

**VISIT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
OF INTERNATIONAL IDEA**

Mr. Bengt Säve-Söderbergh

BRIEFING BOOK

**Ottawa
Friday 23 January 1998**

**Peacebuilding and Human
Development Division (AGP)**

VISIT OF IDEA SECRETARY-GENERAL

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23 January 1998

Dept. of External Affairs
 Min. des Affaires extérieures

MAR 6 1998

RETURN TO DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
 RETOURNER A LA DIVISION DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

AGENDA

AMENDED VERSION 22 JAN. 1998 (12h00)

VISIT OF DELEGATION FROM INTERNATIONAL IDEA

IDEA Delegation consists of:

His Excellency Mr. Bengt Säve-Söderbergh, Secretary-General
Dr. Daniel Zovatto, IDEA Senior Executive
Mr. Ron Gould, IDEA Senior Executive

AGENDA

THURSDAY, 22 JANUARY 1998

- 17h29 Dr. Zovatto arrives at Macdonald-Cartier International Airport
(Flight USAir 858)
- 18h00 IDEA Secretary-General arrives at Macdonald-Cartier International Airport
(Flight AC-325)
- 18h15 IDEA delegation escorted to Rideau Gate
- 19h30 Working Dinner with Mr. Jean-Pierre Kingsley, Elections Canada
- Guests: H.E. Bengt Säve-Söderbergh, Dr. Daniel Zovatto/IDEA Del.;
Mr. Ron Gould, Asst. Chief Electoral Officer, Mrs. France Demianenko,
Assistant Director, International Services

FRIDAY, 23 JANUARY 1998

- 9h15 IDEA delegation meets with AGP/Michael Small and Carmen Sorger
(Room 120, 4th. Floor, Tower B)
- 9h30 IDEA delegation introduces Institute's work to DFAIT and CIDA officials
(chaired by Mr. Michael Small/AGP) (Room 126, 8th. Floor, Tower A)
- 10h30 IDEA Stakeholders and Working Group meet with IDEA delegation
(Necla Tshirgi/IDRC, John Lobsinger/CIDA, Donna Schwartzburg/CIDA),
Carmen Sorger/AGP) (chaired by Mr. Michael Small/AGP)
(Room 126, 8th. Floor, Tower A)
- 11h55 IDEA delegation escorted to Minister Axworthy's (MINA) office
(10th. Floor, Tower A)

- 12h00 IDEA delegation meeting with MINA
(Paul Heinbecker and Carmen Sorger will attend)
(10th. Floor, Tower A/Minister Axworthy's office)
- Lunch guests arrive (9th Floor, Tower A)
- 12h15 Signing Ceremony MINA signs IDEA Membership Agreement and deposits
Instrument of Accession with Secretary-General
(Presiding: JLAB/Andre Bergeron; Master of Ceremonies: AGP/Michael Small)
(9th Floor, Tower A)
- 12h20 Cocktails: MINA mingles with guests
(9th Floor, Tower A)
- 12h30 Luncheon given by The Hon. Lloyd Axworthy
(9th Floor, Tower A)
- 14h00 IDEA delegation meets with The Hon. Diane Marleau
(10th Floor, Tower A)
- 14h30 IDEA delegation meets press
(Room 158, Fourth Floor, Tower B)
- 18h15 IDEA delegation attends cocktail given by Mr. Ron Gould, Assistant Chief
Electoral Officer
Venue: 1133 Ambleside Drive
 Ottawa, Ontario
Tél.: 820-3732 rés. 292-1873 cellular
- 19h00 Dinner given by Mrs. Maureen O'Neil, President of International Development
Research Centre (IDRC)
Venue: 121 Iona Street
 Ottawa, Ontario
Tél.: 729-8995 rés., 850-7444 cellular phone

SATURDAY, 24 JANUARY 1998

- 13h30 IDEA delegation depart for airport from 7 Rideau Gate
- 15h00 IDEA delegation depart for NY/Stockholm
(Flight AC-324)

SCENARIO MEMO

Scenario Memo: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)

The International IDEA delegation consists of:
IDEA Secretary-General, Bengt Säve-Söderbergh
IDEA Senior Executive, Dr. Daniel Zovatto
IDEA Senior Executive, Ron Gould

The purpose of their visit is to mark Canadian membership in International IDEA and to explore synergies between the work of the Institute and Canadian foreign policy. The discussions will deal directly with peacebuilding and democratization issues. The one-day visit will be centred around the signing ceremony and a lunch which you are hosting. The rest of the visit will be dedicated to meeting with officials and spreading the word of Canadian membership and the work of IDEA.

This note contains a list of points to register at each meeting, which are shorter versions of the talking points contained at the end of each brief. The briefs are arranged to reflect the schedule of your meetings including detailed talking points for your meeting.

12:00 Meeting with IDEA delegation in your office, 10th Floor

AGP/Carmen Sorger will escort the IDEA delegation to your office. Mr. Paul Heinbecker will also attend. The informal meeting will be a good occasion to applaud the work of the Institute in democratic development, peacebuilding and electoral assistance and to welcome our membership into the Institute.

It may also be worthwhile to raise the issue of Nigeria and ask the Secretary-General about IDEA's work in that country. You may wish to explore the possibility of IDEA acting as the executing agency for the Pan-Commonwealth NGO Conference which you have proposed for May/June 1998 to strengthen Pan-Commonwealth NGOs and to push for further democratic development in countries which violate the Harare Declaration. (See attached brief)

POINTS TO REGISTER:

- **PAN-COMMONWEALTH NGOS CAN AND SHOULD ACTIVELY PROMOTE DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT, BY ENGAGING AND SUPPORTING THE INSTITUTIONS OF CIVIL SOCIETY. THE HARARE DECLARATION INVITED NGOS "TO PLAY THEIR FULL PART" IN ADDRESSING THESE CHALLENGES.**
- **A CONFERENCE BRINGING TOGETHER PAN-COMMONWEALTH NGOS WITH A KEEN INTEREST IN DEMOCRATIZATION COULD SERVE TO DEFINE AND IMPLEMENT THE STANDARDS OF DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT ESTABLISHED BY THE HARARE DECLARATION.**

- CANADA IS INTERESTED IN PROMOTING SUCH A CONFERENCE; HOWEVER, AN EXECUTING AGENCY HAS YET TO BE IDENTIFIED. IDEA HAS BEEN IDENTIFIED AS AN INSTITUTE WITH BOTH CAPACITY AND NETWORKS TO ORGANIZE THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE.
- IF IDEA WOULD BE INTERESTED IN SERVING AS THE EXECUTING AGENCY FOR THIS CONFERENCE, DFAIT OFFICIALS WOULD FOLLOW UP DIRECTLY WITH THE INSTITUTE.

12:15 Signing Ceremony, 9th Floor

You will walk with the IDEA delegation down to the 9th floor, where your lunch guests will have gathered for cocktails. You will find a table prepared for the signing ceremony. You will sit on the right, the SecGen on the left. JLAB/Andre Bergeron will be presiding over the event. Mr. Bergeron will give you the Instrument of Accession, which you will give to the SecGen. The SecGen will give you the membership agreement to sign. You will do so, then pass it to Mr. Bergeron to be stamped. He will then pass the agreement back to SecGen and clap.

You will have 10 minutes to mingle before proceeding to a sit down lunch. During this time, you may wish to make the following points on Canadian membership in IDEA.

POINTS TO REGISTER:

- * SINCE ITS CREATION IN 1995, IDEA HAS PROVEN ITSELF TO BE HIGHLY EFFECTIVE AND CREDIBLE IN THE AREAS OF PEACEBUILDING, ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE AND DEMOCRATIZATION
- * CANADA IS PLEASED TO BECOME AN OFFICIAL MEMBER OF THIS INSTITUTE AND WE LOOK FORWARD TO FURTHERING OUR FOREIGN POLICY GOALS BY WORKING WITH OTHER LIKE-MINDED COUNTRIES WHO ARE MEMBERS OF IDEA
- * THE UNIQUE MANDATE OF THE INSTITUTE WILL ALLOW US TO WORK ACTIVELY ON SENSITIVE DEMOCRATIC AND PEACEBUILDING ISSUES THROUGH SUCH MECHANISMS AS COALITIONS OF THE WILLING
- * CANADA ALSO LOOKS FORWARD TO SHARING OUR EXPERTISE THROUGH MORE EXECUTIVE EXCHANGES WITH IDEA, SUCH AS THE ONE BETWEEN RON GOULD OF ELECTIONS CANADA AND THE INSTITUTE

12:30 Lunch, 9th Floor

Around the table, your guests will include Minister Marleau and IDRC President, Maureen O'Neil (see attached guest list). At this time, you may wish to make several

substantive remarks on democratic development. You will have an opportunity to outline Canada's democratic development and peacebuilding priorities for 1998. You may also wish to discuss Canada's peacebuilding initiatives in Guatemala. Please note that IDEA/Dr. Daniel Zovatto is conducting an in-depth study on democratization in Guatemala.

IDEA has done intensive studies on electoral systems in Nepal, Romania and has mediated disputes in Zambia. You may wish to ask the Secretary-General to describe IDEA's work in these countries and his perceptions about sensitive transitions to democracy (ie. Cuba, Nigeria and Burma). Does he see IDEA playing a role in these transitions?

POINTS TO REGISTER

- * IDEA'S IMPRESSIVE WORK ON ELECTORAL SYSTEMS, CONFLICT MEDIATION AND DEMOCRATIC INSTRUMENTS ARE OF GREAT INTEREST TO US. FURTHERMORE, WE SEE IDEA AS A FOCAL POINT FOR ORGANIZING COALITIONS OF THE WILLING AROUND SENSITIVE TRANSITIONS TO DEMOCRACY.
- * WE SUPPORT IDEA'S WORK ON THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN DEMOCRACY AND PEACEBUILDING. WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS DEMANDS THAT WOMEN MUST PARTICIPATE IN POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES, FROM PEACE-ACCORDS TO GRASS-ROOTS COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT.
- * IN PROMOTING DEMOCRACY, THE ROLE OF FREE MEDIA HAS BECOME A KEY AREA FOR ASSISTING COUNTRIES TO MAKE A TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY. FREE MEDIA HAS THE POTENTIAL TO SEND CLEAR SIGNALS OF CHANGE, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME, GIVING OPPOSITION PARTIES AND CIVIL SOCIETY A VOICE.

Following the lunch, the IDEA delegation will meet with Minister Marleau, followed by a roundtable with selected representatives of the press. The IDEA delegation returns to Stockholm on Saturday 24 January.

Proposed Guest List for Lunch

Host: Minister Axworthy

Venue: 9th Floor

1. MINE/ Diane Marleau
2. SSLA/Marcia Burdette
3. CIDA, Vice-President of Canadian Partnership Branch, Janet Zukowsky
4. CIDA, Director-General, Policy Directorate, Nancy Wildgoose
5. IDRC, President, Maureen O'Neil
6. DFAIT, Assistant Deputy Minister, Global and Security Policy, Paul Heinbecker
7. DFAIT, Director, Peacebuilding and Human Development Division, Michael Small
8. DFAIT, Coordinator-Democratic Development, Peacebuilding and Human Development Division, Carmen Sorger

IDRC/ Maureen O'Neil, CIDA/Janet Zukowsky and Nancy Wildgoose are members of the Interdepartmental Stakeholders Group. AGP/Michael Small chairs the inter-departmental Working Group on IDEA and heads the lead division on this file. AGP/Carmen Sorger is Coordinator of Democratic Development Issues and she manages this file.

PROFILES

Profiles of IDEA Delegation

IDEA Secretary-General, Mr. Bengt Säve-Söderbergh

You have met Mr. Säve-Söderbergh on two separate occasions: once in Stockholm, the other time in Ottawa. Mr. Säve-Söderbergh headed the International Centre of the Swedish Labour Movement from 1978-1985 (later re-named the Olof Palme International Centre). Following that, he was appointed Deputy Minister for International Development Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was awarded the Order of Merit by Polish President, Lech Walesa for his contributions to the transition in Poland and an Order of Merit by the Parliament of Mozambique for his work to combat colonialism and apartheid. Mr. Säve-Söderbergh is President of the Swedish Jazz Federation. In 1993-94, he chaired a Parliamentary Commission (1993-4) to review the goals and structures of Swedish museums. He has been a Deputy Governor of the World Bank and Swedish Governor of the Asian, African and InterAmerican Development Banks. In March, 1995, Mr. Säve-Söderbergh assumed his current post at International IDEA.

IDEA Senior Executive: Dr. Daniel Zovatto

Dr. Daniel Zovatto is an Argentinean national with extensive academic credentials. He studied Law and Diplomacy in Argentina and Spain. He holds a Master's in Public Management from Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government and a PH.d in International Law from Complutense University, Spain. Prior to joining IDEA in May 1997, Dr. Zovatto was Assistant Director of the Inter-American Institute for Human Rights in Costa Rica. He has served as the Executive Director of the Centre for Promotion and Electoral Assistance (CAPEL), and as Executive Secretary of the Inter-American Electoral Union. Dr. Zovatto has published several books and many articles on democracy and human rights.

IDEA Senior Executive: Mr. Ron Gould

Mr. Ron Gould is Assistant Chief Electoral Officer at Elections Canada. As part of the agreement between IDEA and Elections Canada, Mr. Gould has been loaned to the Institute for four months as Senior Executive in charge of election programmes. His position at IDEA has been renewed for 1998. Mr. Gould has served on numerous Electoral Observation missions across the globe and is viewed as one of the world's leading experts in his field. In addition to his professional life, Mr. Gould's has volunteered his services to work with emotionally disturbed children and the Big Brothers Organization. Mr. Gould was awarded a Member of the Order of Canada in 1997 and a Medal of Honour from the United Nations Association, Canada.

***NGO PAN-COMMONWEALTH
CONFERENCE***

Pan-Commonwealth NGO Conference on Harare Principles

Issue:

The Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) could be an appropriate vehicle for the organization of a Conference of Pan-Commonwealth NGOs.

Background:

Consideration is being given to supporting a Conference on the theme of "The Role of Pan-Commonwealth NGOs in the Promoting Democracy and the Harare Declaration". The intent is to bring together NGOs who have expressed interest in democratic development and human rights. A brief outline of the concept is attached.

An executing agency remains to be identified. The Commonwealth Foundation is committed to other projects, and is unable to deliver the Conference by the May target date. Alternatives are being investigated, and could include, *inter alia*, Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), the International Crisis Group, (CIG), the Canadian Centre for International Studies and Co-operation (CECI) and Partnership Africa Canada (PAC).

IDEA has a good Board of Governors, and a good track record in Africa. A preliminary, informal discussion suggests that they would be most interested in organizing the Conference.

Talking Points:

- Pan-Commonwealth NGOs can and should actively promote democratic development, by engaging and supporting the institutions of civil society. The Harare Declaration invited NGOs "to play their full part" in addressing these challenges.
- A Conference bringing together Pan-Commonwealth NGOs with a keen interest in democratization could serve to define and implement the standards of democratic development established by the Harare Declaration.
- Canada is interested in promoting such a Conference; however, an executing agency has yet to be identified. IDEA has been identified as an Institute with both capacity and networks to organize the proposed conference.
- If IDEA is an appropriate executing agency, you may suggest that DFAIT officials deal directly with the Institute.

Pan-Commonwealth NGO Conference on Harare Principles

A Conference on the theme of "The Role of Pan-Commonwealth NGOs in Promoting Democracy and the Harare Declaration" would bring together NGOs who have expressed interest in democratic development and human rights. The outcomes of such a Conference would include (a) networking among NGOs to establish common concerns and agreement to work together, (b) an agreed definition of the standards of democracy as established in the Harare Declaration, (c) a determination of how the Pan-Commonwealth NGOs can work with their national counterparts to realize those standards, (d) recommendations for activities by NGOs in support of democratic development, and (e) the formulation of practical plans for the implementation of such recommendations.

The rationale for holding such a Conference lies in Paragraphs 9 and 12 of the Harare Declaration, which respectively outline the problems and challenges facing the Commonwealth, and invite the NGOs "to play their full part" in addressing these matters. The Conference would build on previous meetings like the *Roundtable of Commonwealth Heads of Government of Africa on Democracy and Good Governance in Africa*, and the *Pan-Commonwealth Seminar on NGO/Government Relations*.

The target participants would be 30-40 persons selected from Pan-Commonwealth NGOs, other NGOs in Commonwealth Countries, Commonwealth Institutions, and Governments. However the activities of the NGOs would be the primary focus of the event.

The target date and location for the Conference is May, in Harare, just prior to the June CMAG. The timing is related to the transition process in Nigeria, while the location would facilitate the consideration of those countries considered by CMAG to be "serious and persistent" violators of the Harare Principles. It would also demonstrate the Commonwealth's appreciation of the role of African NGOs.

The format of the Conference would be a two day meeting with Roundtables to discuss a limited number of papers on the Harare Principles and democratic development.

IDEA BRIEF

International IDEA

Issue

Forging a coordinated Canadian approach to membership in International IDEA.

Background

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) was founded in March 1995, and is dedicated to the "promotion and advancement of norms, rules and guidelines in the field of sustainable democracy and the improvement and consolidation of electoral processes." Over the past two years, IDEA has proven itself to be a highly credible organization with the capacity to provide Canada with a mechanism to pursue important foreign policy objectives at a very reasonable cost. Under the leadership of Secretary-General Bengt S ave-S oderbergh (former Under-Secretary for International Cooperation in the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs), IDEA has assembled an impressive Board of Directors, research staff, and contributing membership of middle-power countries.

IDEA is embarking on several initiatives which could add more value to our international election assistance programs, peacebuilding initiatives and assistance to democratic development. IDEA's initiatives include: writing a Code of Conduct for Election Observers (with the assistance of Canada's Assistant Chief Electoral Officer, Ron Gould); active research on strengthening the participation of women in peacebuilding and democracy; and researching the role that democratic institutions can play in resolving deep rooted conflicts.

Canadian Position

Joining IDEA provides Canada with a unique opportunity to create "coalitions of the willing" to deal with sensitive cases of democratization in an unofficial forum. For example, IDEA has created a centre for promoting democratic development in Nigeria, which acts as a focal point for donors and other interested parties, as well as provide technical advice on democratization. It has undertaken similar projects aimed at creating a "democratic space" in Zambia, and sees this approach as a potential model for Cuba. IDEA provides Canada with a mechanism to coordinate our peacebuilding efforts with those of other like-minded countries and helps us to fulfil the commitment we made at the Denver Summit to strengthen support for democratic development.

In accordance with the Financial Principles of the Institute (valid until year 2000), Canada will be making an annual voluntary contribution of \$300,000 for the next three years in a cost-sharing agreement with IDRC and CIDA. All three Canadian co-sponsors would each contribute \$250,000 over a three year period. The overall size of the Canadian contribution to IDEA and the distribution of shares between DFAIT, CIDA and IDRC would be reviewed in 1999.

TALKING POINTS

- * WE LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING CLOSELY WITH IDEA AND WITH OTHER MEMBER-STATES IN FURTHERING OUR COMMON PRIORITY OF PEACEBUILDING AND DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT.

- * IDEA'S IMPRESSIVE WORK ON ELECTORAL SYSTEMS, CONFLICT MEDIATION AND DEMOCRATIC INSTRUMENTS ARE OF GREAT INTEREST TO US. FURTHERMORE, WE SEE IDEA AS A FOCAL POINT FOR ORGANIZING COALITIONS OF THE WILLING AROUND SENSITIVE TRANSITIONS TO DEMOCRACY.

- * WE SUPPORT IDEA'S WORK ON THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN DEMOCRACY AND PEACEBUILDING. WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS DEMANDS THAT WOMEN MUST PARTICIPATE IN POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES, FROM PEACE-ACCORDS TO GRASS-ROOTS COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT.

- * IN PROMOTING DEMOCRACY, THE ROLE OF FREE MEDIA HAS BECOME A KEY AREA FOR ASSISTING COUNTRIES TO MAKE A TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY. FREE MEDIA HAS THE POTENTIAL TO SEND CLEAR SIGNALS OF CHANGE, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME, GIVING OPPOSITION PARTIES AND CIVIL SOCIETY A VOICE.

CMAG BRIEF

21 January 1997

COMMONWEALTH MINISTERIAL ACTION GROUP

ISSUE:

The Secretary General of IDEA considers that CMAG is the primary international tool for addressing the human rights situation in Nigeria. IDEA is being considered for role of executing agency for the NGO Conference.

BACKGROUND:

At the Edinburgh CHOGM, Heads observed that the continued existence of a military government in Nigeria was a prime source of Commonwealth concern, citing in particular the failure of the Nigerian regime to observe fundamental human rights. The Heads empowered CMAG to invoke non-economic sanctions, if these would encourage greater integrity of the process of transition and respect for human rights in Nigeria. Should the transition fail, Heads will consider the expulsion of Nigeria from the Commonwealth.

Since then, the domestic political scene in Nigeria has seen further deterioration. Despite Abacha's promise in the National Day address that political prisoners "who were not a threat to the government" would be released, none have been released, and further arrests have taken place, of journalists, Ogoni activists and those accused of involvement in the alleged coup plot of December 20. Although the elections for State Assemblies took place on December 6 as scheduled, they are not generally regarded as a serious move toward democracy.

At Edinburgh, the Heads also strongly condemned the military coup in Sierra Leone, and endorsed the suspension of the military regime from the Commonwealth.

The situation in Sierra Leone has seen little progress, as the military regime ignores the disarmament provisions of the Conakry Accord, and there have been few, if any, concrete steps to ensure that the Conakry Accord is put in place by the April deadline. The Accord calls for the disarmament of all parties to the agreement, increased international aid, and return to of President Kabbah to office by April 21.

However, there are signs that the Nigerian campaign to convince its neighbours and friends that the transition is on course, and that the domestic situation in Nigeria is no worse than in many other countries is achieving some success. The vote in favour of the UN resolution on Human Rights in Nigeria has been declining each year, falling from 98 in 1995 to 79 in 1997.

CMAG will next meet on March 2-3, in London. The developments in Nigeria and Sierra Leone will be reviewed, leading to consideration of the steps that CMAG can take to further their democratic transition. CMAG's mandate, the utility of international observers for the Nigerian transition, and the NGO Conference may also be discussed.

Canadian Position

There has been regression in Nigeria in the areas of fundamental human rights, the rule of law, and democratic processes. Although the elections for State Assemblies took place on December 6 as scheduled, these cannot be regarded as a serious move toward democracy.

CMAG should seek to lay the ground work for support for sanctions, should they become necessary, by obtaining international recognition of the failings of the transition. This may include encouraging the sending of international observers to observe the transition. Observing the voting procedures would not be sufficient.

Canada will also present to the CMAG a concept paper for the holding of an NGO conference dealing with the potential role of Pan-Commonwealth NGOs in encouraging the observance of the Harare Principles, and democracy more generally.

Talking Points

- The Harare Declaration addresses many issues of concern to all Commonwealth members.
- Canada considers CMAG a useful tool for the promotion of the Harare Principles.
- The next CMAG meeting must lay the groundwork for its agenda for the next year. Canada considers that CMAG must have a substantive agenda and this meeting will layout clearly the follow-up steps that are required to fulfil its mandate.
- The NGO Conference holds considerable potential for engaging the broader, unofficial Commonwealth in the promotion of democracy.

NIGERIA BRIEF

NIGERIA

Since the CHOGM in Edinburgh, the domestic political scene has seen deterioration, rather than the hoped for improvement. Instead of freeing political prisoners, as promised in Abacha's national day address, the regime has arrested at least 50 more people, including journalists, 30 Ogoni activists on January 3, and of course any people who can be remotely connected with General Diyah and the alleged plot of December 20. Although the elections for State Assemblies took place on December 6 as scheduled, they are not generally regarded as a serious move toward democracy. Canada, with Diplomatic missions in Lagos and Ottawa having been closed, is focusing activity on the Commonwealth and the United Nations.

Commonwealth concerns with respect to Nigeria have focused on three elements of the Harare principles:

- Democracy, democratic processes and institutions;
- The rule of law and independence of the judiciary;
- fundamental human rights.

At the Edinburgh CHOGM, Heads recognized that, although the transition programme was largely on course, there were defects in it which undermined its credibility. Since the CHOGM, these defects have generally worsened.

While the elections for State Assemblies were held on schedule, only the tame, government-approved political parties were allowed to run candidates. Voter turnout was derisory. Most observers dismiss the elections as a sham which in no way represent the opinions or aspirations of the Nigerian people.

The in-country opposition is represented by a few journalists and members of unapproved movements like NADECO, all of whom are under threat. There has been a steady stream of arrests; many people are on the move or in hiding.

It is widely assumed that Gen. Abacha, with the support of the five suspect political parties, intends to present himself as a civilian candidate in the September Presidential elections. This scenario is becoming increasingly likely.

The rule of law has seen no progress at all. The UN Fact-Finding Mission to Nigeria (March/April, 1996) concluded that the legal process was fundamentally flawed. Nothing has occurred to change that assessment. The draft constitution, which inter alia contains the framework for the transition process,

is yet to be published, and government continues to be by decree. This is the same extra-legal process under which Ken Saro-Wiwa and his eight colleagues were hanged and under which arbitrary arrest and detention continue.

Contrary to hopes that political prisoners would be released before the CHOGM and despite a subsequent announcement by Abacha on November 17 that a number of them would be let out of jail, the number of political detainees has almost doubled. A vicious crackdown in Ogoniland on January 3, 1998, put another 30 people behind bars; the arrest of General Diyah and ten alleged collaborators in the December 20 "coup plot" has been followed by a mass round-up of up to 100 suspects. There is reputed to be wide-spread torture in the prisons. In addition, the death of General Yar'Adua and the reputed illness of Abasanjo, both in prison, have aroused suspicions among the public.

A tendency to slide away from a firm position on Nigeria is becoming evident in the international community. Ironically, a steady stream of depressing news of human rights abuses and democratic retrogression can contribute to this, rather than reinforcing resolve to adopt a robust stance. We understand that the U.S.A., as it pursues a policy of constructive engagement, could come to accept a civilian Abacha regime if it were elected by a process not too badly flawed. Other nations, especially in Africa, might take the same path in order to avoid antagonizing a powerful neighbour.

The recent vote on the UN Resolutions on Human Rights in Nigeria is a case in point. The yes vote fell from 92 last year to 79, with four of the CMAG countries and 37 Commonwealth nations unable to vote in favour.

CHOGM authorized CMAG to invoke the full slate of non-economic sanctions if there were signs that Nigeria was not adhering to the transition programme. If faulty elections for the National Assembly in April were to be one of the indicators, it would seem necessary to have some input, other than press reports, to a judgement of the validity of the electoral process. We and other CMAG members have been favouring the idea of sending in international observers, probably under OAU leadership. On the other hand, this could be seen as legitimizing the process.

A Pan-Commonwealth NGO conference on means of promoting Harare Principles, and mobilizing civil society to that end, could serve as a means of stiffening the resolve of governments. Timing, and the risk of losing impact because of hasty organization, need careful consideration.

**NIGERIA'S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION PROGRAM
STATUS OF IMPLEMENTATION - SEPTEMBER 1997**

PROMISES	PERFORMANCE
<p><u>Oct - Dec 1995</u></p> <p>Approval of draft constitution</p> <p>Lifting of restrictions on political activities</p> <p>Creation of National Electoral Commission</p> <p>Creation of Committees on Transition Implementation, National Reconciliation and Federal Character</p> <p>Creation of Commission on New States and Boundary Adjustments</p>	<p>Draft not widely circulated. Approval delayed to 1998; transition to be implemented by decree.</p> <p>A late and very narrow implementation made possible local elections and party registration (see below). Otherwise repression continues undiminished, one of the most serious failings of the transition.</p> <p>Done but friends of the regime were appointed, rather than the people who organized the successful 1991-93 elections</p> <p>Done but very limited roles.</p> <p>Done but a notable "time-waster" during the previous transition under Babangida.</p>
<p><u>Jan - Mar 1996</u></p> <p>Non-party local elections</p>	<p>Held March 16. Turnout showed people's enthusiasm for democracy. Nearly half the candidates were disqualified and regime retains power to fire those elected.</p>
<p><u>Apr - Jun 1996</u></p> <p>Creation of states and local governments</p>	<p>Delayed 4 months: 6 new states and 183 local governments announced October 1.</p>

**NIGERIA'S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION PROGRAM
STATUS OF IMPLEMENTATION - SEPTEMBER 1997**

PROMISES	PERFORMANCE
<p><u>Jul - Sep 1996</u></p> <p>Registration of political parties for future local, state and federal elections</p> <p>Delineation of electoral constituencies</p> <p>Production of authentic voters' register</p>	<p>Parties had only a month to get about \$1 million and 1.2 million signatures <u>each</u>. Of 15 finalists only five close to the regime were registered October 1; all three with opposition ties were among 10 excluded.</p> <p>Delayed 12 months to August 1997.</p> <p>Delayed 6 months to February 1997, and widely considered inflated as exceeds total population of voting age.</p>
<p><u>Oct - Dec 1996</u></p> <p>Party-based local elections</p>	<p>Delayed 4 months to March 15, 1997 with less popular enthusiasm than a year earlier. Again, nearly half the candidates were disqualified and the regime retains power to fire those elected.</p>
<p><u>Jan - Mar 1997</u></p> <p>Inauguration of party-based local councils</p> <p>Consolidation of new political party structures</p>	<p>Implemented.</p> <p>Don Etiebet, Abacha's former Petroleum Minister and head of one of the registered parties, was arrested after declaring interest in standing for the presidency. He was only released after renouncing his ambition and quitting his party.</p>

PROMISES	PERFORMANCE
<u>Apr - Jun 1997</u> Party primaries for state assembly and governorship candidates Screening and approval of candidates by Electoral Commission	 Not implemented. Not implemented.
<u>Jul - Sep 1997</u> State assembly elections	 Delayed to December 6, 1997.
<u>Oct - Dec 1997</u> State governor elections	 Delayed to August 1, 1998.

PEACEBUILDING BRIEF

PEACEBUILDING

ISSUE: To identify and support processes and mechanisms that will enhance the peacebuilding role of the United Nations.

BACKGROUND:

Peacebuilding is the effort to strengthen the prospects for internal peace and decrease the likelihood of violent conflict in societies under stress. Its overarching goal is to enhance the indigenous capacity of a society to manage conflict without violence and build *human security*, a concept that includes democratic governance, human rights, the rule of law, sustainable development, gender equality and equitable access to resources. Peacebuilding may involve conflict prevention, conflict resolution, as well as various types of post-conflict reconstruction, and focuses on the political and socio-economic context of conflict, rather than on its military or humanitarian aspects. It seeks to address this challenge by finding means to institutionalize the peaceful resolution of conflicts. External support for peacebuilding should supplement, not substitute for, local efforts to achieve a sustainable peace. An effective peacebuilding response requires international co-ordination among various types of actors, including domestic agencies, the UN and its specialised agencies, international financial institutions, donor states, non-governmental organizations, peacekeeping forces, and civilian experts. The international community does not yet have integrated mechanisms for addressing the task of peacebuilding.

Following the release of Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali's 1995 paper *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace*, an Informal Open-Ended Working Group of the General Assembly was set up in March 1995 to examine ways to implement progress in Peacebuilding as well as in the areas of Preventive Diplomacy, Inter-Agency Coordination and UN-Imposed Sanctions. While progress on the latter two issues was achieved, debate over the definition and application of the terms "peacebuilding" and "preventive diplomacy" became deadlocked. On 10 September 1997 the Working Group agreed unanimously to a draft resolution which requested the President of the General Assembly to consult on the possibility of continuing the activities of the Working Group in the areas of post-conflict peacebuilding and preventive diplomacy.

Post-conflict peacebuilding also received specific attention in the Secretary-General's reform package of 17 July 1997. It proposed that the UN focal point on post-conflict peacebuilding should be the Department of Political Affairs, which would lead on the design and implementation of peacebuilding initiatives as the convener of the Executive Committee on Peace and Security.

CANADIAN POSITION:

Given the politicisation of the issues of peacebuilding and preventive diplomacy in the General Assembly, Canada believes that the only sustainable path forward must be in partnership with others: with other like-minded countries, with other donors, and with the host governments which we seek to assist. Member states should pursue the building of political will within the UNGA, and particularly with the G-77 to develop North-South dialogue and cooperation on these important issues. Such efforts will also help to sensitize developing countries to the importance of these issues for the UN, and promote mutual North-South understanding on the evolving norms of state sovereignty and security. As a respected middle power, Canada can play an important role in fostering a North-South dialogue and political will at the UN, for example by stressing the leadership roles of domestic actors and regional and local states. Duplication of effort should be avoided, however, and partnership and coordination should be the key for the efficient use of resources.

On October 30, 1996, Minister Axworthy announced the launching of the Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative to better coordinate Canadian peacebuilding activities, both government and NGO, and Canada's contribution to international peacebuilding efforts. He and the then Minister for International Cooperation also announced the creation of the Canadian Peacebuilding Fund to facilitate specific Canadian peacebuilding activities (\$10 million per annum for FY97/98 and FY98/99). The overarching goal of the Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative is to achieve over time the most effective coordination possible of the range of international activities designed to aid societies under stress or in crisis, and to ensure that Canada's contribution is also as coherent and effective as possible.

A Strategic Framework and Action Plan mapping the steps to be taken over the next five years to realise the Initiative's goals, both domestic and international, has been approved by Ministers. A central strategic objective of the Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative is to forge enhanced multilateral partnerships for the design and deployment of peacebuilding operations in the field. Working with the United Nations system is the most important multilateral partnership for Canada to develop in this regard. Under the Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative, Canada will seek to work closely with the UN in the early identification of international peacebuilding needs and opportunities for countries in conflict, the design and deployment of integrated peacebuilding field operations, and the provision of Canadian resources and expertise for UN-mandated peacebuilding operations. Under the Canadian Peacebuilding Fund, Canada contributed \$350,000 last Spring to the UN Trust Fund supporting Special Representative Sahnoun's mission in the Great Lakes Region of Africa, and (as was announced by Mr. Axworthy in his speech before the UN General Assembly last September) Canada has also contributed \$500,000 to the UN Trust Fund for Preventive Action. As for the Secretary General's efforts on reform, Canada endorses his proposal to make the Department of Political Affairs the central focus for coordinating UN peacebuilding.

MAIN MESSAGES

- WE NEED TO TAKE A COMPREHENSIVE LOOK AT WHAT WE ARE EACH DOING, AND DETERMINE WAYS OF BETTER COORDINATING OUR JOINT EFFORTS, AS WELL AS IMPROVING THE QUALITY AND COHERENCE OF OUR INDIVIDUAL ACTIVITIES
- WE NEED TO RECOGNIZE THAT, DEFINITIONAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL DIFFERENCES NOTWITHSTANDING, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY NEEDS TO RECOGNIZE THAT PEACEBUILDING IS THE CONCEPT THAT BEST ENCOMPASSES THE RANGE OF ACTIVITIES THAT CAN BE UNDERTAKEN TO SUPPORT STABILITY IN SOCIETIES FACING VIOLENT CONFLICT
- WHATEVER COORDINATING MECHANISMS MIGHT BE DEVELOPED, WE ALSO NEED TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE UNITED NATIONS OFFERS THE POTENTIAL, AT LEAST, OF ENSURING THE MOST EFFECTIVELY COORDINATED CONTRIBUTIONS
- UNDER ITS PEACEBUILDING INITIATIVE ANNOUNCED LAST AUTUMN, AND USING THE \$10 MILLION CANADIAN PEACEBUILDING FUND AS A CATALYST, THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO DO ALL IT CAN TO BETTER COORDINATE NOT ONLY CANADA'S CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL PEACEBUILDING, BUT ALSO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S PEACEBUILDING EFFORTS
- THE ONLY SUSTAINABLE PATH FORWARD MUST BE IN PARTNERSHIP WITH OTHERS: WITH OTHER LIKE-MINDED COUNTRIES, WITH OTHER DONORS, AND WITH THE HOST GOVERNMENTS WHICH WE SEEK TO ASSIST. DIALOGUE WITH THE G77 IS ESSENTIAL IN THIS REGARD
- CANADA SUPPORTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S EFFORTS TO BETTER ORGANIZE THE UN SECRETARIAT'S ROLE IN PEACEBUILDING BY ENHANCING THE CAPACITY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS TO COORDINATE UN PEACEBUILDING EFFORTS.

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