADF. After the military’s Operation Lightning Thunder against the LRA in late 2008, the AC said it was prepared to receive LRA combatants and was available to admit «stranded deserters» who appeared before the AC or at reception centres in the north and west. The AC attempted to calm the fears of reporters:

They should not fear...we shall resettle them because we recently got funds from the World Bank under the Uganda Emergency Demobilization and Resettlement Program.¹²

A second EDRP phase is planned for the mass demobilization of several armed groups.

In 2008, the army and police, together with humanitarian agencies, attempted to locate and seize weapons abandoned during the conflict in the north. By mid-2008, 175 submachine guns and numerous explosives and munitions had been collected.

Reinsertion and Reintegration

Upon leaving reception centres, ex-combatants received, as help for reinsertion:

- a basic personal assistance kit, including cooking utensils, a mattress, bed linen, flour, seeds, and fuel;
- cash equivalent to three months of salary of a police officer or teacher, around \$150;
- \$10.50 for medical expenses and \$10 for transportation expenses; and
- information and counselling on available reintegration options.

The MDRP reported that “more than 21,000” ex-combatants received AC support for reinsertion. The World Bank, meanwhile, said 14,816 demobilized individuals received assistance in cash (the goal is to reach 15,310), and 16,256 in kind. In August 2008, some of the 100 ex-ADF who surrendered in 2006 but had not received assistance, were given resettlement packages. The packages included \$165 cash, five kilograms of beans and corn, hoes, and various kitchen goods.

The International Crisis Group said that even with the resettlement packages, however, support was limited because it was distributed too late on the ground (two years after the promised date in some instances), and this discouraged other combatants from demobilizing. The Human Rights and Peace Centre raised concerns about ex-combatants remaining too long in IDP camps, though figures for this were not provided.¹³

DFID said “during the last 2-3 years, there has been virtually no credible reintegration.”¹⁴ This opinion is shared by the International Crisis Group, MDRP, and Hovil and Lomo. DFID reproved the AC for its internal quarrelling, blamed it for its limited scope of programming, and admonished the MDRP for “grave” delays. DFID said in July 2005 that 10,000-12,000 ex-combatants awaited reintegration programming. As for child soldiers, DFID was even more critical, pointing to the proliferation of agencies dedicated to reintegrating child soldiers but lacking capacity, material resources, and time.

The MDRP conducted a study in 2005 involving 2,000 reporters in order to determine their demographic, social, and economic characteristics. The study helped the AC plan, execute, and evaluate the reinsertion and reintegration programs. Economically, the level of reporter unemployment was as bad as for the general population in northern Uganda. Some 5 percent of reporters had work and more than 50 percent did not. The remainder were students, housekeepers, or infirm persons. More than half of male reporters and a third of women began programs of formal or vocational education. Among those employed, the MDRP found a marked tendency for women to have professional positions as teachers, healthcare workers, administrators, or employees of NGOs, while the men had work in the security sector and a third in the military or police force. In early 2005, for instance, 800 ex-LRA were recruited by the Armed Forces. The MDRP estimates that of the unemployed reporters, three quarters rely on family support for food, one quarter rely on NGOs, and a tenth receive government assistance. Generally, long-term economic reintegration initiatives have been few. In April 2005, the Ugandan government said “thousands” of LRA ex-combatants received free, cultivable land in the district of Gulu. Hovil and Lomo, meanwhile, cite the UPDF practice of absorbing “some” reporters into the army. A few ex-combatants work in Community Focal Points.

The MDRP and HURIPAC, the Human Rights and Peace Centre, say ex-combatant social integration

11 Hovil and Lomo, op. cit., p. 11; Human Rights & Peace Centre, *The Hidden War*, p. 107

12 Ariko, “Former ADF chief seeks amnesty”.

13 International Crisis Group, op. cit.; Human Rights & Peace Centre, op. cit.

14 Ginifer, *International Review of Dfid's Engagement with the Conflict in Northern Uganda*, p. 17.

in home communities has been good generally, though perhaps not as positive for women reporters. Nearly half of ex-combatants resettled in rural contexts that were similar to their places of origin before the conflict. A third took refuge in displacement camps while a fifth migrated to urban centres. Most remained in northern Uganda. The MDRP drew attention to the disparity between relatively good social integration and deficient economic integration, using data consistent with a report by the Refugee Law Project. In 2005, the report claimed that in western Uganda (where the ADF is active) and West Nile (where the WNBF and UNRF II are active) both reporters and host communities welcomed the Amnesty Act, though criticized the lack of economic and employment reintegration assistance contained in it. Under the Amnesty Act, the AC, together with the IOM, also held reconciliation events, including traditional mato-oput ceremonies.

The EU launched, in July 2008, a Community Conflict Resolution and Peace Building Project to be implemented in the Gulu district by Save the Children Uganda in 18 months, with a budget of 200,000 euros. The project focuses on the reintegration and reconciliation of ex-combatants and conflict-affected communities. At the project's inauguration, an EU representative said the reintegration of ex-LRA into conflict-affected communities was threatened by high levels of poverty.

The first phase of EDRP is centred also on socioeconomic reintegration for new and former reporters. The EDRP said, more specifically, it intended to provide specialized attention to women, youth, and the disabled.

Repatriation

After the peace agreements in the DR Congo, Ugandan armed groups voluntarily left the country in large measure. In the east, however, a good number remained. As part of the DDRRR program in the DR Congo, MONUC has repatriated more than 500 Ugandan ex-combatants active in the DR Congo and Sudan (including members of the ADF/NALU, LRA, UNRF II, FUNA, and WNBF) since late 2003. The repatriation accounted for approximately a third of the total number of individuals repatriated by MONUC in other countries, such as Rwanda, Burundi, and Angola.

Lessons Learned

The MDRP felt its participation in the Amnesty Act served as a useful antecedent to the subsequent demobilization of LRA combatants. It noted the lessons learned and made various recommendations for LRA demobilization, including,

- catering reintegration (going beyond reinsertion) to communities and not just ex-combatants and related individuals in order to reduce economic vulnerability for reporters and communities;
- understanding that war and the post-conflict experience differ according to gender;
- understanding that while social reintegration was not bad, sensitization and reconciliation activities could have improved it; and
- being aware that counselling during demobilization was very positively received by reporters.

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Glossary

AC	Amnesty Commission	WFP	UN World Food Programme
DRT	Demobilization and Resettlement Team	UNDP	UN Development Programme
GUSCO	Gulu Support the Children Organization	UNICEF	UN Fund for Children
KICWA	Kitgum Concerned Women's Association		
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army		
NRA	National Resistance Army		
PRAFOD	Participatory Rural Action for Development		
UPDF	Uganda People's Defence Force		
MDRP	Multi-Country Demobilization & Reintegration Program		
IOM	International Organization for Migration		

About the School for Culture of Peace

The School for a Culture of Peace (The School for Culture of Peace) was founded in 1999 with the aim of organizing a variety of academic and research activities related to peace culture, the prevention and transformation of conflict, disarmament, and the promotion of human rights.

The School for a Culture of Peace is funded largely by the Government of Catalonia (Generalitat) through the Catalan Agency for Development Cooperation (ACCD). It also receives support from various departments of the Generalitat, the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation and Development (AECID), Spanish city halls, foundations, and other entities. The director of the Escola is Vicenç Fisas, current UNESCO Chair in Peace and Human Rights at the Autonomous University of Barcelona.

The Escola administers

- a graduate **Diploma in Peace Culture** (230 hours of lecture time with 70 enrolment spots);
- **elective courses** titled "Peace Culture and Conflict Management" and "Peace and Conflict Education";
- **initiatives in sensitization and conflict intervention**, by facilitating dialogue between the parties to a conflict;
- a **Program in Human Rights**, which monitors and analyzes human rights and processes of transitional justice internationally;
- a **Program in Peace Education**, whose team works to promote and expand the conceptual understanding, values, and capacities of Peace Education;
- a **Program in Music, Art, and Peace**, which researches initiatives in the arts and how they can contribute to peacebuilding;
- a **Program in Disarmament**, which looks at topics linked to disarmament, with special attention placed on micro-disarmament, programs of DDR (disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration) for ex-combatants, and the control of arms exporting;
- a **Program in Peacebuilding and Conflict**, which analyzes and monitors international involvement in armed conflicts, situations of tension, and humanitarian and gender crises, publishing an annual report called *Alerta!* and bimonthly, monthly, and quarterly reports;
- a **Program in Peace Processes**, which monitors and analyzes countries with formal and exploratory peace processes and peace negotiations, in particular those occurring in Colombia, whose peace initiatives the program strives to make more visible; and
- a **Program in Post-war Rehabilitation**, which monitors and analyzes the flow of international aid earmarked for peacebuilding in war and post-war contexts.

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