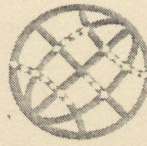


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G8 AND AFRICAN RENEWAL SYMPOSIUM REPORT

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March 22-23, 2002
Edmonton, Alberta

4010.1E

ISBN: 0-662-32363-7
E2-466/2002E



Department of Foreign Affairs
and International Trade

Ministère des Affaires étrangères
et du Commerce international

Canada

Symposium Report on "The G8 and African Renewal"

March 22 and 23, 2002

University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta

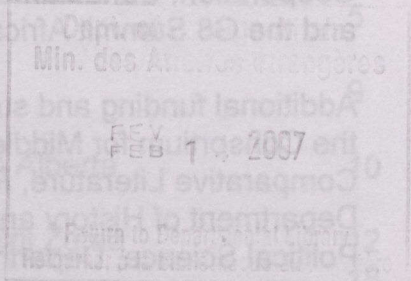
Report on proceedings and policy recommendations

Prepared by Dr. Malinda S. Smith, Symposium Rapporteur
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I. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The University of Alberta International, University of Alberta, Edmonton, sponsored the Symposium on "The G8 and African Renewal."

The co-sponsors for the Symposium included the Alberta Council for Global Cooperation, Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development, Ford Foundation, and the G8 Summit Africa Action Plan Office.

Additional funding and support from within the University of Alberta was provided by the Consortium for Middle Eastern and African Studies (CMEAS), Department of Comparative Literature, Religion and Film/Media Studies, Department of English, Department of History and Classics, Department of Human Ecology, Department of Political Science, Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts, Faculty of Education and the Women's Studies Program.

Ms. Nancy Hannemann, Global Education Program Coordinator at the University of Alberta International coordinated the Symposium on "The G8 and African Renewal."

The Advisory Committee for the Symposium included: Mr. Scott Harris, Executive Director, Alberta Council for Global Cooperation; Dr. Fred Judson, University of Alberta; Mr. Ernest Khalema, Northern Alberta Alliance for Race Relations (NAARR); Dr. Chaldeans Mensah, Grant MacEwan Community College; Dr. Malinda S. Smith, Athabasca University; and Dr. Guy Thompson, University of Alberta.

This Report on proceedings and policy recommendation was written with the assistance of notes taken by Leslie Weigl and Louise Rolingher.

II. CONTENTS

I.	Acknowledgements	2
II.	Contents	3
III.	Abstract	4
IV.	Executive Summary	5
V.	Background	9
VI.	Importance of the Symposium Being Held in Alberta	10
VII.	Full-text of Keynote Address by Dr. N. Dlamini Zuma	12
	Keynote Questions and Answers	18
VIII.	Summaries of Plenary Speakers	22
	Plenary I NEPAD: Overview, Prospects & Challenges	22
	Dr. Malinda S. Smith (Athabasca University)	22
	His Excellency Philémon Yang (Cameroon's High Commissioner to Canada)	25
	Plenary I Questions and Answers	26
	Plenary I continued	28
	Bayowa Adedeji (CUSO)	28
	Mikael Taffesse (Doctoral Student, University of Alberta)	29
	Kathryn Dunlop (CIDA)	30
	Plenary I continued Questions and Answers	32
	Plenary II Options for Africa: Role of Government & Civil Society	33
	Molly Kane (Inter Pares)	33
	Madonna Larbi (MATCH International)	36
	Dr. Wisdom Tettey (University of Calgary)	39
	Plenary II Questions and Answers	41
	Plenary III Global Partnership for an African Century	43
	Chris Roberts (Africa Direct West)	43
	Dr. Marina Ottaway (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace)	44
	Dr. Susanne Soederberg (University of Alberta)	45
	Plenary III Questions and Answers	47
IX.	Policy Recommendations	50
	Appendix A Program of Events	55
	Appendix B Speakers' Biographies	58

III. ABSTRACT

The G8 and African Renewal Symposium was held on March 22 and 23, 2002 at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. Its primary aim was public education on the G8, the African-led initiative known as the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and the G8 Africa Action Plan that flowed from it. The Symposium was organized around a keynote and several plenary sessions. Dr. N. Dlamini Zuma, South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, delivered the keynote on Friday, March 22 on "The New Partnership for Africa's Development."

On the second day of the Symposium, Saturday, March 23, the speakers were drawn primarily from academe, civil society, government and the private sector, and from across Africa, Canada, and the US. There were three main plenary sessions, each with several notable speakers. The first plenary was on "NEPAD: Overview, Prospects and Challenges." It was divided into two sessions, each with different speakers. The second plenary explored "Options for Africa: Role of Government and Civil Society." The third and final plenary addressed the prospects for a "Global Partnership for an African Century." Based on the wealth of information presented and vigorously debated during the Symposium, 12 key recommendations were developed. These important policy recommendations are included at the end of this document.

IV. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The G8 and African Renewal Symposium was organized with the following aims in mind:

- Educate Albertans and Western Canadians on the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and the African renewal initiatives emanating from the African continent.
- Provide an opportunity to discuss the implications of NEPAD for Canada.
- Enable Albertans and Western Canadians to contribute to a Canada-Africa policy community and the revitalization of Canadian foreign policy on Africa.

Her Excellency, Dr. N. Dlamini Zuma, Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa, provided the keynote address on the evening of March 22. She presented NEPAD as Africans taking initiative to change the lot of the continent and taking their destiny into their own hands. NEPAD addresses issues such as governance, education, health, agriculture, energy, water, market access, infrastructure development, information and communication technology, debt, overseas development assistance, and gender equality. Dr. Zuma called Canadians to take leadership in the battle to pull Africa out of the morass of "underdevelopment and backwardness."

A series of plenary discussions took place throughout Saturday, March 23. The first of these was entitled, "NEPAD: Overview, Prospects and Challenges."

Dr. Malinda Smith of Athabasca University provided background to the formation of NEPAD. NEPAD began as two separate plans: the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Program and Le Plan Omega. They were merged into the New Africa Initiative, which subsequently became NEPAD, launched on October 23, 2001 by African heads of state at the OAU/African Union meeting. Five African countries – South Africa, Senegal, Nigeria, Algeria and Egypt, lead NEPAD. NEPAD has gained international support from the international financial institutions and leaders of the G8, which adopted the "Genoa Plan for Africa."

NEPAD has its critics. They say the plan was developed by an African political elite and is supported by the Western political elite. The plan is capitalism-friendly and does not oppose structural adjustment. Some call NEPAD a "neoliberal recolonization" of the African political economy and a betrayal of the hopes and dreams of the African people by their leaders. Some say it inadequately addresses the needs of women and girls.

Smith indicated that despite criticism, NEPAD is a dynamic instrument facing the challenges of poverty reduction, environmental issues, peace and security and democratization.

His Excellency Philémon Yang, High Commissioner to Canada from Cameroon, discussed a number of challenges and opportunities presented by NEPAD. He argued that these opportunities and challenges needed to be tackled if the continent

is to move to good economic and political governance. These challenges include poverty reduction, prevention of environmental degradation, peace and security, democratization and political governance, economic liberalization and corporate governance, sub-regional and regional approaches to development, inadequate infrastructure and human resources development. Yang indicated that "Globalization is here to stay. We have to deal with it..."

Bayowa Adedeji, who works for a human rights organization in Nigeria, drew on his country as a way to consider what NEPAD means. He pointed out that many Nigerians are suffering today as a result of slavery, colonialism, the Cold War, International Monetary Fund and World Bank imposed structural adjustment programs, and unaccountable leaders. Plans for development have failed because ordinary Africans did not participate in decision-making. NEPAD will also fail unless consultation and participation continues. Needs to be addressed include the need for loans for small business, debt cancellation and gender equality.

Mikael Taffesse, a doctoral student at the University of Alberta, spoke of the need for a new relationship between Western nations and Africa. Poverty is the paramount issue to be addressed – it will not be resolved through aid, but through fundamental changes in traditional structures which are inequitable and unjust. Unless these changes can be made there can be no partnership between Africa and the West.

Kathryn Dunlop of CIDA discussed NEPAD in the context of the "persistent poverty and marginalization of Africa" which she characterized as "unacceptable." NEPAD has captured people's attention and imagination – NEPAD is Africa owned and promoted and endorsed by all 53 members of the OAU/African Union. Responses to NEPAD in Africa, the G8 and the European Union have been "generally positive." The G8 leaders see NEPAD as a possible turning point in Africa's development. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien is strongly committed to ensuring that Africa remains a principal focus on the Kananaskis agenda. The G8 Africa Action Plan is not meant to be exhaustive, but is meant to be a tangible and credible response to the NEPAD key issues of governance, peace and security, education, information technologies, health, economic growth, aid effectiveness, water and agriculture. The NEPAD and G8 Plan is a unique and unprecedented opportunity for public debate in Canada and in Africa and throughout the world.

Plenary II was entitled "Options for Africa: Role of Government and Civil Society."

Molly Kane, of the Africa Canada Forum, spoke of the efforts of the Forum to work with NGO groups in Africa, to inform them about NEPAD and to assist them in analyzing the document. There are three major areas of concern:

- Governance – The process with respect to NEPAD is elite and suggests a partnership between African and industrialized states, not between African citizens and their governments. The proposal for peer review is inadequate.

- The economic program – Concerns include reliance on foreign direct investment, no apparent support for the rural and informal sector and lack of attention to the productive capacity of investment.
- The lack of anything “new” in the partnership. There must be changes in global governance and the existing relations of power.

Debate on these issues is needed and must continue.

Madonna Larbi of MATCH International spoke of the consultations MATCH has facilitated among African women on the gender implications of NEPAD. Concerns about NEPAD included the lack of broad participation in developing the plan and that some of the positive aspects of Le Plan Omega were lost – for instance, sub-regional integration, and most importantly that critical issues of gender were addressed only sporadically. Two important recommendations emerged:

- The need to pay due recognition to “gender characteristics” that are relevant to Africa’s economic, social and political development, as well as the marginalization of women in these areas.
- Women’s issues and perspectives are not an after thought – NEPAD should seek to promote the empowerment of women consistent with the global development consensus for women’s inclusion.

Other concerns related to the need for:

- Access to AIDS treatment.
- National transportation infrastructure.
- Focus on the role of women in agriculture and their role in sustaining the environment.
- Ensuring women’s access to land and other resources.

Wisdom Tettey of the University of Calgary spoke of the relationship between the stated intentions of NEPAD for greater accountability and civil engagement and media freedom. Media is the key to promoting accountability in society. Yet two of the leaders of NEPAD demonstrate a reticence to free media. Before NEPAD transforms into a full-blown process it needs to address contradictions at home. Tettey also spoke of the need for a new telecommunications infrastructure – in doing so one must consider that many women are without access and that there is a rural/urban divide. There must also be considerable attention to ensuring that people are provided with the necessary literacy skills to enable them to use the Internet.

Plenary III focussed on “Global Partnership for an African Century.”

Dr. Marina Ottaway of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace argued in her presentation that in theory NEPAD sounds good, but in practice there is a problem of moving from the donor-recipient relationship to a partnership among equals. Donors want to micro-manage the countries to which they donate. We should not believe that the G8 Action Plan will change the current relationship. Ottaway also noted that NEPAD should be regarded as a vision rather than a policy – too much time can be spent on refining the vision rather than implementing concrete change. Ottaway

suggested that the emphasis should be placed on G8 and African governments agreeing on the minimum number of steps to get changes going, sharing ideas with the whole of Africa's populations and changing aid structures.

Chris Roberts, Executive Director of Africa Direct West, maintained that Canada has never had a sustained Africa policy. Canadian foreign policy actions are driven by various motivations that lead to fragmentation. Canada has no plan and limited staff and budget to deal with Africa. Issues of concern to Africa include infrastructure, immigration, citizenship, the "brain drain," and media representation. The pro-African constituency in Canada is fragmented and can be better utilized for greater private sector linkages. Africa needs, and African has asked for, sustainable and cooperative public and private sector partnerships. There is a need to develop a plan on how to include the private sector, especially small businesses, in Africa. The Kananaskis meeting is a unique opportunity for Canada to make a difference.

Dr. Susanne Soederberg, University of Alberta, commented that NEPAD is in principle an important initiative but Africans should be wary of promises that private investment will solve problems. NEPAD is set in the discourse of neoliberal globalization and accepts the neoclassical belief that increased financial liberalization will bring about economic growth. African countries should be wary of the promise that private financial flows can help developing countries achieve economic stability and sustainability, mainly by allowing these flows to enter Africa on the terms of powerful international interests, such as international financial markets and the United States. It is difficult to see how increasing private capital flows will yield better results than in South East Asia and Latin America without the imposition of some form of government regulation in ensure that finance invests in the real economy. The architects of NEPAD have failed to view globalization as a new phase of capitalism as opposed to some neutral, progressive and unstoppable force.

Based on the presentations and discussion of the symposium, a list of foreign policy recommendations was formulated and is presented at the conclusion of the report.

V. BACKGROUND

Over the past few years, the need for bold initiatives to address the challenges of African development has been widely acknowledged in international institutions and other international forums.

Canada's commitment to playing a leadership role in building a partnership to address Africa's development challenges in the 21st century was made clear when in 2001. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien indicated that Africa was going to be a priority focus at the G8 meetings he was scheduled to chair in Kananaskis, Alberta in June 2002.

At the 2001 G8 Summit in Genoa, Italy, Prime Minister Chrétien argued in favour of an enhanced and coordinated international assistance to Africa because, "Aiding Africa is not charity, it's an investment." At their meeting in Genoa, G8 leaders undertook to support an "Africa Action Plan" to be adopted at the Kananaskis Summit.

Since Genoa, Prime Minister Chrétien, British Prime Minister Tony Blair and French President Jacques Chirac, have taken a leadership role in coordinating the G8 group of industrialized nations and the international financial institutions (IFIs) to form a global partnership with African countries and leaders. Some of the priority areas identified include aid, debt relief, trade, investment, market access, infrastructure development and poverty alleviation.

The heightened interest of G8 leaders in African developmental needs, constrained by the continent's marginality in the global economy, followed on years of groundwork and active multilateral consultations by leaders from the African continent, led by South Africa, Senegal, Nigeria, Algeria and Egypt. The result was the ambitious "made in Africa" plan by African leaders calling for a global partnership for African development.

The 68-page founding document for this partnership was entitled, "New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development" (NEPAD) and was formally endorsed as a pan-African initiative by the African Union (AU). It called for "a new relationship of partnership between Africa and the international community, especially the highly industrialized countries, to overcome the development chasm that has widened over centuries of unequal relations."

In the spirit of the NEPAD founding document, the Symposium organizers decided to use language that reflected an afro-optimism, thus concepts such as "renewal" and "options" were fore-grounded. Other concepts such as "African Century" and an "African renaissance" recognized the importance of language and discourse in shaping the imagination and our understanding of what is possible – including in Canadian foreign policy.

In the NEPAD document, African leaders were optimistic that a steadfast commitment to its principles, priorities and the development of sound policies to support them, has the potential to contribute to the 21st Century becoming known as the "African Century." The Symposium was meant to assess the challenges that need to be confronted, in partnership with the global community, to ensure this optimism manifested in discernable improvements in the lives of ordinary Africa women, men and children.

VI. IMPORTANCE OF THE SYMPOSIUM BEING HELD IN ALBERTA

The plan to hold The G8 and African Renewal Symposium in Alberta arose for several reasons. First, there was a need for public education in Alberta and western Canada on NEPAD, and the African renewal initiatives emanating from the African continent. The Symposium was an opportunity to learn more about the G8 and African renewal initiatives such as NEPAD.

Second, there was a need for a forum in which western Canadian civil society and NGOs, the academic and policy communities, and members of government and the private sector could discuss the implications of NEPAD for Canada and, particularly, the leadership role that Canada promised to play in Kananaskis, Alberta. The Symposium was a space for participants from Alberta and western Canada to dialogue with African participants on the NEPAD and the G8 Action Plan for Africa, as a lead up to the G8 Summit in Kananaskis. It was also a space to discuss the sustainability of the renewal initiatives beyond these elite summits. Symposium participants included Canadian and African non-governmental organizations (NGOs), representatives of Canadian and African governments, and international scholars.

Third, the Symposium was held to help generate a critical mass of people in Alberta and western Canada that was informed about the G8 and NEPAD, and who could contribute to a Canada-Africa policy community and the revitalization of Canadian foreign policy on Africa. To this extent, the Symposium in Alberta was timely. It recognized that Canada needed to respond to NEPAD, in its capacity as head of the G8 Summit to be held in Alberta, as well as because of its longstanding leadership role in multilateral institutions such as the Commonwealth and Francophonie.

Canada's commitments have been several-fold: They have included Africa governance initiatives, teacher education, peacekeeping and conflict management, the abolition of landmines, reduction of small arms, and efforts to reduce conflicts caused by so-called "conflict diamonds."

The Symposium was meant to consider some fundamental questions: Will there be a new foreign policy direction for Canada? Will the articulated priorities in the Kananaskis Action Plan for Africa include education, health care and bridging the digital divide, some of the other topics discussed during the G8 Summits and that are also important to African developmental initiative?

What are African governments calling for? Do they have the support of civil society organizations and the private sector in their countries? What will be Canada's and other G8 countries' response(s) to NEPAD? What are the priority needs to which Canada has the greatest ability to respond? How far is Canada prepared to go to ensure that the G8 Plan of Action will make a significant contribution to achieving the goals and objectives of NEPAD? These are the issues that have been, and will continue to be, the subject of Canadian foreign policy discussions leading up to the G8 Summit and beyond.

Your Honour The Lt. Governor of Alberta
President and Vice-Chancellor
Friends of Africa
Distinguished Guests
Ladies and Gentlemen

It is an honour and pleasure for us to address this august gathering today. It was indeed the citizens of Canada and the rest of the world who pledged solidarity and supported decolonization struggles in Africa. The struggle against apartheid, which took the longest, and was the most protracted, saw the biggest mobilization by the anti-apartheid movement. It is thanks to all of you that today I can stand before you as the democratically-elected representative of the people of South Africa. For it occurred to you that as long as the system of apartheid crime against humanity existed and was practiced in South Africa, your own humanity was violated.

Kwame Nkrumah one of the finest sons of Africa loudly proclaimed on the 6th of March 1959 to the whole world that "the independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked with the total liberation of the African continent". Immediately, the beating of drums sent this message across rivers, mountains, forests and plains. The people heard and acted. One after another, new African states came into being, and above the world horizon loomed the African Personality. African statesmen went to the United Nations. Africans proudly wore the ancient regalia of their ancestral land; Africans stood and spoke for Africans!

This spirit of optimism in the continent quickly gave way to the gloomy Cold War era, with the emergence of military coups and dictatorships and one party states. Resources that were supposed to feed the children of Africa were plundered and wasted, some diverted to foreign banks by the selfish African elite. The continent was gripped by the depressing state of conflicts, poverty and disease. Women were veiled as beads of burden, with wood on head, child on the back and a bucket of water in hand. Children died of malnutrition and preventable diseases, malaria, tuberculosis, measles, AIDS/HIV to name but a few. It was dubbed the hopeless continent.

Fortunately as the century was coming to a close there was a critical core of progressive leadership on the continent who refused to accept these conditions as "the destiny" of Africa. They know and are backed by history and

VII. KEYNOTE ADDRESS

ADDRESS BY DR. DLAMINI ZUMA,
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF SOUTH AFRICA
UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
"THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT"
CANADA, 22 MARCH 2002

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Fortunately as the century was coming to a close there was a critical core of progressive leadership on the continent who refused to accept these conditions as the defining feature of our continent. They know and are backed by history and

scientists that Africa is the cradle of humanity and has given humanity her civilization.

They are strengthened by the knowledge that Africa has works of art that date back thousands of years. Our fine arts encompass the varied artistic creations of the Nubians and the Egyptians, the Benin bronzes of Nigeria and the intricate sculptures of the Makonde of Tanzania and Mozambique. They also know of the evolution of religious thought made by the Christians of Ethiopia and the Muslims of Nigeria.

They have seen the architectural monuments in their continent as represented by the giant sculptured stones of Aksum in Ethiopia, the Egyptian sphinxes and pyramids, the Tunisian city of Carthage, and the Zimbabwean ruins, as well as the legacy of the ancient universities of Alexandria in Egypt, Fez of Morocco and Timbuktu of Mali.

These Africans have chosen to act together to change the lot of their continent. And insist on taking the destiny of their continent into their own hands. They are hard at work to actualize the dream of Marcus Garvey, Du Bois, Abdul Nasser, Oliver Tambo, Amilcar Cabral, Patrice Lumumba and Nkrumah of African Unity and Prosperity.

Contemporary Realities

Having taken this momentous decision we expect nothing less than to liberate the continent from the oppressive legacy of slavery, poverty, diseases, backwardness, underdevelopment and malnutrition.

Coming from the liberation movement, the African National Congress that has been the integral part of this struggle, we have for decades waged the principled, unrelenting and protracted struggles for the right of the people to govern themselves –The People shall Govern.

Africans in many parts of the continent have moved to embrace good governance and adopted multi-party democracies with regular elections for the people themselves to choose a Government of their choice. A number of African countries have undergone this democratic process of testing the will of the people. We must remain vigilant to ensure that this process is irreversible.

Nevertheless, there are still problems confronting the continent of Africa such as political instability in Zimbabwe and Madagascar and conflicts in countries like, Angola, DRC [Democratic Republic of the Congo], Sierra Leone, Burundi, Liberia and Somalia. These and many other hot spot areas are receiving the immediate attention of the continental leadership. Committed to chancing the negative perception of their continent, the leadership of Africa has taken two major decisions to respond to the challenges they are facing; these are the formation of the African Union and the blueprint for the continental economic revival programme.

The Organisation of African Unity, which has served the continent well in fostering unity and solidarity as well completing the decolonisation process, will be transformed into the African Union, which will be better placed to respond to the challenges of globalisation. The African Union will deal comprehensively with the questions of economic, political and social challenges of the new era.

The African Union will also deal practically with issues such as:

- Greater unity and solidarity and the socio-economic integration of the continent;
- Acceleration of the political and socio-economic integration of the continent;
- Promotion of peace, security and stability on the continent;
- Promotion of democratic principles and institutions of popular participation and good governance;
- Promotion, protection and prevention of the violation of human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights and human rights instruments; and
- The promotion of co-operation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standard of African people.

NEPAD

In taking the continent forward, in their last OAU Summit in Lusaka, African leaders also adopted an economic blueprint for Africa's recovery; namely the New Partnership for Africa's Development, to be better able to respond to the challenge and changing international environment. The New Partnership for Africa's Development is a comprehensive programme that deals *inter-alia* with Peace Security, Democracy and Political Governance, Economic and Corporate Governance and Sub-regional and Regional Approaches to Development.

These documents can be easily accessed through the South African Government web site: www.dfa.gov.za. We have a few documents that will be distributed tonight.

This ambitious economic development programme is designed by Africans to respond to unique African challenges. It derives its legitimacy from ownership and its success to a large measure, hinges on Africans assuming leadership of the process with the international community joining in partnership with African countries. This is not a foreign imposed programme but a homegrown response to our difficult development challenges, hence it will succeed.

We need to work towards changing the negative perception of our continent as a "risky continent". In this regard, we need to deal with conflicts in a comprehensive, emphatic and expeditious manner. Of importance is the peaceful settlement of conflicts and the prevention of new ones, which, if left unresolved, breed poverty, displacement, diseases, despair and refugee crises. Accordingly, issues such as the

upholding of economic and political good governance, respect for human and people rights as well as respecting the right of people to choose their representatives without fear are paramount.

Through NEPAD we have also agreed to invest in our people our most important resource. In this regard, provision of primary health facilities is imperative. Only healthy nations can address the challenges we have set for ourselves. Human Resources Development through education, vocational training and mentoring is important. We look up to Alberta's universities and Canadians to help in these areas.

As we deal with the issues of HRD, it is important that we address communicable diseases, malaria, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS. With regard to HIV/AIDS, we must move from a premise that there is no cure for AIDS. It is therefore, imperative that we educate our people to prevent this terrible disease from spreading. We must also put many resources into dealing with opportunistic infections such as pneumonia, tuberculosis diarrhea, meningitis, throat fungal infection, etc. As the South African Government, we are engaged with pharmaceutical companies on the question of affordability of drugs and infrastructure development to help deal with anti-retroviral drugs.

We also need to improve on our agricultural output. If we cannot feed ourselves, there is no future or hope for the continent. Africa is a predominantly agrarian continent and most of its inhabitants eke out a living from the land; it is important that developed countries work with us to address the absence of the necessary agrarian technology as well as value added agricultural products for export of our agro industry.

We also need a reliable energy supply in order to expand our manufacturing base. We need the development of regional electricity grids. Regionally, we will mobilise necessary resources to deal with our energy needs but we need partners to work with us. Equally important is pulling our resources to deal with the provision of potable water.

The NEPAD's Market Access Initiative deals with market access for the products of African countries. It also deals with the issue of the imbalances of international trade, which favours the developed countries at the expense of the least and developing African countries. For it remains a shame and inexcusable that \$1 billion dollars a day is used to subsidise the farmers of developed countries. It has been established that a \$300 billion annual subsidy is given to European farmers. This is four times more than the money spent on development assistance to all developing countries. This situation must not be allowed to continue.

It has been estimated that Africa now only accounts for a mere 2% of world trade, down from 7.4% in 1948. The human consequences of this development are profound. In the Southern African region alone, 78 million people live in poverty. Opening of markets of developed countries is not an act of charity but this also

stands to benefit them. A developing African country with properly educated and a well-fed population represents a market of 600 million people - the developed countries only ignore this to their peril.

NEPAD is also building partnerships between African countries to deal with the problem of infrastructure development. Partnerships between African countries, the developed countries as well as multilateral institutions, will lead to the building of much needed rail, air and road infrastructure. To illustrate the dearth of infrastructure in the continent, a person from the West Africa can't place a direct call to the Southern African region, he is re-routed from France. This also goes for air transport. Clearly, unless infrastructure is laid to connect African countries, the huge potential for inter-African trade will be lost.

The NEPAD programme has also highlighted the importance of industrialisation and modernisation, which would help kick-start development of the continent. Equally important, is the area of Information and Communication Technology. In order for Africa to latch onto the information revolution, which is driving the process of globalisation process forward, ICT infrastructure development is critical. A need to double teledensity by 2005 has been identified – it could make affordable 2 phones per 100 people.

Another principal and perennial challenge facing our continent is the albatross of unsustainable debt repayment. It is estimated that Africa, for the next fifty years will be paying debt to developed countries and their private institutions. For the next fifty years, important resources, which could be used for education, health and infrastructure, will be diverted to pay debts. The African debt is unsustainable. None should condemn the future generation to this calamitous position. Once more, a HIPC Initiative must be broadened and deepened to address this problem. The Capital Flow Initiative of NEPAD is dealing with this problem. We look up to friendly Canada and her people to work in Kananaskis for an African Plan, that at its core addresses the indebtedness of African countries.

Equally promising though, which must be backed by concrete action, is the need to increase Official Development Assistance. The Capital Flow Initiative is working seriously to determine the criterion which will help countries to better manage and productively use this assistance.

Central to the NEPAD is gender mainstreaming in all programmes. The question of gender equality is at the heart of NEPAD. More than half of the population in Africa is made up of women. It remains critical therefore, that the women who till the land, who are responsible for nutrition of their families, women who constitute a critical mass in Africa, should be involved in the programme of economic renewal of the African continent.

It is important, that the intelligentsia is involved in popularising and engaging NEPAD.

The leadership as elected representatives of the people have given leadership; it is now up to the agents of social change, like you to take up the challenge.

Why This Initiative Now

Many previous illustrious initiatives were not implemented. There are many reasons for this, such as: the Cold War paradigm; the lack of capacity to implement these initiatives; as well as the absence of political cohesion in the continent and internationally.

The time has never been more ripe to move forward to the concrete implementation of the lofty ideas we all developed to help Africa deal with the terrible legacy and burden of underdevelopment. This conference today is an ample demonstration of the fertile environment I am referring to. We all agree, as we surely must, that it is time to move from words to action to help give re-birth to Africa with hope, peace and prosperity.

Let us prove that Herodotus was right when he said: *Ex Africa semper aliquid novi!* (Something new always comes out of Africa). Out of this birth, must necessarily come a new Africa with a brighter tomorrow.

Despite the catastrophic and barbaric terrorist attacks on the United States on 11 September last year, we remain positive of the success of the New Partnership. The New Partnership driven and inclusive of the peoples of the continent and those like you in the Diaspora and friends of Africa cannot and will not fail.

To the Government of Canada we want to encourage you, through the G8 to continue your strong support to ensure a plan for Africa is a substantives response to NEPAD. In particular, we want to encourage you to continue to support the initiatives like the Canada-Africa Governance Programme, in which the Province of Alberta participates.

To civil society, we recognise and appreciate the valuable efforts already underway by Cause Canada that works for peace and conflict management and also the Africa Canada Partnership Programme for Africa, which we are told has been nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize. We also want to recognise the invaluable role played by universities and colleges across Canada working with Africa in areas of agro-forestry, teacher education and health care.

To the private sector, the continent of Africa is endowed with the human capital, mineral wealth and unlimited opportunities for trade, investment and partnership as proposed in the NEPAD programme. Other countries are taking advantage of this burgeoning market; it is imperative that you are not left behind. The opportunities abound in Africa.

We are here today in Canada because you joined us as the anti-apartheid movement, the progressive forces as well as Government to defeat apartheid. Now we are facing an even bigger battle of ensuring that Africa is pulled out of this morass of underdevelopment and backwardness. As you heroically showed the way and leadership before, history is calling on you to rise to the challenges again.

I thank you.

Keynote Questions and Answers

Q.1 Could you comment on businesses that exploit, such as Talisman?

Q.2. Could you discuss the role of women in the process?

Q.3. Could you elaborate on the issue of political legitimacy and peer review?

Her Excellency Dr. Dlamini Zuma – To deal with businesses that exploit workers we need to have two things: one is a democratic and accountable government and the other is an informed electorate that can act as a check against irresponsible businesses.

Dr. Zuma said she could spend the entire evening discussing the ongoing struggles of women on the African continent and particularly in South Africa. She argued that women must take on the struggle because there never has been a king who fought for a slave, without the slave first taking up the fight. Men do not feel the problem of women in the same way. Men on their own will not take up the fight for emancipation of women but men will join women in the fight.

Dr. Zuma said that South African women saw this with the African National Congress (ANC). When the ANC was first formed, women could not be full members, only associate members – to make tea or lunch. Women could not vote or take decisions. So women struggled with the ANC but also within the ANC itself. In the 1940s women were able to join as full members but the struggle continues today. Some 29.8% of the South African parliament today is made up of women, almost one-third. Women had to decide, as women, that it was critical to have women in the parliament or laws emerging would not be sensitive to women's needs.

She gave as an example the Gender Advisory Committee (GAC) of the ANC during the transition. Men would negotiate the future and would send their decisions to the GAC. They could accept or not accept feedback. When there was a two-day break from the negotiations, ANC women decided that they had to change this. Women insisted that every party must bring 50% women to the negotiation table. Some parties claimed they could not find 50% women. Dr. Zuma said these men were told that if this was the case, then they could have only half of the representation at the

negotiation table. "They found the women." She goes on to say that, "We need a critical mass of women to be prepared to break away" if necessary.

In response to the question about corrupt regimes, Dr. Zuma acknowledged that this was one of the difficult challenges of NEPAD. She said the problem was two-fold. "There is the problem of the person who is corrupt and those who are being corrupted." She said, "We need to foster competition, clearly, honestly and without bribery." She acknowledged that there is an issue in which state resources are not used properly and said the African continent needs institutions that are able to take care of this. African "leaders are discussing peer review, how to come together and criticize each other. The idea of peer review is not completely accepted." Nonetheless, 15 heads of state are discussing it; they have been given a mandate to look at issues between summits. "It is not easy but we recognize it is a problem and tried to find a solution."

Q 4. You spoke about education, health but not about environment. Can you discuss the environmental issues for NEPAD?

Q 5. Can you speak to the situation in Zimbabwe?

Q 6. The Lagos Plan of Action especially in regard to the need for partnership was discussed 23 years ago. It also discussed common transportation and increased trade. How will NEPAD succeed when the LPA did not?

In response, Dr. Zuma said, "The Lagos Plan of Action or Abuju Treaty said it must be completed over 30-40 years. The continent's leaders are saying we cannot wait that long. The NEPAD and African Union have shorter timeframes." Dr. Zuma also spelled out several other differences. "Africa in the 1980s and now are different, with different kinds of government, a new breed of leaders and a new commitment of leaders." The world is also different. The Cold War is gone. The conditions that did not allow the Abuju Treaty to flourish have changed. This is true on the continent and outside the continent. If we look at the way the world responded this is also true. The West supported regimes that were plundering, killing – just because they were on 'their' side in the Cold War. The environment is different, as is the outlook and commitment. "Yes, other initiatives did fail. However, NEPAD is in our hands. Partners will assist but we must do things we say we will do."

In response to the question on Zimbabwe, Dr. Zuma said the important issues were "not just about the electoral process that just occurred." Further, Zimbabwe is South Africa's immediate neighbour; only a river separates us. "When there is a drought Zimbabwe and South Africa are like one big country." South Africa started getting involved in 1998, when there was not so great a world focus on Zimbabwe. There was just a hint of the land problem and the War Veterans starting something. Deputy President Thabo Mbeki talked to President Robert Mugabe, and also talked to Prime Minister Blair about a resolution. These discussions culminated in a Donor's

conference to assist Zimbabwe with its land problem (under auspices of UNDP). The idea was that 108 farms could be started with but the program did not take off.

"The land program is genuine and dates back to the liberation war when Zimbabweans were dispossessed. At Lancaster House everything was agreed on except land. There was a deadlock for 11 days. There was no money and so the government never had to buy back the 'stolen land'." As well, there was a promise/agreement from Britain that it would assist Zimbabwe based on a "willing seller, willing buyer" concept. Without a seller there was to be no land acquisition. In 1997 when the Labour Party under Prime Minister Tony Blair came into power it wrote to the Zimbabwe government to say it would not honour its agreement.

"I do not agree with the tactics of the Zimbabwean government. However, that there is a genuine issue cannot be denied. Whoever is the president, this issue will not go away. The tactics may not be correct but the problem does exist."

The "Western media has a one-sided view. They do not understand most of the problems in Zimbabwe. A decision was taken elsewhere that President Mugabe must go. I do not believe that any country in the world should decide who should be president. They do not have a right. Countries in Europe were campaigning for one party against the other. They should not use their means in this way, nor take advantage of the lack of means in our hands."

Dr. Zuma said that for South Africa the option of disengagement is not possible. "We are working to see if two parties can work together. Zimbabwe is our neighbour. It does not need isolation; it needs help."

In response to the question on the environment, Dr. Zuma acknowledged that the issue is important not just in Africa, but also generally. Pollution of industry is a problem. Wood fuel and alternative means of energy need to be addressed. The felled forest often exceeds the quota. In Cameroon and other places this happens a lot because there is no capacity to police.

In response to a question on scholars and education – "Today, education in South Africa is able to produce doctors, lawyers and professionals. Bantu education was second-class education. Introduced in 1955, when I started school. Our democracy is seven years old. Primary school to producing a doctor takes more than seven years. Before not only was education second class, for whites it was free and compulsory to age 16. Therefore many African students did not go to school; we could not afford it. Today we have embarked on school building. There are lots of students in school today, even under trees."

Dr. Zuma said there was a shortage of math and science teachers, as well as good English teachers. English is used for international communication. "There is a problem of schooling infrastructure. It is a big problem. The education budget in South Africa is the biggest and exceeds the Copenhagen goals for education

expenditure." We need kids in schools, skilled in technology and all sorts of things. We have imported doctors from elsewhere – there are 500 Cuban doctors in South Africa. Doctors have been taken from South Africa – a brain drain – by the developed world which does not want to spend its own money to produce enough doctors. "We need patriotic doctors that will not be taken away by the Canadians! We do not mind if you take our doctors, but we think you must compensate us for the loss since they were trained at our expense."

VIII. SUMMARIES OF PLENARY SPEAKERS

Plenary 1 - NEPAD: Overview, Prospects, and Challenges

Moderated by Dr. Guy Thompson, University of Alberta

The first plenary provided an overview, and considered the prospects and challenges of NEPAD. The two speakers were:

- Dr. Malinda Smith of Athabasca University who spoke on "*NEPAD and the Prospects for an African Renaissance.*"
- His Excellency Philémon Yang, High Commissioner of Cameroon to Canada, who spoke on "*NEPAD: Challenges and Opportunities.*"

Summary of Presentations

Malinda S. Smith – This presentation asked the question: What is the genealogy of NEPAD? According to Malinda Smith, "It is a made-in-Africa plan for a global partnership for Africa's development. Supporters call it bold, ambitious and innovative. Critics of the plan call it 'recycled' ideas and suggests it offers nothing new." A genealogy of NEPAD suggests some of its ideas can be traced to the early 20th century Pan-African movement, as well as the late 20th century movement for an African renaissance.

NEPAD is a made-in-Africa plan for a global partnership for African development. Smith quoted the Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo who stated that NEPAD is "a plan by Africa for the people of Africa." Smith referred to Paragraph 7 of the founding document that states, Africans "will determine our own destiny" and called upon the global community to "complement" continental efforts.

Supporters of a global partnership, such as British Prime Minister Tony Blair and billionaire philanthropist George Soros have likened the plan to a new 'Marshall Plan' for Africa.

South African President Thabo Mbeki called the plan "hugely ambitious" and a "very difficult" project for the continent. Smith quoted from the founding document of NEPAD (at the time called the New Africa Initiative or NAI) launched at the 37th Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit in Lusaka, Zambia in July 2001. The document states that, "The leaders of the continent are aware of the fact that the true genius of a people is measured by its capacity for bold and imaginative thinking, and determination in support of their development."

The NEPAD began as two separate plans, the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Program (MAP) and Le Plan Omega. They were merged into the New Africa Initiative (NAI), and subsequently NAI became NEPAD. Mbeki's ideas of a renaissance coalesced in the MAP, which was first unveiled in mid-2000. Efforts to encourage a global buy-in to MAP increased at the G-8 summit in Okinawa, Japan in

May, and continued at the UN Millennium Summit in September 2000. Subsequently, the plan received an endorsement by the European Union. As well, Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo and Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika signed on to lead the development and promotion of the plan.

Another economic plan by President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal was being developed at the same time – Le Plan Omega. It had a heavy focus on people-development, infrastructure development and the need for Africa to attract foreign direct investment (FDI). In July 2001 at the OAU summit in Lusaka, MAP and Le Plan Omega were merged into the New Africa Initiative (NAI). It received formal endorsement by African leaders as a pan-African initiative. On October 23, 2001 the New Partnership for African Development was launched by African heads of state at the OAU/African Union in Abuja, Nigeria. The text released at the time was characterized as “embodying the philosophy, priorities and implementation modalities of the Initiative.”

Five African countries, including South Africa, Senegal, Nigeria, Algeria and Egypt, lead the plan’s implementation. South Africa is the site of the NEPAD Secretariat. It is responsible for good governance. Senegal is to lead in areas of infrastructure and the environment. Nigeria’s responsibility includes attracting foreign investment to the continent and addressing fiscal anomalies. Algeria has the portfolio for human development, and Egypt the leadership role on opening access to markets.

African political leaders also built global support, particularly with the international financial institutions (IFIs). World Bank President James Wolfensohn said the plan was “home-grown and home-owned.” He said the plan was “of enormous importance for every citizen of the world.” The World Bank recognized that “top-down development imposed from Washington or London or Geneva will not work.” The World Bank took from the document the need to “streamline conditionality” rather than to eliminate it, and the need to think more in terms of African regional and continental integration rather than country specific projects.

African leaders led by Senegal’s Wade pitched the plan at the G-8 Summit in Genoa, Italy. Leaders of the G-8, including French President Jacques Chirac, British Prime Minister Tony Blair and Canada’s Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, endorsed the plan. According to President Chirac, this was “the first time in the G8 [that] Africa was seriously addressed.” Prime Minister Chrétien said the G-8 leaders recognized that, “Aiding Africa is not charity; it’s an investment.”

The Genoa G-8 summit adopted the, “Genoa Plan for Africa.” The industrialized countries identified a number of good governance and social development priorities. These included the expansion of trade across the African continent and globally, increasing private investment to the continent, the good management of economic enterprises, and addressing corruption and expanding the use of new technologies. Other broad priorities included good political governance, and the prevention and

management of conflicts. A third focus was on social development including improving public health and education, and the alleviation of poverty and hunger.

African leaders said that the plan recognizes that top-down initiatives from outside Africa would not work. Yet, critics say the plan was developed by an African political elite and has been discussed and endorsed by the western political elite. The plan is capitalism-friendly and does not oppose structural adjustment, but seeks to modify it. Yash Tandon, the Director of the Southern and Eastern African Trade Information and Negotiation Initiative said NEPAD is worse than structural adjustment. Critics see it as embracing neo-liberal globalization and as based on a questionable assumption that greater integration into a global economy will be a good thing. Critics also suggest the leaders are soft on neo-colonialism. Patrick Bond of South Africa said NEPAD represents a "neoliberal recolonization" of the African political economy. Some see NEPAD as a betrayal of the hopes and dreams of the African people by the African leaders. Some women's groups also suggest the plan inadequately addresses the needs of women and girls.

Not all criticisms of NEPAD were outright rejections. Some criticisms were offered as a way of improving the agreement. Some critics call for more involvement of civil society and the general population, and for rethinking the document through a gender-lens. The enthusiasm for the plan must be anchored in firm, practical plans.

NEPAD is a dynamic instrument; it should not be discouraged by the challenges posed by critics. These challenges include:

- Poverty reduction – this must include defining what poverty is, and must be linked to other social development indicators such as education, healthcare, and unemployment.
- Environmental issues – while these issues are salient to Africa they must also be addressed within the context of global instruments.
- Peace and security – always fragile. Often initiatives for conflict resolution do not address the global issue of arms sales from western countries.
- Democratization – rule of law, greater participation of civil society, increased freedoms, human rights. The process for developing and enhancing these are not easy and clear plans for ensuring the rule of law and political legitimation are essential.

Critiques suggest the onus is on African leaders to demonstrate that this plan is truly something different. Democratization is an important indicator; it must be demonstrated in practice. At the moment, NEPAD is ambiguous on what the "new" African democracy will look like beyond a vague notion of "peer review." Civil society and NGOs will have to be vigilant to ensure that NEPAD will make a difference to ordinary Africans.

His Excellency Philémon Yang – Thanks to the organizers, the audience and for all participants in this event.

His Excellency (H.E.) Yang discussed a number of challenges and opportunities presented by the NEPAD. He argued that these opportunities and challenges needed to be tackled if the continent was to move to a condition of good economic and political governance.

Among the challenges discussed by H.E. Yang were poverty reduction, prevention of environmental degradation, peace and security, democratization and political governance, economic liberalization and corporate governance, sub-regional and regional approaches to development, inadequate infrastructure, and human resources development.

With regard to economic liberalization and corporate governance, African states have not been very successful. He also maintained there is a problem with the extraction of educated Africans (the brain drain) by the west. On the issue of sovereignty, H.E. Yang said there is no use for a state to be sovereign without the necessary economy and infrastructure to sustain it. Sustainability is impacted both by aid and debt. Aid has a bad name. It is also declining. Debt continues to increase. The combination of factors presents a serious challenge for the continent. As well, human resources continue to be a problem. At present, education does not keep up with the global challenges. But, he maintained, "challenges open new doors to opportunities."

There are a number of opportunities presented by NEPAD. Among the opportunities discussed by H.E. Yang are the following. First was the emergence of a new consciousness, and way of thinking. A second was globalization, and related to it, the increased access to new information and communications technologies (ICTs). There was also the possibility for an enhanced role for African women, along with increased democratization and popular participation, a critical mass of educated people. As well, economic liberalization and a new management culture, and greater efforts toward peace and conflict resolution, make the future prospects for the continent better.

The new consciousness includes an awareness of past mistakes, and offers an opportunity for stocktaking. This process is already underway. According to H.E. Yang, "Globalization is here to stay. We have to deal with it, modify it through local action. One way is South-South relations." Telecommunications is seen by H.E. Yang as aiding the process of sharing knowledge. While opportunities for women have improved, he said, "It is clear that more opportunities are need for women in Africa."

A process of democratization is slowly underway. "Democracy is fragile and not always the most efficient, but it is the best we know." It allows greater participation of all people. Multi-party systems must be encouraged. Developing a "critical mass" of educated people would allow African countries to innovate and change.

Peace and security are important issues for Africa. It is important to note that "many countries are not engaged in war." Further, it has been only 40 years since independence. Peace movements all over the world are contributing to greater peace.

"The African Union and NEPAD will lead to a better future for Africa."

Plenary I Questions and Answers (Smith and H.E. Yang)

Q.1. With regard to NEPAD, how does it relate to labour and ethical standards in business, especially multinational companies (MNCs)?

H.E. Yang – Corporate governance issues will have to deal with this; cocoa and coffee corporations are examples. NEPAD suggests the issue of labour and labour standards should be addressed within the framework and using the standards of the International Labor Organization (ILO). Issues of child labour and debt labor are serious problems and these will need to be addressed.

Malinda Smith – Peer review and a code of conduct for African leaders are part of NEPAD but how these are related to popular processes of legitimation and greater democratization remain to be seen. As H.E. Yang indicates, NEPAD does acknowledge the need for internationally recognized labour standards but monitoring the implementation of these will be key. Labour unions do have a valid concern with regard to how NEPAD's endorsement of privatization might exacerbate employment standards and labour insecurity.

Q. 2. Issue of sovereignty – will problems be addressed by changing borders and transnationalized governance?

H.E. Yang – This is a longstanding problem. Many countries cannot defend their sovereignty. Reality may dictate changes. Regional unions are already developing. ECOWAS is an example. We will need to seek diplomatic routes to solve regional conflicts. Banking and monetary systems are already becoming regional. Sovereignty is often a block to cooperation.

Q. 3. Economic development – How is NEPAD going to develop Africa and address poverty? What should we make of the west's involvement in women and development? Development is cultural as well as economic. Do we want to incorporate western ideas on how to deal with issues of women and families?

Malinda Smith – NEPAD is a long-term project. One estimate is that it will cost US \$64 billion a year. As we know there already are billions earmarked for Bosnia and for Afghanistan as well as the "war on terrorism." So global financing will be a challenge. In terms of human resources it will require an informed and educated

mass of people within and outside Africa to monitor the programs. On the one hand, Prime Minister Chrétien maintains that NEPAD is not charity. The positive spin is that this is a kind of 'Marshall Plan' for Africa. On the other hand, the difference between Europe and Africa at the point of implementation makes this analogy questionable. As it relates to massive infusion of assistance to build infrastructure for sustainable development, then NEPAD can be linked to the Marshall Plan. When we address poverty and security, the whole world benefits. The issue of women needs to be addressed; NEPAD mentions the need for increased education and opportunities for girls and women but needs to spell these out, including support for families often separated across borders because of work.

H.E. Yang – NEPAD says we can improve our lives without colonization and slavery as was pursued in the West. Trade and market access will improve lives. NEPAD has one advantage. It is a new idea from a new leadership. NEPAD cannot solve all of Africa's problems. It is a plan that will be developed over time, as we proceed. The West will look after its own interests, but Africa can use its networks in the West, both the Diaspora and other supporters to improve things for Africa.

Q. 4. Sovereignty, agriculture, pollution, freedom are all issues addressed in Ireland. Ireland offers an example of the difficulties Africa faces. What do you hope to come away with from the G8 meeting? Dependency on global trade can be both positive and negative.

H.E. Yang – As of now, only Canada has come forward with funding for Africa at the G8. We hope that the G8 will endorse NEPAD and commit money to the project. The decision will depend on the behaviour of Africans as well as the West. On the issue of globalization – it can be very dangerous. The issue of attracting away from the continent educated youth – the brain drain – is one of those dangers. The power difference between the West and Africa must be addressed if there is going to be a true partnership.

Malinda Smith – One thing that would be very productive at the G8 would be a commitment to specific projects such as health, education, and information and communications technologies (ICTs) and support for peacekeeping and conflict resolution. Canadian and African representatives will be meeting in April 2002 to discuss what outcome should be planned for Kananaskis. We need to be sure that our voices are heard in Canada. Economic globalization and globalization from above will continue to pose problems for Africa. However NEPAD is an attempt to interrupt the marginalization of Africa in the global economy. Cultural globalization and globalization from below might enable greater participation of civil society. How this plays out in light of the economic logic of NEPAD which critics describe as neoliberal remains to be seen.

Plenary 1 continued

Moderated by Dr. Guy Thompson

The first plenary on overview, challenges and opportunities continued after a break with three new speakers:

- Bayowa Adedeji, the Director of Media and Publications, Centre for Human Rights Research and Development, Ibadan, Nigeria, *"The Africa Development Debacle – Nigeria's Concern - Review and Suggestions."*
- Mikael Taffesse, graduate student in Educational Policy Studies at the University of Alberta, *"Canada in the New Partnership for Africa's Development: Prospects and Concerns."*
- Kathryn Dunlop, the Coordinator of G8/NEPAD, Africa and Middle East Branch in the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), *"Canada's Response to NEPAD."*

Summary of Presentations

Bayowa Adedeji (CUSO) - Drawing on Nigeria as a way to consider what NEPAD means, Adedeji suggested that there "is a hopeful perspective but also a cynical one." Although Nigeria is a rich country because of its oil, many people are suffering. Seventy percent of the population – 100 million – lives in poverty. The minimum wage is US \$1.50 per day for government workers and \$10 per month in the business sector. The political situation and the collapse of industry worsen unemployment. Structural adjustment programs (SAPs) have devastated the lives of many, especially because there is no social security. The average farmer cannot send his family to school and cannot even eat what he produces because he must sell his produce for cash.

Adedeji noted that "Africa is not one thing, but a diversity of cultures" and that "Africa's problems have a long history, going back to slavery and colonialism." Europeans with "old money" got that money from the exploitation of African people. The infrastructure development of the colonizers was not created for Africa, but for the extraction of resources to benefit Europe. Independence and the Cold War coincided, creating further problems. War and looting resulted. Western arms manufacturers benefited while Africans suffered. This period was followed by the policies of the IMF and World Bank. Structural adjustment policies (SAPs) sapped African economies. Many African leaders took the money and put it into their own accounts. There was no accountability.

However, SAPs and like programs were created without the direct involvement of Africans. Many development schemes failed because there was no consultation with the people concerned. Many programs were handed over to despots like Mobutu Sese Seko who used it to institute a kind of neo-slavery. The IMF and World Bank programs insisted on the removal of necessary subsidies and social security. This led

to crime and hopelessness among the population. Plans for development fail because ordinary Africans are not participants in the decision-making.

"NEPAD will also fail unless consultation and participation continues." Infrastructure is a priority. Globalization is good but Africa's economic weakness must be a factor in addressing it. Banking needs must be addressed. Loans for small business must consider the standard of living. Debt cancellation is a priority. With a *tabula rasa* we will face our future squarely. Adedeji concluded by saying that, "Women must stand up for their rights against male supremacy."

Mikael Taffesse – Canada and the new partnership requires a new global vision that will change the relationship between Africa and the G8. From Dr. Zuma's keynote address we learned the following facts:

1. Africa is a net exporter of capital. Thus, throwing money at the problem will not solve anything.
2. Canada and the West poach educated and skilled workers from Africa.

There is a lot of rhetoric and "poetry" around globalization. The war against terrorism promises to address poverty. Alan Rock promises that Canada will provide compassionate and moral leadership for changes in the relationship between Canada and Africa.

AIDS, aid and the like are not new issues. "Poverty has metastasized as the global relationship between the West and Africa developed." The World Bank's aid has failed to promote development. Development without international justice is not development.

The focus on Africa is a good thing. However, the developmentalist approach is not. Why don't the Western "partners" take responsibility for the failure of this developmentalist approach? The popular image of Africa is informed by ethnocentric and racist stereotypes. The war against terrorism and the war on poverty can be positive if poverty is prioritized.

At present, the new partnership is only an idea. It needs a concrete focus. If the Zimbabwe example is what we have to look forward to then we are in trouble. Canada has the prestige to move the process forward but it must take a strong stance.

The American absence from the Stockholm meeting of moderate political leaders was a problem, but former President Bill Clinton's involvement gives hope. Today, the issue of poverty is paramount and is a scar on the world. The potential for self-evaluation on the part of Western nations exists. They must look at the morality of aid programs – and consider the question "who benefits?" Charity often ends up at home, rather than abroad where it was directed.

No country has ever developed on aid. We must look more closely at present traditional structures and fundamental changes. Without such changes, debt cancellation will have no effect. A serious evaluation of the causes of poverty must be addressed before investment can replace aid.

Partnership implies a relationship between equals. How can we have equitable partnership without equality and justice?

Kathryn Dunlop (CIDA) – Dunlop's presentation focused on a number of points, including a discussion of NEPAD in the context of "persistent poverty and marginalization of Africa" which she characterized as "unacceptable." She said it was in "the interest of the entire world to help Africa" succeed in its plans.

The statistics presented by Dunlop painted a grim picture. One-fifth of Africans are impacted by conflict. Half of the population of Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) lives on one dollar per day. Where life expectancy in Canada is 79 years, in SSA it is 47. More than two-thirds of the world's population impacted by HIV/AIDS (40 million people infected worldwide) live in Africa. "Poverty breeds despair and alienation."

"We are hearing both positives and negatives about the 'new partnership'." Dunlop argued that the bottom line is that NEPAD has captured peoples' attention and imagination. It is African-owned and promoted. All 53 members of the OAU/African Union have endorsed NEPAD.

NEPAD is attractive to the West particularly because of its focus on good governance, debt relief, market access, the digital divide, addressing health and education needs, and a new "partnership between and among Africans." "No person benefits when one third of the world's children live in poverty. It is no longer about my children or your children, but it is about our children."

The international responses to the NEPAD have been "generally positive," in Africa, the G8 and European Union (EU). When "progressive African leaders" presented NEPAD at G8 in Genoa "it was welcomed by the G8 leaders as a possible turning point in Africa's development." It was also seen as positive for "the relationship between and among Africans and between Africa and the international community."

The G8 meeting will have strengthening the global economy and the war on terrorism on the agenda. But Africa is also on the agenda. "NEPAD has weathered September 11 and the crisis in Zimbabwe. Post-September 11 Prime Minister Chrétien "remains strongly committed to ensuring that Africa remains a principal focus on the agenda at Kananaskis." Dunlop noted that P.M. Chrétien "delivered a clear statement to this effect at the World Economic Forum in New York in early February."

Despite everything else, including the Zimbabwe elections, and the awareness that NEPAD was "developed in a top down manner by a select number of African leaders," the prospects for NEPAD "remain strong." "Public debate over NEPAD has exploded over the past months." The Zimbabwean issue is very complicated. It involves explosive land issues *and* human rights issues and these coincide and one eclipses the other."

There is a NEPAD process and an institutional structure that has emerged in Africa. NEPAD has a Steering Committee comprised by the "original founders that include Nigeria, South Africa, Egypt, Senegal and Algeria." It also has an Implementation Committee that includes the five founders and 10 countries. There is a small Secretariat located in Johannesburg and headed by Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu. There are several Working Groups, including work by the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). The ECA "is developing a methodology for assessing governance performance – both economic and political."

As to the NEPAD and G8 process, the G8 is committed to an Africa Action Plan. Canada, as well as other G8 leaders have appointed personal representatives. Prime Minister Chrétien appointed Ambassador Robert Fowler who chairs the Personal Representatives for Africa (APR). The APR works with African leaders in the lead up to Kananaskis.

The G8 Africa Action Plan is not meant to be exhaustive. It is meant to be a tangible and credible response to NEPAD. Five clusters of key issues include:

- Governance, including peer-review.
- Peace and security, including conflict prevention and post-conflict rehabilitation.
- Education, information technologies and health, including communicable diseases such as HIV/AIDS.
- Economic growth, including market access, and enabling environment for trade and investment, ODA reform (aid effectiveness).
- Water, agriculture and overall development effectiveness.

From a G8 standpoint, good governance means more than "fair" elections, but genuine representation of the interests of the people. Expectations have to be realistic. Change will not occur immediately. Money has been committed both by Canada and the US. CIDA will continue to be involved in telecommunications and health, especially HIV/AIDS.

There is a need to recognize that this is a plan that is just beginning. On the G8 side there is close consultation with both Canadian groups and African groups. CIDA will draw on its experience working in Africa to facilitate public discourse in Africa. It will support civil society in Africa in its participation in NEPAD.

Information on the G8 can be found at <http://www.g8.ca> or at telephone 1-888-316-2002. CIDA's web site is at <http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca>. The NEPAD document can be found at <http://www.africarecovery.com>.

"The NEPAD and G8 Plan is a unique and unprecedented opportunity for public debate in Canada and in Africa and throughout the world." At home, the Canadian government "wants to ensure that Africa derives the maximum advantage and that Africa remains close to the center of Canada's concerns abroad." Dunlop also concluded that NEPAD was "a visible, tangible document that people can draw upon to discuss issues of development, poverty" and the like.

Continuation of Plenary I Questions and Answers (Adedeji, Taffesse, Dunlop)

Q.1. Is there any concern about US unilateralism? Is this seen as a present danger?

Q.2. Let us bring the dream of our heroes such as Biko, Mandela, and Nkrumah to fruition. What can we do about the issue of capital export? How can we stop the sending of money to European banks? We need to destroy economic and financial apartheid.

Q.3. Issues of history are difficult to deal with. How is Africa going to be accountable for the US\$ 64 billion in "investment"? How do we balance history with accountability?

Q.4. What about businesses like Talisman energy of Calgary, Alberta that does business in the Sudan?

Bayowa Adedeji - It is quite unfortunate that the western media focuses on the negative. We need a network of African media to present a different and more balanced view. Regarding accountability, NGOs in Nigeria are challenging the government to explain their spending. Africa must look inwards to find the strength in its own abilities and resources.

Mikael Taffesse - US unilateralism is not a problem for Africa. They want an empirical evaluation of aid, but are not looking to remove US aid from Africa. Regarding financial apartheid, western governments must be accountable as well as African governments. There is an issue of the hypocrisy when western businesses conduct business with governments like Sudan.

Kathryn Dunlop - NEPAD outlines issues of not only what Africa must do but also on the international community. On accountability with regard to aid: humanitarian assistance will continue, but development aid will be contingent on the commitment to democratic practice in Africa. Flight of capital reflects bad governance. On the question of US unilateralism: In the G8 a balance of groups of voices acts to counter this unilateralism.

Plenary II - Options for Africa: Role of Government and Civil Society

Moderated by Dr. Chaldeans Mensah, Political Science, Grant MacEwan Community College

The second plenary was comprised of two speakers from Canadian civil society organizations that partner with African civil society organizations and a speaker whose teaching and research includes African civil society and media studies:

- Molly Kane, Co-Chair of the Africa Canada Forum and Executive Director of Inter Pares, "*Options for a New Partnership for Africa: Perspectives of Civil Society.*"
- Madonna Larbi, MATCH International Centre, "*African Women's Perspective of NEPAD.*"
- Dr. Wisdom Tettey, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Communication and Culture, University of Calgary, "*The Media, Accountability and Civic Engagement in Africa.*"

Summary of Presentations

Molly Kane – By way of introduction to her presentation, Molly Kane discussed the Africa Canada Forum, as an expression of civil society in Canada and Africa, and as a launching pad for her discussion of NEPAD. She asked the question, "How is civil society involved in promoting a new relationship with Africa?"

The Africa Canada Forum (ACF) is an official Working Group comprised of 40 member organizations. The ACF has relationships with civil society organizations in Africa, including development non-governmental organizations (NGOs), church organizations, labour, human rights organizations, and women's organizations. Through its Canada-Africa network it maintains connections and links with NGOs across most of sub-Saharan Africa.

Three years ago, a few people working with development NGOs in Canada met and began a discussion of their practices. They felt there was a need for Canadian NGOs to look at their own practices. A retreat was held over a three-day period, in an environment that was critical of the work NGOs were doing. A follow up meeting was held a year later.

The Canadian NGOs working in Africa were concerned about three areas:

1. Images of Africa – confronting and dealing with false images of Africa and African people. There was a need to look at ways to change how the institutions represented Africa.
2. Resource Extraction – the political economy of resource extraction, and the larger policy context. They asked, "What was to be the role of NGOs in dealing with issues of resource extraction?"

3. Civil Society – need to consider the role of civil society, democratization and peace building process. These issues were especially relevant for countries undergoing decentralization of government.

The Africa Canada Forum worked to get Africa on the map in Canada. Then, last summer (2001), it was announced that the G8 was to be held in Canada and that Africa was going to be a priority. Thus, last summer the Africa Canada Forum began to wonder what African NGOs thought about NEPAD which was being discussed in Canada and in international organizations.

Among the African NGO groups contacted, the Africa Canada Forum found that NEPAD was not at all known by them. Many of the counterparts are informed and involved with trade negotiation in Doha. As well, many of the African NGOs in Sub-Saharan Africa could not find any information on NEPAD in their own countries. This led Africa Canada Forum to start sending out NEPAD information from the G8 web site in Canada.

In October, the Third World Network¹ (TWN) drafted a discussion paper and sent it out as an invitation to dialogue. The TWN asked for comments. Kane also attended events where NEPAD was discussed in Africa. In January 2002 the Africa Social Forum was attended by 200 organizations from 40 countries. In part this was a preparatory meeting for the World Social Forum (WSF)² to be held in Porto Alegre, Brazil. Senegal's Minister of Foreign Affairs presented the rationale for NEPAD.

There have been ongoing meetings. In April, CODESRIA³ and the Third World Network Africa will look at World Bank policy as it relates to NEPAD. In February 2002 some 70 people from 45 organizations – specific resource people from Africa as well as other participants – met to analyze NEPAD and the opportunities for renewing Canada's relationship with Africa. Following from this, the Africa Canada Forum met with Ambassador Robert Fowler, the Canadian International Development Agency, Privy Council members and others.

What was at stake after discussion with government officials?

There were three areas of concern:

1. Governance – The elite process was problematic, for both African and Canadian civil society. Discussions were between G8 heads of state and African heads of state. The approach of NEPAD was technical, and blind to citizen action and struggle as part of the process of democratization. The process suggests a partnership between African states and industrialized

¹ Third World Network, <http://www.twinside.org.sg/> The Third World Network Africa is located at 4th. Sakumo Link, Larerbiokoshie, P.O. Box 19452, Accra-North, Ghana Tel: (23321) 306069 - 301064 - 302107 Fax: (23321) 311687 - 231688 - 773857 Email: isodec@ncs.com.gh

² World Social Forum, Porto Alegre, Brazil, <http://www.portoalegre2002.org/>

³ Headquartered in Dakar, Senegal

states, and not between African citizens and their governments. There is the notion that accountability and governance can be addressed through a system of peer review; this is inadequate.

Kane also felt that there was no acknowledgement of the historical causes for the problems on governance on the African continent. "Whether the past is a problem and who is to blame, we cannot move forward without acknowledging this history." There is a saying, "when a small boy falls he looks forward. When an old man falls down he looks back." Structural adjustment programs (SAPs) undermined good governance and this has to be acknowledged.

2. NEPAD as an economic program – is it doable? Kane thought there were many concerns:

- Reliance and confidence on foreign direct investment (FDI). This is dangerous and risky because the measures designed to attract foreign investment did not work and exacerbated internal economic problems.
- There is no apparent support for the rural sector and informal sector.
- The central issues in African development are not just about investment, but also about the productive capacity of investment. She felt there was a naïve faith in foreign investment among promoters of NEPAD. Yet, consider the example of Ghana. It did everything it was told by the international financial institutions and now it is bankrupt; now an HIPC (Heavily Indebted Poor Country).

Where does optimism for FDI come from? FDI does not address the internal weakness of domestic economies.

3. Finally, what is "new" in the "partnership"? Without a change in the global governance, issues of fairness and transparency or recognition of historical problems – there cannot be a shift in domestic policies to bring about changes.

Why is NEPAD so well received when other plans have not been? Kane suggested it was because NEPAD does not question the existing relations of power. It supports the maintenance of the existing international financial infrastructure. New economic agreement will continue doing what has been asked with hope that the financial infrastructure will change. Precisely because NGO demands were refused in Doha, many are skeptical about NEPAD, particularly because it does not recognize other aspects of global governance. There is a need for more policy coherence, as well as a need to question the context in which policy would be implemented.

Kane argued that one should not see the G8 as the final step. Rather, it is an opening. Debate is needed and must continue over:

- How citizens address government.

- Better relations between citizen and their own governments.
- Need for a multilateral structure that addresses fairness.
- Rural and informal sector need to be involved.

Madonna Larbi (MATCH International) – Madonna Larbi drew upon the history and experiences of MATCH International as an introduction to her discussion on the gender implications of NEPAD. Her presentation focused "on the African women's perspective" on the NEPAD document.

Larbi explained that MATCH is a 25-year old women's development organization with its headquarters in Ottawa. It works with women globally, particularly in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Canada in three main areas:

- Women and sustainable human development.
- Eliminating violence against women.
- Words of Women, recording the words of women, and support groups who want to document their thoughts, to preserve proceedings.

To help understand MATCH and its involvement in NEPAD activities related to women, Larbi thought some historical background was necessary. In 1995, the Gender Unit of the Southern African Regional Institute for Policy Studies (SARIPS)⁴ contacted MATCH to see if it was interested in organizing and facilitating a policy discussion on women and Africa's future. At the "Continental Initiative" meeting the concerns of African women were explored. The issues raised included,

- Decline of health.
- Macro economic policies – devastating impact on African women's lives.
- Farcical multi-party systems which do not ensure democracy or good governance.

Some two dozen women from Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Malawi, Mali, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe discussed four key issues:

- Economics of poverty.
- Militarization, violence and chaos.
- An African health agenda.
- Good governance and democracy.

These women agreed that they would work collaboratively across national and regional boundaries. The women felt that African governments were negotiating agreements with multilateral financial institutions, without consultation with communities and citizens. Yet these signed agreements have a serious impact on

⁴ SARIPS is located in Harare, Zimbabwe. It is an arm of the SAPES TRUST, which was established to undertake research, training and policy dialogue. <http://www.sapes.co.zw/>

civil society groups. As such, the women felt they needed to be more informed in order to make governments more accountable. The commitment to continue participating in these conversations laid the groundwork for ongoing discussions, including about NEPAD.

In 2001 MATCH was approached to provide an international space for women's groups and networks in Africa to meet, review and assess NEPAD. The women attending the MATCH-facilitated roundtable on NEPAD came from diverse backgrounds, women's groups and networks, academics, and African students in Canada. They wanted to provide comments to the architects of NEPAD.

MATCH met with women from across disciplines, including women's studies, philosophy, law, statistics, criminology, human resources, and journalists. The NEPAD document was reviewed and recommendations offered. The review and recommendations of the NEPAD were widely distributed including to the African Union, Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), DAWN,⁵ WILDAF,⁶ UNIFEM,⁷ government officials, and governments and organizations in Canada and the United States.

Although NEPAD will impact millions, this blueprint for African renewal was developed without broad participation despite supporting democratization. The participants also noted that some positive aspects of Le Plan Omega, such as the people-centred element, was lost in NEPAD iteration. The Omega Plan called for sub-regional integration and aimed to put Africa in a strong position viz. the global economy. Larbi stated that "the most glaring observation to be found, in the various versions of this blue print for Africa's renewal, is that though the document is neither gender blind nor gender neutral, the critical issues of gender were addressed sporadically at best."

For a sound launch of NEPAD in Africa and globally, MATCH's gender review led to two important recommendations:

1. The need to pay due recognition "to gender characteristics" that are relevant to Africa's economic, social and political development, as well as the marginalization of women in these areas.
2. Women's issues and perspectives are not an after thought – "NEPAD should seek to promote the empowerment of women" consistent with the global development consensus for women's inclusion. Mainstreaming women in NEPAD is also consistent with the "African Platform for Action" adopted in Dakar, Senegal and the 1995 "Beijing Platform for Action."

⁵ Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), <http://dawn.org.fj/about/index.html>

⁶ Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF), <http://www.wildaf.org.zw/>

⁷ United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), <http://www.unifem.undp.org/>

Larbi focused the latter part of her discussion on some specific gender critiques of various aspects of the NEPAD document made by the women at the roundtable. In Sections 1 and 6 concerning leadership, women suggest NEPAD can't just be bold and imaginative. It also needed to be visionary, honest and courageous. Democracy needs to be inclusive. The cultural environment influences participation of women and men alike.

Section 3 looks at the political process that led to patronage and mismanagement. The women felt this was not as applicable to women who were not in positions to do these things. There was no accountability and transparency but for the most part women have not been part of Africa's mismanagement.

Section 5 of the "Program of Action: The Strategy for Achieving Sustainable Development in the 21st Century" needed to put people first but also to recognize that economic growth should enhance the well being of women and men alike. Larbi referenced the case of the Sans people of Botswana. They "are challenging their government's resettlement program from their ancestral homes," in part because the "Central Kalahari is rich in diamonds and other mineral deposits."

There is an omission of the UN goals regarding HIV/AIDS. Yet AIDS is affecting entire societies. A greater number of women than men (55%) in Sub-Saharan Africa is infected by HIV/AIDS. Teen girls are five times more likely to be infected than teen boys due to traditional attitudes of masculinity and how this impacts relations between the sexes. There is a need for access to AIDS treatment for all. At Abuja, Nigeria in April 2001, African heads of state agreed that 15 percent of their national budgets should be allocated to health. The women at the roundtable thought that this commitment should be a key component of NEPAD .

NEPAD discusses sectoral priorities such as national transportation. MATCH's critique suggests before focusing on regional needs there is a need to develop national transportation first. This analysis of sectoral priorities in the NEPAD document noticeably ignores the role of women in agriculture, and according to Larbi, "the long-term neglect of gender issues in agriculture is directly linked to the poor performance of the sector." The African leadership was called upon to back up their commitment to agriculture and related rural development.

Larbi went on to say that in the discussion on the environment, women at the roundtable felt that in light of the central role played by women in the environment in Africa, NEPAD needed to recognize this more specifically. Women needed to be recognized as "a target group in environmental projects because of their knowledge in the development of sustainable environmental techniques." In particular, the women referenced the recommendations of the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies that women's participation was key "in national and international ecosystem management and control of the environmental degradation." There was a recommendation to end "gender-based discrimination" and to promote concrete "measures designed to ensure women's access to land and other resources."

See: <http://www.web.ca/~matchint/> for a full copy of MATCH's gender review.

Similar concerns raised by MATCH International's roundtable were echoed at the Africa Women Forum during the joint African Leadership Forum and UNESCO conference in Ota, Nigeria.

Larbi concluded by urging the Canadian government "to be the conscience at the table" and to use "its status to also support the concerns of African women" as they relate to NEPAD.

Wisdom Tetey (University of Calgary) – Wisdom Tetey began his presentation by discussing two of the issues in NEPAD that were related to democracy and good governance. He noted that NEPAD tries to incorporate media and issues of accountability. It was his view that we need to evaluate the future of NEPAD in light of the future for media in Africa and for democratic accountability. He said he offered these preliminary comments as "cautionary notes toward making the NEPAD document more relevant."

The document talks a lot about good governance and the role of government. It says African people need to rebuild confidence in themselves. Yet, ironically, citizens have not been an integral part of the definition of what the role of citizens will be in NEPAD. Tetey asked, "What can governments do to create space for citizens?"

Accountability is important in the document and in a globalizing world. There is an assumption that governments will latch on to the issue of accountability. What is the incentive for governments to do that? There is a difference between the rhetoric and reality.

Another emphasis in NEPAD is on information technologies (IT). Tetey noted that the infrastructure that would allow African countries to take advantage of global markets (e-commerce) still needs to be built. More important, he felt, there needed to be as much talk about 'soft ware' – the engagement of civil society as instrumental – as there is now about 'hard ware' infrastructure.

What is missing in the document? Governments are answerable to the people, rendering stewardship to people, responding to citizens. Democracy requires that there is a transparency about processes that define options. Tetey asked, "To what extent do we hold governments accountable? What are the mechanisms to ensure governments can deliver in setting expectations?"

Tetey goes on to say that the media is key to promoting accountability, particularly in society. The media is needed to represent the voice of the marginalized. Civil society puts the onus on the media, private and state-owned, to do this.

One of the barometers of NEPAD's significance is to what extent Africans discuss it in African media. In part, there is some responsibility on civil society in the North to help provide greater access to information for Africans without it. He also commented this was important because, "Everyone wants to see good governance and the development of information and communications technologies (ICTs)." Democratizing the state in Africa is measurable by the commitment of leaders.

Tettey was skeptical that African states were committed to media freedom. He noted that, at present, "African countries cannot say there is this commitment when two leaders of NEPAD – Algeria and Senegal – demonstrate a reticence to free media. There is a contradiction. In the Algerian parliament it is a legal offense to say anything offensive toward the head of state or government leaders." So, there is a paradox. "On the one hand the leaders are telling the world what the world wants to hear but on the other hand what they say is not reflected in the actions at home."

Tettey also discussed several other examples of media restriction on the African continent. In Ghana, a law on criminal libel "is used to sedate the media." Media laws in Zimbabwe and Eritrea allow the government to prosecute journalists because they are critical of the government and state. Thus for NEPAD to succeed, "the important thing will be for African states to demonstrate real commitment instead of abstract commitment. Before NEPAD transforms into a full-blown process it needs to address contradictions at home."

In the area of ICTs there is support in NEPAD for the building of a new telecommunications infrastructure. "The fact is that right now access is dominated by the state. However, although governments have web sites, when emails are sent there are no responses back, no feedback from government. Will governments be responsive in an e-world? They are not responsive now," Tettey insisted.

"How will new IT infrastructure allow new voices to be heard?," Tettey asked. In response he stated that, "Before we discuss new IT infrastructure we need to discuss who can afford it, including from a gender analysis." These are cultural and economic rationales related to IT access and use. Many African women are without access, and this is quite different from the western experience. There is a rural/urban divide, as well, and this raises questions about whose voices are expressed in the new information age.

According to Tettey, there is somewhat of a utopian view of governance and ICT in NEPAD. "There is an assumption is that if you build it they will come. Why would people use it? There is no magic equalizer for deliberative democracy. This is not just an issue of access, but also the cost of the process. The language of technology is also an issue. To what extent is the document thinking long-term so language of the Internet includes African languages? Some 80 percent of language on the Internet is English. Given levels of illiteracy in Africa, who will be involved?"

Tetty also noted that it is problematic to expect a magical response from ICTs and that there is a reason for his pessimism. "IT is connected to market – e-commerce – and is less about IT and good governance. The focus is on opening markets and facilitating capital flows. The governance dimension is subordinated to this interest." He suggests a challenge for the future will be how to juxtapose the economic dimension with the political.

Although media has a critical role, there is a need to push toward greater retrospection. Media reflect the same bias as most are urban and do not go to the rural area, in part, because there are no advertising revenues to be generated there. Tetty insisted it is a media responsibility to incorporate marginalized voices.

The media has an ability to engage citizens, and to draw attention to leaders that have not demonstrated commitment to support media. We need to challenge media to be introspective so it can be a space and a catalyst to mobilize people.

Tetty concluded by saying that NEPAD talks a lot about ICTs and civil engagement but it has not yet demonstrated these at home.

Plenary II Questions and Answers

Q.1. With respect to media representations of the Middle East and Africa, western media tends to oversimplify. Given that we have not learned from apartheid in South Africa, we are now seeing a repeat in Palestine. How can NEPAD be successful, given bias in the media?

Wisdom Tetty – There is a sense that what is acceptable is defined already and if you do not fit into it, you won't get support. NEPAD is asking for North countries to define what that participation is and what citizen expression means. Media in the North has to follow that. There is the issue of what is reported and what is missing which can be equally important. Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe is interesting in this regard because he fits his actions into the "war on terrorism."

Molly Kane – Political space is one shaped by the criminalization of dissent. Anti-terrorism laws in Canada are some of the most oppressive worldwide; one cannot express dissent nor offer support to other organizations or one's own charity can be de-certified. There is a chill effect when these laws exist. Fear leads people to stop doing what they normally do and as a consequence needy people are neglected.

Q.2. What is a terrorist? Is it someone fighting for liberation of their country? A real terrorist is someone like Chile's former leader Augusto Pinochet.

Q.3. Was the Omega Plan really lost or deliberately hidden, sabotaged?

Q.4. Government sanctions – what does it mean in NEPAD when it says “governments should be forced through sanctions”?

Molly Kane – Omega Plan was not lost, but perhaps “lost” as an idea. Sanctions are seen as a means to hold public officials accountable, whether we have mechanisms to ensure that sanctions can be carried out. We already have laws on the books but do not follow through with them.

Q.5. Traditionally in Africa, women are always seen as “supporters” rather than “partners”. People are illiterate. Tiny populations make up active civil society and most do not have time or the education to ask questions. How will this plan work?

Madonna Larbi – We forget the role of radio as media – that is a good means of reaching people in rural areas. Now we are always talking about the Internet. We are trying to reach people to inform them about the issues. One example is Women’s Voice in Malawi, training rural women to look at political and economic issues, demystifying political economy. We need to continue working to reach people. One way is to resurrect the radio as a means to reaching people.

Wisdom Tettey – In civil society lots of people fall through the cracks. Calling into radio stations can bring accountability. Radio announcements can be instant, can provide tentative results during elections to prevent some election anomalies, and to monitor the election process and broadcast the news instantly. But, this media is more urban and still represents a particular urban group of people.

Molly Kane – General needs of rural people are not adequately met because the support system is not there. It is not profitable to have branches in every village. Therefore it may require public expenditure.

Q.6. Education – Women are ready but the structure of the educational system isn’t addressed in NEPAD. How can women approach higher learning? Women are there, let’s critique their level of participation. How many can listen and understand or use email? They are not brought up discussing political issues and therefore women are at a disadvantage.

Madonna Larbi – It is difficult to raise money for that work since it is not tangible. Efforts of women’s groups to dismantle structures are ridiculed and looked upon as destructive. There is an ongoing battle/problem. The mere fact that MATCH got a call from women’s organizations that needed to meet and discuss NEPAD indicates that it is worthwhile.

Plenary III - Global Partnership for an African Century

Moderated by Dr. Fred Judson, Political Science, University of Alberta

This third and final plenary included:

- Chris Roberts, Africa Direct West (Calgary), *"Many Policies, No Interests: Structuring a Sustainable Canadian Foreign Policy on Africa via NEPAD and the G8 Africa Action Plan."*
- Dr. Marina Ottaway, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Washington, DC), *"Forging Partnership and Micromanaging Africa."*
- Dr. Susanne Soederberg, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Alberta, *"Understanding NEPAD within the New International Financial Architecture."*

Summary of Presentations

Chris Roberts (Executive Director, Africa Direct West) – At the outset of his presentation, Chris Roberts asked participants to step back from NEPAD and look at it from a Canadian foreign policy point of view. He suggested that from this perspective, two policy priorities are the G8 Africa Action Plan and private sector investment. In the first instance, the G8 and Canada's interests in Africa still need to be articulated. Without this, he suggested, there is a need to be concerned about the sustainability of such approaches. According to Roberts, "Africa needs, and Africa has asked for, sustainable and cooperative public and private sector partnerships. There is also a question of how to address infrastructure concerns."

Roberts maintains that Canada has never had a sustained Africa policy. He thought that Canadian foreign policy actions were driven by various motivations that lead to fragmentation. However, articulated national interests, prosperity and employment promote a stable global framework that protects Canadian values. CIDA prioritizes basic human needs.

"The Kananaskis meeting is a unique opportunity for Canada to make a difference." He noted that the G8 and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) are "momentarily" committed. The Canadian government is engaged. African leaders are committed to taking personal responsibility. However, he said, despite this present level of engagement, "There are some contradictions. Canada has no plan and limited staff or budget to deal with Africa." Roberts also thought that Canada's "relationship with Africa should not be run by CIDA. We need a higher level of involvement."

Immigration, citizenship and the "brain drain" are issues. On the one hand, the environment attracts emigration but on the other hand the continent needs to reduce barriers to immigration to Africa." He also argued that the issue of sovereignty is also

about credibility. "Canada cannot dictate sovereignty issues to Africa when it cannot resolve the same issue at home."

Roberts also noted that the Canadian media representations of Africa are a problem. The lead news about Africa, including by NGOs, uses stereotypes of starving children. Using these stereotypical images to raise money perpetuates the negative image of the continent.

The pro-African constituency in Canada is fragmented. As well, there is a question of political leaderships and sustainability versus bureaucratic politics. There is an issue of selectivity: Who will choose the projects and who will get them? Why? There is no clear plan on how to include the private sector, especially small businesses in Africa. ODA is important but so is foreign direct investment (FDI).

Roberts suggested a working assumption for Canada had to include how the "Africa Canadian community can be better mobilized for greater private sector linkages. It takes very little effort to utilize this community as a resource" the way, for example, Asian groups are drawn upon to assist with Canada's Asia-Pacific relations.

Marina Ottaway (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace) – Marina Ottaway argued in her presentation that in theory NEPAD sounds good, but in practice, "There is a problem of moving from the donor-recipient relationship to a partnership among equals." She also argued that, "Donors want to micro-manage the countries to which they donate. This relationship will be very difficult to change," since it is less about partnership than power.

A second point discussed by Ottaway is the issue of the point of view from which the NEPAD is discussed, as well as the reality of what is possible. Ottaway suggests it is important to approach NEPAD from this position. "NEPAD is a vision not a policy, she said, and, "I am afraid too much time will be spent refining the vision rather than implementing the concrete change."

Ottaway says that, "Historically many such visions have crashed on the rocks of reality." She asked the question, "How do we start the process? How to address these ironies and contradictions?" Ottaway was pessimistic because given the donor-recipient relationship, "partnership is an illusion." She cautioned that "We should not believe the G8 Plan of Action will change" the current relationship. However, "That does not mean that improvements will not be made. Changes can be made on two things, (a) on what needs to be improved and (b) how to improve it."

"What is the relationship?" Ottaway asked. The present relationship is characterized by many conditions imposed on Africa externally not just because of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, but also from international non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The problem also is that the number of conditions has multiplied beyond common sense. The history of these conditions

goes back to the 1980s and the emphasis changed from micro-projects to broad policy reforms in order to make development more effective.

Ottaway noted that the Berger Report suggested the path to development was to get the prices right. Governments decided that low food prices were created to avoid urban disorder; these had to be liberalized. Then they discovered that this was not enough. People still were not producing. The question then shifted to a focus on how attention should be paid to market structure, and thereafter conditionalities multiplied. The example of Sierra Leone was raised by Ottaway. She noted that, "At one point, four or five pages of conditions were being imposed on a country with no government."

In light of this, she asked, "What can we hope to do?"

1. Need to refocus and have a dialogue between the G8 and African governments (not NGOs for the moment) to agree on the minimum number of steps to get changes going.
2. There is a need to figure out how to share these ideas with the whole of Africa's populations. We must see that these decisions are presented to African parliaments, not civil society. The reason for this is that civil society is too fragmented and too powerfully linked to international organizations not connected to local issues. Civil society organizations can also present issues to the African parliaments, but ultimately they are not the people to implement the change.
3. There is a need to open a dialogue between G8 and African nations on aid structures. Debt reductions will happen but it will not be positive without such changes.

Dr. Susanne Soederberg (University of Alberta) - Susanne Soederberg commented that "NEPAD in principle is an important initiative, but we need to remember that we live in a world of economic apartheid." She said the Group of 20 (G-20) demonstrates this, as well as the G8, the World Bank and IMF. Drawing on past lessons from Latin America and Asia, Africans should be "wary of promises that private investment will solve problems."

There is a common belief that financial markets are rational and benefit everyone. What this assumption leaves out is an attempt to redefine the agenda for emerging markets. Who benefits? Not the weaker "partners". In Latin America, open capital accounts brought lower gross domestic product (GDP) than in previous periods and higher unemployment.

Soederberg maintained that, "Although the NEPAD holds much potential in achieving economic justice, democracy and security for the African continent, there is much to be criticised." She argued that a critique of NEPAD "cannot begin and end in the parameters of the discourse of neoliberal globalisation, especially by way of its

terminology such as, 'equal partnerships', 'good governance', 'capacity building' and 'civil society'." For Soederberg, the use of these terms, popular in the World Bank and the IMF discourse, "paper over an important characteristic of our social and political life." Such innocuous-sounding terms mask the fact that, "the *capitalist* interstate system" is characterized "by highly uneven and exploitative relations between states." These unequal and exploitative relations are "currently dominated by the United States and transnational financial capital."

From these introductory remarks, Soederberg offered the remainder of her analysis from the perspective of the "devil's advocate." She commented on some of "the limitations and weaknesses inherent in the NEPAD, chiefly with regards to financial liberalization." One example drawn upon related to the capital flows initiative, "which forms a key element of the success of the NEPAD." According to the NEPAD document, "to achieve the estimated 7% annual growth rate needed to meet the international development goals, particularly the goal of reducing by half the proportion of Africans living in poverty by the year 2015, Africa needs to fill an annual resource gap of 12% of its GDP, or \$64 billion."

The implicit support for free capital mobility, "resonates well with the dominant stance of the US Treasury, IMF and World Bank." Consistent with these financial institutions, NEPAD accepts "the neoclassical belief that increased financial liberalization will bring about economic growth."

Soederberg drew upon some lessons learned from 'second-tier' South East Asia and Latin America countries and, argued, "my message today is simple: The NEPAD should be wary of the promise that private financial flows can help developing countries achieve economic stability and sustainability, mainly by allowing these flows to enter Africa 'on the terms of powerful international interests', such as international financial markets and the United States.

To support this message, Soederberg made a number of points.

1. The liberalization of capital accounts by countries in S. E. Asia and Latin America has resulted in them experiencing "major financial crises over the past decade but also economic stagnation." She noted that "Latin America is entering into its second recession since 1998." As well, drawing on the observations of the Executive Secretary of the UN's Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Jose Antonio Ocampo, Soederberg emphasized that "in Latin America, the region where neoliberal reforms have gone the furthest, growth in the 1990s was only 3.2% a year, far below the 5.5% record set during the 3 decades of state-led development from the 1950s to the 1970s."
2. A second point made by Soederberg related to the constraints imposed on governments as their "countries compete to attract and maintain capital flows in their borders, especially by becoming 'good investment sites'." She thought that at least two main constraints on governments were noteworthy in relation to NEPAD.

The first was that, "states face greater vulnerability to the economy to risk, financial volatility, and crisis." The second constraint was that "governments experience a greater imposition of restrictions on policy autonomy, especially their ability to control exchange rates and capital accounts."

In light of these two points, Soederberg went on to say that it was difficult for her "to see how increasing private capital flows to African countries will yield better results than South East Asia and Latin America" without the imposition of some form "of government regulation to ensure that finance invests in the real economy, such as the Bretton Woods system of pegged exchange rates and capital controls.

Soederberg concluded by noting that "the capital flows initiative seems to mirror a fatal flaw in the NEPAD document, namely: the unwillingness of its architects to view globalization as a new phase of capitalism, as opposed to some neutral, progressive and unstoppable force." For Soederberg, globalization and its related neoliberal policy prescriptions are inseparable from "class domination designed to serve the ever-growing concentration of wealth in the world." This concentration of wealth was inconsistent with the idea of "equal partnerships" laid out in NEPAD. Understanding neoliberal globalization's exploitative underpinnings was key to "avoiding co-option into a world economy marked by global apartheid."

Plenary III Questions and Answers

Q.1. Address the implicit conflict in the views presented by Chris Roberts and Susanne Soederberg. What should be done in place of NEPAD?

Q.2. If Canada cannot manage its own water, how can we help Africa?

Chris Roberts – I actually have to agree with Susanne Soederberg on portfolio investment. Few African countries could absorb foreign direct investment (FDI). I am talking about FDI, direct investment in businesses in Africa and in technological transfer and partnerships. On access to markets, Canada needs to open its markets but the capacity does not exist now in Africa. In the area of water, there is room for public-private partnerships; I am not happy with the World Bank on this issue.

Marina Ottaway – African money is getting out of Africa so that the issue of FDI is necessary. There is no alternative. We are beginning to see some export industries that are starting up but it is still small. It is clear that if opportunities exist, Africans will take advantage of them, but it is a very difficult process to get western markets to open up to imports.

Susanne Soederberg – Alternatives need to take a different starting point. The US depends upon capital flows from outside to support its huge deficits. We need to look at how the structural constraints represent finance and not production; it is not the way growth is created. Capital controls need to be brought back into the discussion.

IX. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Q.3. Involvement of the Africa-Canada community in this project is important. How do you feel about this issue? Where is the Africa-Canada community?

Q.4. Regarding the World Conference on Sustainable Development, how can we move beyond the gap in poverty levels between Africa and the rest of the world?

Q.5. How can this vision, project and problems be brought to the citizenry?

Susanne Soederberg – Through the establishment of an African version of the 'world social forum' (Porto Alegre, Brazil) where civil society organizations meet to discuss pressing issues of globalization (environment, race, finance, trade, etc.) that affect the lives of ordinary citizens. Of course, the dissemination of information, in an accessible form, is equally important, and actually strengthens the former action. For example, there is a gap in knowledge surrounding the G-20, and, in particular, the exclusion of the majority of African countries from this international decision-making forum. Likewise, there needs to be more understanding of alternatives to the 'capital flows initiative' (NEPAD) such as the Chilean capital control (1991-98) and the Malaysian capital control (1997-98). What civil society organizations need to be wary of, however, are projects that seek to co-opt their anti-globalization sentiments, such as the recent UN Financing for Development conference in Monterrey, Mexico (March 2002). Where the US and its multilateral institutions such as the IMF and World Bank, not to mention the WTO, dominated the dialogue.

Marina Ottaway – Building a constituency for Africa has been attempted but unfortunately has not been successful. There is a problem of the poverty of constituencies in North America and the political division in Diasporic communities. Civil society has come to mean NGOs. This civil society is part of the elite not connected to the local societies in which they operate. A key question is how to go back to the basic principles of democracy.

Chris Roberts – On the Johannesburg summit, one group Africa Direct West works with is promoting the conference. The Johannesburg Summit on Sustainable Development expects 80,000 people. There is concern about how you can get results from such a large group. South Africa is tying sustainable development to poverty alleviation.

As to how to mobilize the African Canadian constituency, there is no single focal point. Problem is that Africa is not homogeneous so neither is the Diaspora community.

Q.6. Is NEPAD an attempt to co-opt the opposition to a new global financial system?

Q.7. On the question of civil society – one critique of international NGOs is their role in depoliticizing African concerns. Will the privatization of NGOs make them vulnerable to the capital system?

Q.8. Have there been any changes in the IMF investments in Africa? We have seen what happened in the Caribbean and South America. Has anything changed?

Susanne Soederberg – In response to the question on NEPAD and co-optation to the international financial architecture, yes, but a passive revolution (Gramscian) can be effective. Also, as to the IMF, what is being implemented is the OECD and World Bank's notion of corporate governance that will have a severe impact on less powerful nations.

Marina Ottawa – The imposition of World Bank and the IMF policies were on countries in very deep financial and economic distress. In part, the problems were there to begin with, but in part the problems were created by the policies as well.

Chris Roberts – In response to the question on NEPAD and co-optation, no, because NEPAD is a plan that came out of Africa. The G8 is just now getting involved. This is not a "master plan" to destroy Africa. I hope something comes of it.

IX. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The present global conditions of an unequal power relationship between donors and recipients must be transformed in the context of a new international economic order (NIEO) if a true "partnership" is to be developed between Africa and the global community.
 - 1.a. A new partnership between African states and the international financial institutions (IFIs) must be based on negotiated and mutually agreed terms of reference, and supported by African civil societies, and not either externally imposed by IFIs or internally imposed by African governments.
 - 1.b. The new partnership must be multilevel, and include not only a new partnership between African governments and leaders and the international financial institutions such as the G8, but also must be between African governments and their citizens, and between and among African states and across sub-regions.
 - 1.c. The partnership between African governments and their citizens can be built, and must be strengthened, through mechanisms of direct consultation with citizens and civil society, in both urban and rural areas, and supported within the legislatures, to ensure meaningful political accountability and legitimacy.
 - 1.d. There needs to be support for the development of public, private and alternative media, including radio, television, print, and electronic media, so that it can play an important role in promoting democratization, transparency, accountability and the representation of the voices of marginalized and rural populations.
 - 1.e. African leaders must persuade Africa's intelligentsia of their long-term commitment to democratic accountability and economic stability so that the intelligentsia can take ownership of NEPAD so they can act as partners in social change. The support of the intelligentsia is dependent on the practice of African leaders.
 - 1.f. G8 and industrialized countries can draw upon and better utilize the knowledge resource provided by communities of the African Diaspora in their countries.
2. Good political governance requires a long-term commitment and support for democratic mechanisms of political legitimacy, including multi-party democracies and regular elections.
 - 2.a. While the NEPAD calls for peer review and a code of conduct, this is only a good first step and will be nothing unless it is tied to consequences for political

leaders and states that do not conform to mutually agreed norms of accountability and legitimacy.

- 2.b. While democracy is not perfect, it is the best means available at present for citizens to identify their support, without fear of harm, for political leaders, parties, processes, policies and institutions.
- 2.c. External donor support for processes of political legitimization should be made through independent and impartial electoral bodies and civil society organizations, and not directly to political leaders and parties so as not to interfere with the sovereignty of the African people to make their own decisions.
- 2.c. The long-term commitment to democratic legitimacy must include the promotion and protection of human rights consistent with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, and the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights.
3. Good economic and corporate governance requires a new culture of management that eschews corruption and promotes corporate responsibility and accountability.
 - 3.a. Private sector support must include access to micro-financing locally as well as the global sharing of knowledge, skills and information and communications technologies to small and medium-size businesses.
 - 3.b. Africa's percentage of world trade has declined from 7.4 % in 1948 to only 2% today. There is a need for G8 leaders and other industrialized countries to open their markets and to provide fair market access for African goods and services.
 - 3.c. Support by the G8 for the Market Access Initiative needs to be supported as one step toward addressing the imbalances of international trade that favours industrialized nations.
 - 3.d. It is estimated that African states are locked into debt repayment for at least the next 50 years and this is unsustainable. Addressing this issue requires debt relief in the form of debt cancellation.
 - 3.e. Aid to Africa has been declining over the last number of years, as donors claim fatigue. There needs to be a reform of international aid, particularly Official Development Aid (ODA) that is linked to mechanisms of accountability.
 - 3.f. African renewal requires the protection for labour standards and rights and fair working conditions. To this end, NEPAD needs to be tied to fair labour standards as articulated by the International Labour Organization (ILO).

- 3.g. Consistent with the UN Declaration on the Rights of the Child, NEPAD needs to reject the use of child labour, including child trafficking and exploitation, as inconsistent with the dream of an African renaissance.
4. Supporting peace and security initiatives on the African continent, including conflict prevention, management and resolution *and* human security are important to African renewal because conflict breeds poverty, displacement, refugees and social exclusion.
 - 4.a. African states scarred by conflict need peacekeeping and peace building and these often require long-term policy commitments that are guided by clearly identified goals and objectives, and supported by the requisite financial, personnel and other resources over time.
 - 4.b. A long-term commitment to peace and security requires civil society support to create and reinforce a culture of peace, including through education and the arts (theatre, art, poetry, music, and the like).
 - 4.c. Conflicts must be approached in a comprehensive way, including by addressing the local social, political and economic conditions that under-write and exacerbate conflict, and the global trade in arms, landmines and other weapons of mass destruction.
 - 4.d. Post-conflict rehabilitation is needed for the one-third of the continent's population that is impacted by conflict, in particular internally displaced and refugee women, children and the elderly.
 - 4.c. Clear policies and practices are needed to ensure the demobilization, rehabilitation and social integration of former child soldiers and war-affected children.
5. Support for African renewal requires a long-term commitment to human and social development, including in the areas of education, health and information and communications technologies (ICTs).
 - 5.a. It is a truism that people are Africa's most important resource. NEPAD and the G8 need to affirm a commitment to people-centred development, and support for human resource development through education, vocational training and mentoring.
 - 5.b. Women make up over 50% of the continent's population. A long-term commitment to gender equality in Africa requires mainstreaming women in all aspects of NEPAD, including in political, economic and social development.

6. There needs to be a commitment to support African initiatives to implement compulsory, equitable, accessible and affordable education for both the boy and girl child.
 - 6.a. NEPAD and the G8 need to ensure African leaders remain committed over the long-term to ensuring that the education budgets meet or surpass the Copenhagen goals for expenditure on education.
 - 6.b. The G8 countries need to partner with African governments, universities and schools in the areas of teacher education and open and distance learning to ensure there are sufficient qualified teachers to meet African educational needs, particularly in the areas of math, science, and new technologies.
 - 6.c. The private sector and charitable foundations in G8 and other industrialized countries can partner with African governments to build and resource more schools, and to dismantle inequitable Bantu educational systems.
 - 6.d. Key to interrupting the brain drain from the African continent to the industrialized countries is the creation of the enabling conditions for success such as peace, democracy and economic stability.
7. Basic health needs to be supported as fundamental to the success of NEPAD and the G8 Africa Action Plan. Public education is particularly needed to support the prevention and spread of communicable diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS.
 - 7.a. Communicable diseases such as HIV/AIDS are particularly challenging for African governments and public finances. Financial, human and knowledge resources are needed to deal with opportunistic infections such as pneumonia, TB and meningitis.
 - 7.b. G8 leaders and countries must partner with African governments to ensure pharmaceutical companies make available to developing and emergent economies affordable anti-retroviral drugs.
8. Information and communications technologies need to be promoted both in the context of e-commerce and the new economy *and* democratic accessibility of governments to their citizens (e-governance).
 - 8.a. Governments need to put as much emphasis on the IT software or human resource as on the hardware on the technological infrastructure.
 - 8.b. G8 leaders and governments need to support enabling initiatives that encourage and support the partnering of academic and civil society organization in the areas of distance and online education and tele-health.

- 8.c. The support for technologies is needed but such support needs to be mindful of education and literacy issues that may require an emphasis on *appropriate technologies* and not necessarily *new technologies* (e.g. radio or the Internet?).
9. Fair and affordable strategies need to be developed to address the longstanding issue of land reform in African countries.
- 9.a. There needs to be a serious commitment of time, expertise and resources to address pressing land claims issues before they create or exacerbate conflict and undermine the rule of law and respect for human rights.
10. The dearth of infrastructure across Africa is evident in the fact, that with few exceptions, a direct telephone call or airline flight cannot occur between African regions without first going through a European city. The G8 needs to demonstrate a clear commitment to assist African governments with pressing infrastructure needs, in the areas of road, rail, air and information and media technologies.
- 10.a. There needs to be a substantial commitment to address Africa's infrastructure needs because without infrastructure development the potential for inter-Africa trade, travel and communications will be severely limited.
11. African governments need firm commitments of support to ensure development or renewal in a number of key sectors, including industry, energy and agriculture.
- 11.a. Africa is made up of predominantly agrarian societies that need to be able to feed themselves. G8 governments can help create enabling conditions for fair access to agrarian technologies, expertise and training for long-term use.
- 11.b. A substantial part of Africa's most arable land is littered with land mines leftover from decades of conflicts. G8 countries can provide invaluable help in helping to prevent the proliferation of land mines as well as their removal.
- 11.c. G8 and other industrialized countries can provide or facilitate private sector partnerships that would provide African countries with a long-term commitment to develop regional electricity grids, and reliable and alternative energies needed to facilitate manufacturing.
12. G8 leaders can establish a strategic fund to help build bilateral and multilateral communities engaged in policy-relevant research.

Appendix A

Program of Events: The G8 and African Renewal Symposium

DAY 1: Friday, March 22, 2002

Welcome and Symposium Overview:

- Ms. Nancy Hannemann, Global Education Program Coordinator, University of Alberta International

Greetings:

- Dr. Art Quinney, Associate Vice President (Academic), University Alberta
- His Excellency Philémon Yang, High Commissioner of Cameroon to Canada
- Ms. Marcia Burdett, Acting Director for Eastern and Southern Africa, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

Keynote Address:

- Introduction of Keynote Speaker by Dr. Malinda Smith, Athabasca University
- Keynote address by Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of South Africa
- Question and Answer period moderated by Dr. Chaldeans Mensah, Grant MacEwan Community College (GMCC)
- Thank you - Dr. Chaldeans Mensah, GMCC
- Wrap up - Nancy Hannemann, University of Alberta

Reception following the lecture (c. 9:00 p.m.)

Timms Centre for the Arts

- Greetings – Ernest Khalema, Northern Alberta Alliance on Race Relations (NAARR)
- Performance – Okoto Drummers

DAY 2: Saturday, March 23

Chair: Dr. Malinda Smith, Coordinator of the Governance and Political Economy Programs, Athabasca University

9:00 a.m.

Greetings

- Dr. Brian Stevenson, Associate Vice-President (International), University of Alberta

9:05 a.m.

Plenary 1 - NEPAD: Overview, Prospects, and Challenges

- His Excellency Philémon Yang, High Commissioner, High Commission of Cameroon, "NEPAD: Challenges and Opportunities"
- Dr. Malinda Smith, Centre for Global and Social Analyses, Athabasca University, "NEPAD and the Prospects for an African Renaissance"
- Moderated by Dr. Guy Thompson, Professor, History and Classics Department, and Consortium for Middle Eastern and African Studies (CMEAS)

10:40 a.m.

Refreshment break

11:00 a.m.

Plenary 1 - NEPAD: Overview, Prospects, Challenges continued

- Bayowa Adedeji, Director of Media and Publications, Centre for Human Rights Research and Development, Ibadan, Nigeria, "The Africa Development Debacle -- Nigeria's Concern - Review and Suggestions"
- Mikael Taffesse, graduate student, Educational Policy Studies, University of Alberta
- Kathryn Dunlop, Coordinator of G8/NEPAD, Africa Middle East Branch, Canadian International Development Agency, "Canada's Response to NEPAD"
- Moderated by Dr. Guy Thompson, Professor, History and Classics Department, and Consortium for Middle Eastern and African Studies (CMEAS)

12:00 p.m.

Lunch - Provided

1:00 p.m.

Plenary II - Options for Africa: Role of Government and Civil Society

- Molly Kane, Co-Chair of the Africa Canada Forum and Executive Director of Inter Pares, "Options for a New Partnership for Africa: Perspectives of Civil Society"
- Madonna Larbi, Match International Centre, "African Women's Perspective of NEPAD"

- Dr. Wisdom Tettey, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Communication and Culture, University of Calgary, "The Media, Accountability and Civic Engagement in Africa"
- Moderated by Dr. Chaldeans Mensah, President, United Nations Association (Edmonton Chapter); Political Science professor, Grant MacEwan Community College

2:40 p.m.

Refreshment break

3:10 p.m.

Plenary III - Global Partnership for an African Century

- Dr. Marina Ottaway, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Washington, DC), "Forging Partnership and Micromanaging Africa"
- Chris Roberts, Africa Direct West (Calgary), "Many Policies, No Interests: Structuring a Sustainable Canadian Foreign Policy on Africa via NEPAD and the G8 Africa Action Plan"
- Dr. Susanne Soederberg, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Alberta, "Understanding NEPAD within the New International Financial Architecture"
- Moderated by Dr. Fred Judson, Professor, Political Science Department, University of Alberta

4:50 p.m.

Closing Remarks:

- Ms. Nancy Hannemann, Symposium Coordinator

6:00 p.m.

Dinner, Faculty Club, University of Alberta

- For Speakers and Advisory Committee - hosted by Dr. Brian Stevenson, Associate Vice-President (International), University of Alberta

Appendix B

Speakers' Biographies (March 23, 2002)

Bayowa Adedeji

Bayowa Adedeji is the Director of Media and Publications, Centre for Human Rights Research and Development, Ibadan, Nigeria, and Executive Director of the Window of Hope Foundation for Distressed and Vulnerable People. He recently arrived in Calgary as a CUSO cooperant, to do media and community outreach with respect to the New Partnership for African Development in the period leading up to the G8 Summit. Mr. Adedeji was Senior Assistant Editor and Member of the Editorial board of *TELL Magazine* in Lagos and a lecturer in Media Studies.

Kathryn Dunlop

Is the Coordinator of G8/NEPAD, Africa Middle East Branch, for the Canadian International Development Agency in Ottawa. She has worked in the field of international development for over 15 years. During these years, she has held several positions at the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) both in Canada and abroad. Her areas of specialization include performance review, gender issues, and development in Southern Africa. Ms. Dunlop recently returned from a three-year assignment in Zimbabwe where she was Head of CIDA's development office. Since returning she has coordinated the response of CIDA to the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the G8 Africa Action Plan. She holds a Masters degree in Social Administration from Carleton University and a Bachelors degree from Queens.

Molly Kane

Is the Executive Director of Inter Pares, an international social justice organization based in Ottawa, Ontario. She is also the Co-Chair of the Africa Canada Forum, an official working group of the Canadian Council for International Cooperation that brings together over 40 Canadian organizations working in partnership with African civil society. This organization works to promote critical reflection on NGO development practices in Canada and in Africa and collaborates on policy issues related to Africa. Ms. Kane is also the Chair of the international NGO alliance in Africa, ACORD.

Madonna O. Larbi

Is the Executive Director of the MATCH International Centre in Ottawa, Ontario. She has been involved in human rights issues for over two decades in Ghana, in the United Kingdom and in Canada. Ms. Larbi is currently a member of the International

Advisory Board of the African Women's Foundation. She has served as a board member of a number of organizations including the National YWCA and MediaWatch. She also served on the Board of SOS Children's Villages of Canada and was a member of the Status of Women Committee of the Canadian Commission on UNESCO. Ms. Larbi has also served as a public affairs consultant with the World Bank Office in Accra, Ghana and as an Administrative and Liaison Consultant with the United Nations Funds for Population Activities (UNFPA) Basic Needs Assessment Team to Ghana.

Dr. Marina Ottaway

Dr. Marina Ottaway is the co-Director of the Democracy and Rule of Law Project at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington. This research endeavor analyzes the state of democracy around the world and the efforts by the United States and other countries to promote democracy. She is currently working on a comparative study of semi-authoritarian regimes in Africa, Central Asia, and the Middle East and she is a professional lecturer in African Studies at the Nitze School for Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. In addition, Ms. Ottaway has published several books on problems of democracy: *Africa's New Leaders: Democracy or State Reconstruction?*, *Democracy and Ethnic Nationalism: African and Eastern European Experiences*, and *Democracy in Africa: The Hard Road Ahead*.

Chris Roberts

Chris Roberts is the part-time Executive Director of Africa Direct West in Calgary, a business association for Western Canadian firms, educational institutions, and organizations active or interested in Africa. He also runs his own firm, African Access Consulting, which works with companies and governments to facilitate and promote Africa-Canada business linkages. In this capacity, he has worked under contract to Foreign Affairs on projects like its first "Africa Trade Strategy," released in May 2000. In addition, Mr. Roberts launched African Access Magazine in 1998. He combines an academic background in African politics, Canadian foreign policy, international political economy, and military and strategic studies, with practical experience in business and private sector development.

Dr. Malinda S. Smith

Is an Associate Professor of Political Science and Coordinator of the Governance and Political Economy programs at Athabasca University. She is a past Contributing Editor to *African Link*. She is also a past Coordinator of the Africa Society (2000), and was its convenor for two conferences held in Edmonton (Options for Africa in 1999 and Prospects for an African Renaissance in 2000). She participated in Canada-South Africa Educational and Technology Trade Mission to Johannesburg and Cape Town (2000) and last year participated in the African Renaissance conference (March 2001) and the World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa

(August 2001). Her present research focuses on globalization, governance, critical race theory and the political economy of peripheral states. Her forthcoming edited book is entitled *Globalizing Africa* (Africa World Press 2002).

Dr. Susanne Soederberg

Is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Alberta. Her areas of interest include international political economy with special reference to the global south, critiques of global governance, and international financial markets. Presently she is writing a book entitled *The Politics and Paradoxes of Inclusion and Exclusion in the New International Financial Architecture: A View from the South*.

Mikael Wossen-Taffesse

Was born in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and came to Canada to pursue higher education. He is currently a doctoral candidate in the Department of Educational Policy Studies at the University of Alberta. His research interest is the effect of globalization on African university reforms. He is founding member and past-president of the Ethiopian Community Association in Edmonton, editor of *Transitions*, a quarterly magazine featuring global and multicultural affairs, and has worked as executive-director of the Edmonton Multicultural Society.

Dr. Wisdom Tetey

Is an Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Communication and Culture, University of Calgary. His research interests are in the areas of mass media and democratic change in Africa; information and communication technologies, state capacity building and civil society; as well as international and intercultural communication. Some of his most recent publications explore "Africa's brain drain," "Information Technology and Democratic Participation in Africa," "The Media and Democratization in Africa," and "African States, Bureaucratic Culture and Computer Fixes."

His Excellency Philémon Yang

Has been the Cameroon High Commissioner in Ottawa since October 1984. Before this, Mr. Yang served as Cameroon's Vice-Minister for Internal Affairs (1975-1979) and then as the Minister of Mines and Energy (1979-1984). He holds two law degrees, from Cameroon's University of Yaounde (LL.B.) and from the University of Ottawa (LL.M.), and was a prosecutor at the Legal Department in Buea, Cameroon. Since January 2000 he has been serving as Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety.

**The G8 and African Renewal –
A Symposium at the University of Alberta
March 22 and 23, 2002**

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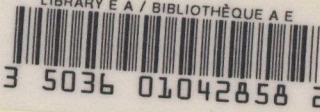
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