Peace Support Operations in Africa

Commitment

"Therefore, we commit, consistent with our national laws, to:...Work with interested parties, before the next Summit, to develop a transportation and logistics support arrangement, which will help provide countries with transportation to deploy to peace support operations and logistics support to sustain units in the field. This kind of arrangement, which will take into account existing efforts, should address a key capabilities gap that often prevents timely intervention in crises."

G8 Action Plan: Expanding Peace Support Operations in Africa

Background

The G8 commitment to the prevention and resolution of violent conflict in Africa is founded in the *Africa Action Plan* created at the 2002 Kananaskis summit, and was built upon at the 2003 Evian Summit with the *Joint Africa*. *G8 Action Plan to Enhance African Capabilities to undertake Peace Support Operations*. The G8 has committed to work with African counterparts to develop local capacities to undertake peace support operations, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, in an attempt to prevent outbreaks of violence, and to ensure that any violent conflict is quickly diffused. The *G8 Action Plan: Expanding Peace Support Operations in Africa* builds upon past effort undertaken by the G8 and its African partners. The G8 recognizes the financial and logistical difficulties faced by many African nations when deploying troops equipment internationally throughout the continent, therefore focus was placed upon building established frameworks for transportation and logistical support to ensure that the troops ready to prevent and diffuse conflict in Africa can promptly arrive where they are needed, and are properly equipped to undertake peace support operations.

Assessment

	Lack of Compliance	Work in Progress	Full Compliance
Score	–1	0	+1
Canada	+1		
France		0	
Germany	+1		
Italy	+1		
Japan			-1
Russia		0	
United Kingdom	+1		
United States	+1		
European Union		0	
Overall: 0.44			

Individual Country Compliance Breakdown

1. Canada: +1

Canada has demonstrated an adequate level of compliance to its peacekeeping commitments in Africa, concentrating investments in African Union missions with particular emphasis on the Sudanese conflict. At the United Nations (UN) General Assembly on September 22, Canadian Prime Minister Paul Martin professed the country's interest in enhancing African Union capabilities in Sudan, offering a contribution of \$20 million (CAD) to African Union peacekeeping operations Earlier in September, the Canadian Minister of National Defence Bill Graham announced a donation of \$250.000 (CAD) to the AU in basic army supplies, consisting in body armour, helmets, flashlights, protective insect nets, cots, and pocket knives consisting in body armour, helmets, flashlights, protective insect nets, cots, and pocket knives a similar contribution totalizing \$1.165 million (CAD) in basic army supplies to the AU forces were made by the Department of National Defense later in the year state of the AU forces were made by the Department of National Defense later in the year state of the AU forces were made by the Department of National Defense later in the year state of the AU forces were made by the Department of National Defense later in the year state of the AU forces were made by the Department of National Defense later in the year state of the AU forces were made by the Department of National Defense later in the year state of the AU forces were made by the Department of National Defense later in the year state of the AU forces were made by the Department of National Defense later in the year state of the AU forces were made by the Department of National Defense later in the year state.

Canada continues to assist the African Union mission in Sudan by providing helicopter support as well as expertise in military planning. This has included close to \$2 million to charter 5 helicopters in Darfur as announced on 21 October 2004. As of November, the helicopters, currently based in Al Fasher, Kabkabiya and Al Geneina, have transported supplies and over 330 UN officials, humanitarian workers and new AU observers from Nigeria, Rwanda, Egypt, Gambia and Ghana. These helicopters have been used in transportation of supplies and personnel across the region. In addition to the previous contribution, Canada announced the availability of 15 more helicopters for January and another 3 helicopter for March of this year that this is an ad hoc arrangement and a more institutionalized arrangement would be desirable by the time of the 2005 G8 Gleneagles Summit.

2. France: 0

On June 16, 2004, shortly after the conclusion of the Sea Island Summit, Hervé Ladsous, a spokesman for the French Foreign Ministry, reaffirmed France's commitment to supporting

⁸⁵⁰ "Canada to contribute \$20 million to African Union missions in Sudan" News Release, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Ottawa) September 22, 2004. Date of Access: December 29, 2004 [webapps.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/MinPub/Publication.asp?publication id=381539&Language=E]

^{851 &}quot;DND donates army supplies to support African Union efforts in Sudan" News Release, Department of National Defence (Ottawa) September 1, 2004. Date of Access: December 30, 2004

[www.forces.gc.ca/site/newsroom/view_news_e.asp?id=1445]

[[]www.forces.gc.ca/site/newsroom/view_news_e.asp?id=1445]

852 "Prime Minister announces new initiatives toward increased security in Sudan" News Release, Office of the Prime Minister (Ottawa) November 25, 2004. Date of Access: December 29, 2004
[www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news.asp?id=335]

^{853 &}quot;News Release: Canada Supports Africa Union Position on Darfur Conflict". Foreign Affairs Canada (Ottawa) 21 December 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005. [webapps.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/minpub/Publication.asp? publication_id=381920] 854 "News Release: Prime Minister announces new initiatives toward increased security in Sudan". Foreign Affairs

 ^{*}News Release: Prime Minister announces new initiatives toward increased security in Sudan". Foreign Affairs Canada (Ottawa) 25 November 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005 [www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news.asp?id=335].
 *Bid Ibid. 4

peace operations in Africa. ⁸⁵⁶ Despite this stated commitment to the issue, France has done little to improve the means of transportation and logistics for peace keeping troops in Africa.

France's primary contribution to the commitment has been its continued support for the existing ReCAMP (Reinforcement of African Peacekeeping Capacities) programme, initially established in 1997. Created in 1997, ReCAMP trains African military personnel in French military academies in both France and Africa. ReCAMP is currently in its fourth cycle (ReCAMP) which involved a politico-military seminar held in Accra from May 24 to 28 (prior to the G8 Summit), operational conference in Abuja from June 7 to 11, 857 and a field exercise in Benin in December 2004. Nevertheless, the commitment's references to logistics and transport is understood to mean the procurement, distribution, maintenance, and replacement of materiel and personnel, while ReCAMP seems focused on training.

In addition, ReCAMP has established equipment storage depots on three African bases (Dakar in February 1998, Libreville in January 2000, and Djibouti in June 2001). Although each of these depots house 9 armoured vehicles, 67 trucks (35 two-axle and 32 three-axle), 3 ambulances, and 3 repair vehicles which may be used by African troops for operations approved by the UN or the AU, these depots were created long before the Sea Island Summit. As a result, while France continues to provide annual support to ReCAMP this cannot be construed as new initiatives that would be evidence of full compliance.

Notwithstanding its support of the ReCAMP programme, France has produced no new evidence of its commitment with regards to enhancing African forces' capabilities in deployment, transportation, training and logistical support. It must also be considered that France's controversial response to the November 7 air strikes on French troops in Côte d'Ivoire may have reduced the utility of the Ivoirian air force to peace support operations as two fighter jets and three helicopter gun ships were destroyed. 861

3. Germany: +1

Germany is on its way to achieving full compliance based upon its actions since the Sea Island summit. Currently the bulk of Germany's activities are focused on the situation in the Sudan.

 ^{856 &}quot;Reinforcement of African Peace-Keeping Capacities: Statement by the Foreign Ministry Spokesperson" France-diplomatie [Diplomatic News] (Paris) June 15, 2004. Date of Access: December 9, 2004
 [www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/actu/article.gb.asp?ART=42813].
 857 "Reinforcement of African Peace-Keeping Capacities: Statement by Foreign Ministry Spokesperson," Ministère

⁸⁵⁷ "Reinforcement of African Peace-Keeping Capacities: Statement by Foreign Ministry Spokesperson," Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (Paris) 15 June 2004. Date of Access 10 January 2005 [www.france.diplomatie.fr/actu/articletxt.gb.asp?ART=42813]

[[]www.france.diplomatie.fr/actu/articletxt.gb.asp?ART=42813]

858 "General Remarks," RECAMP IV Cycle: Benin 2004 Exercise (Benin-France) 13 December 2004. Date of Access: 10 January 2005 [www.recamp4.org/uk/index.php].

^{859 &}quot;The African Union and Peacekeeping in Africa," The Assembly of the Western European Union (Brussels) December 1, 2004. Date of Access: January 9, 2004 [assembly-

weu.itnetwork.fr/en/documents/sessions_ordinaires/rpt/2004/1880.html]

⁸⁶⁰ "The European Union and Peacekeeping in Africa," The Assembly of the Western European Union (Brussels) December 9, 2004. Date of Access: January 9, 2004. [www.assembly-weu.org/en/documents/sessions_ordinaires/rpt/2004/1880.html#P73_2147]

⁸⁶¹ "French unleash force against chaos in Ivory Coast," The Washington Post (Washington, D.C.) 8 November 2004. Date of Access: January 9, 2004. [www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A31795-2004Nov7.html].

Germany has supported the African Union's peace support mission in Sudan through the provision of communication equipment. ⁸⁶² Germany has financed satellite telephones, radios and other pieces of communication equipment at a cost of roughly €100,000 to facilitate the supervision of the cease-fire agreement. ⁸⁶³ The German government has also supplied a further €1 million to the AU bilaterally for mission headquarters, outposts, and for the transport of observers and materials. ⁸⁶⁴

In December 2004, Germany began providing transport for AU ceasefire observers consisting of roughly 200 Gambian soldiers, 60-70 German soldiers, and 12 tonnes of equipment from the Gambian capital Banjul to Darfur, with a stopover in Chad. This commitment is an aspect of the decision taken by the German Parliament on December 3 to provide upwards of 200 troops to assist in the transport of AU forces. 866

Other initiatives taken include \$4.5 million (USD) to support the Kofi Annan Peace Keeping Training Centre in Ghana and Germany is also among the contributor's of €12 million presented as part of the EU Peace Facility for Africa. 867 It should be noted that this is an ad hoc arrangement and a more institutionalized transportation and logistics arrangement would be desirable by the time of the 2005 G8 Gleneagles Summit in July.

4. Italy: +1

Italy has demonstrated an interest in complying with the commitment it made concerning peace support operations, however, this commitment has not yet been realized. Italy has continued to contribute to improving logistical support arrangements through funding and operating a workshop at the UN Logistical Support Base in Brindisi November 8-26. A group of mid to high ranking African officers were educated about various aspects of peace support operations at this event. Specifically, a module was presented by the Scuola di Applicazione and the Brigata Alpina Taurinense of the Italian Armed Forces to these field grade officers in an effort to introduce them to the military planning exercise (MAPEX) This training educated the officers in operational planning procedures and provided valuable training in the utilization of logistical equipment used in UN peace support operations. Italy has also provided a facility in Vicenza for the Center of Excellence for Stability Police Units, which is shared with the newly established European Gendarme Force headquarters. The Center of Excellence is on track to begin offering classes in 2005 in an effort to realize the goal to train 3000 officers and non-

Human Rights and Peace-Keeping Report of Second Workshop. . p.9. www.unssc.org/web1/programmes/am/documents/finalreportBrindisi.pdf

 $^{{}^{862}} www.germany-info.org/relaunch/politics/new/pol_sudan_17_aug2004.html$

⁸⁶³ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁴ www.auswaertiges-

amt.de/www/en/laenderinfos/laender/laender_ausgabe_archiv?land_id=163&a_type=Press%20releases&archiv_id=6029

⁸⁶⁵ www.sudantribune.com/article.php3?id article=7035

⁸⁶⁶ www.darfurpeaceanddevelopment.org/dec16b.htm

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁸ Training for African Military Personnel in Conflict Prevention, Human Rights and Peace-Keeping Report of Second Workshop. www.unssc.org/web1/programmes/am/documents/finalreportBrindisi.pdf

⁸⁶⁹ Training for African Military Personnel in Conflict Prevention,

commissioned officers in a period of five or six years. The Center is purposed to "provide interoperability training for military contingents that will interact with stability police units during peace support operations." Italy has taken many steps to improve training of officers to be used in peace support operations, however, it must take steps to improve transportation and logistical arrangements in order to achieve compliance.

5. Japan: -1

Japan has thus far failed to comply with the commitment set out at the 2004 Sea Island Summit. Although a joint survey mission in eastern Chad conducted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Japanese Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and Japanese NGOs to assess the humanitarian situation of Sudanese refugees has recommended an increase of transport capacity on both land and air routes for more efficient procurement of aid, no action has been taken by the Japanese government. Although Japan has reiterated the need to improve transport and logistics capacities in the African region and, at times, expressed their willingness to take on enhanced responsibilities, no action has been taken.

6. Russia: 0

Russia has presented an unsatisfactory level of compliance to its commitments due to lack of investments in logistic and transportation support to peacekeeping missions in Africa. Furthermore, Russia receives a negative score as result of its involvement in a controversial sale of MiG-29 aircrafts to the Sudanese government, which has been accused of arming local militias involved in ethnic cleansing/genocide in the western province of Darfur. The Russian government denies any association between the delivery of the planes and the conflict in Sudan. Most of Russia's minimal involvement in African conflicts is largely the result of its permanent seat in the UN Security Council. In addition, foreign-aid and client-state relationships that date back to the USSR has allowed Russia to maintain connections and exude influence over organizations such as ECOWAS⁸⁷⁴ and countries like Sudan, Somalia, Somalia, Ethiopia, Somalia, Ethiopia, Somalia, Ethiopia, Somalia, Somalia, Ethiopia, Somalia, Somalia, Ethiopia, Somalia, Somalia, Ethiopia, Somalia, Somalia,

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⁸⁷⁰ United States Institute of Peace Briefing. Global Peace Operations Initiative: Future Prospects October 21, 2004 www.usip.org/newsmedia/releases/2004/1021_nbgpoi.html

^{871 &}quot;Dispatch of a Refugee Survey Mission to Darfur, Sudan and Provision of Aid". Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. (Tokyo) September 2004. Date Accessed: 05 January 05.

[[]www.mofa.go.jp/region/africa/sudan/aid0409.html].

872 "Sudan — Arming the perpetrators of grave abuses in Darfur" Online Documentation Archive, Amnesty International, November 16, 2004. Date of Access: January 2, 2005

[web amnesty org/library/index/engafr541392004]

[[]web.amnesty.org/library/index/engafr541392004]
⁸⁷³ "Alexander Yakovenko, the Spokesman of Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Answers a Question from Moscow Times Correspondent Regarding Russian Arms Supplies to Sudan" Press Release, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (Moscow), November 18, 2004. Date of Access: January 1, 2005
[www.ln.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/e78a48070f128a7b43256999005bcbb3/a18ca1572b7ace1cc3256f51003a4e2e?OpenDocu ment]

^{874 &}quot;Russian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Yuri Fedotov Meets with Mohamed Ibn Chambas, Executive Secretary of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)" Press Release, Department of the Russian Federation (Moscow), October 12, 2004. Date of Access: January 2, 2004 [www.ln.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/e78a48070f128a7b43256999005bcbb3/fb0d25651e1f8f2bc3256f2b00372174?OpenDocument]

Burundi,⁸⁷⁸ and Ghana. There has been no overt Russian assistance to these countries to improve their transportation or logistics capabilities related to peace support operations.

While Ghana acquired Russian Mi–17 helicopters to be utilized by its Armed Forces for peacekeeping operations, the transaction is representative of a formal commercial negotiation. Whether or not this can be construed as being in the spirit to the commitment to offer support is questionable but it is sufficient to raise Russia's compliance score to a work in progress. In addition, Moscow indicated that Ghanaian pilots, flight engineers and technicians would be trained in Russia as a part of the contract thus increasing evidence of Russia's compliance evidence.

7. United Kingdom: +1

The United Kingdom (UK) has demonstrated a desire to improve the standing of transportation and logistics concerning peace support operations in Africa. Specifically, the UK has provided a variety of direct transportation and logistical support to assist the African Union in alleviating the crisis in Sudan. In August 2004, the UK financed the airlift of 140 Nigerian troops, including ration packs into the Darfur region. The UK also airlifted 131 Toyota 4x4 Land Cruisers and 12 three tonne trucks to support the African Union's (AU) peace support mission in Darfur; this action was completed in December, 2004. The UK has also allocated £60 million for its cross-government African Conflict Prevention Pool, established in 2001. In 2004, £700 000 from the Conflict Prevention Pool was pledged to the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping and

⁸⁷⁵ "Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergey Lavrov meets with Sudanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Mustafa Osman Ismail" Press Release, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (Moscow), September 22, 2004. Date of Access: January 1, 2004

 $[www.ln.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/e78a48070f128a7b43256999005bcbb3/7714813104cf3be5c3256f17002c5441?OpenDocument]$

⁸⁷⁶ "Consultations held at Russian MFA with Winston Tubman, the UN Secretary General's Speacial Representative for Somalia" Press Release, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (Moscow), September 13, 2004. Date of Access: January 2, 2004

 $[www.ln.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/e78a48070f128a7b43256999005bcbb3/484822d49d5b0b04c3256f0e00565471?OpenDocument]$

Russia's Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Saltanov Speaks on Telephone with Ethiopia's Minister of Foreign Affairs Seyoum Mesfin' Press Release, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (Moscow), November 25, 2004. Date of Access: January 1, 2004

 $[www.ln.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/e78a48070f128a7b43256999005bcbb3/c4f8f628e52ecfefc3256f570064001a?OpenDocument]$

⁸⁷⁸ "On the Signing in Pretoria of a Burundi Power-Sharing Agreement" Press Release, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (Moscow), August 9, 2004. Date of Access: December 30, 2004

[www.ln.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/e78a48070f128a7b43256999005bcbb3/20c1943b8d7c51aac3256eec0033ca52?OpenDocument]

⁸⁷⁹ "Ghana to Buy Russian Helicopters for Peacekeeping Operations" Press Bulletin of the Embassy of the Russian Federation (Accra), October 14, 2004. Date of Access: December 30, 2004 [www.ghana.mid.ru/nfr/nfr302.html] www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/2004/dfid-sdn-8dec.pdf

881www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/480fa8736b88bbc3c12564f6004c8ad5/b83723dde1181866c1256f690044eb2d?Ope nDocument

882www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=101704 8845951&a=KArticle&aid=1101394630034

Training Centre in Ghana. 883 Actions taken thus far by the UK indicate that it is on its way to achieving full compliance to its commitment concerning peace support operations before the 2005 summit.

8. United States: +1

The United States has taken action in providing transport and logistics support to peace support activities in Africa. During his speech to the United Nations General Assembly on September 21, 2004, President Bush reiterated his country's dedication towards "[creating] permanent capabilities to respond to future crises"884 in the African region. An example of this dedication is the legislation passed in October 2004 by the US Senate. The FY 2005 Foreign Appropriations Bill (S. 2812), as dictated in the accompanying Senate Appropriations Committee report (S.Rept. 108-346), allows for the transfer of funds from the US Department of Defense to the State Department for the Global Peace Operations Initiative, in the amount of (up to) \$80 million⁸⁸⁵. On November 20, 2004, the House-Senate Conference Committee approved the FY 2005 Foreign Appropriations Conference Report as part of the FY 2005 Omnibus Appropriations Conference Report, including the \$80 million provision for the GPOI if the Department of Defense so chooses⁸⁸⁶. It only remains for the Department of Defense, "which supports the provision, to transfer the funds to State" The US has also taken action in the field; in late October, the US cleared a battlefield area for an airstrip at Rumbek in Southern Sudan, "an important transit point for food, medicine and other critical items en route to needy populations in southern Sudan",888 to accommodate larger transport aircraft 889. Subsequently, the US supplied two Air Force C-130 aircraft to the Expanded African Union mission in Sudan to transport equipment and African troops, primarily from Rwanda and Nigeria, to the Darfur region over the course of two weeks, starting October 28.890 The US appears to be planning to fulfil the commitment made to improving transportation and logistics of peace support operations at the Sea Island summit.

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⁸⁸³www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1017048845951&a=KArticle&aid=1074875832759

^{884 &}quot;President Speaks to the United Nations General Assembly". U.S. Department of State (Washington, D.C.) 21 September 2004. Date of Access: 05 January 05. [www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/09/20040921-3.html]. 885 Senate Rpt.108-346 — Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and other Related Programs Appropriations Bill 2005: Peacekeeping Operations. Committee Reports for the 109th Congress (Washington, D.C.) September 2004. Date of Access: 05 January 05. [thomas.loc.gov/cgi-

bin/cpquery/?&db id=cp108&r n=sr346.108&sel=TOC 166492&].

⁸⁸⁶ "House-Senate Conference Committee Approves FY 2005 Foreign Operations Conference Report". U.S. Senate Committee on Appropriations. (Washington, D.C.) 20 November 2004. Date of Access: 05 January 05. [appropriations.senate.gov/text/releases/record.cfm?id=228181].

⁸⁸⁷ "USIPeace Briefing: Global Peace Operations Initiative: Future Prospects". United States Institute of Peace. (Washington, D.C.) 21 October 2004. Date of Access: 05 January 05.

[[]www.usip.org/newsmedia/releases/2004/1021_nbgpoi.html]

Wunited States Clears Unexploded Ordnance to Help Speed Relief Aid to Sudan's Rumbek Region". U.S. Department of State (Washington, D.C.) 29 October 2004. Date of Access: 05 January 05.
 [www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2004/37591.htm]

⁸⁹⁰ "United States Transports Nigerian Troops to Darfur". Public Affairs Office, U.S. Embassy to Nigeria (Lagos) 28 September 2004. Date of Access: 05 January 05. [usembassy.state.gov/nigeria/wwwhp102804a.html]

9. European Union: 0

The EU has demonstrated an interest in supporting the improvement of peace support capabilities in Africa since the Sea Island summit. One week after the Sea Island meetings the EU issued a joint declaration with the UN on military co-operation. In the joint statement, it was agreed that a complimentary role was envisioned for the EU in the form of a "clearinghouse," where Member States could exchange information on their contributions to a given UN operation and...co-ordinate these national contributions. This would be of particular relevance for...UN enabling capabilities." Since April 2004, when the European Union (EU) initially pledged €250 million to establish the Peace Facility for Africa, the EU has increased its support for the African Union's (AU) efforts in Darfur. At the Africa-Europe dialogue, held at Addis Ababa from December 2-4, 2004, the "AU expressed gratitude for the vital support and cooperation provided by the EU...particularly, for the funding under the Peace Facility as well as the financial, logistical and expert support." To reaffirm its commitment to the AU's Peace and Security department and to further strengthen the capacity of the AU, the EU granted another €12 million from the African Peace Facility. In order to meet the commitment made in Sea Island, however, the EU must focus some of its pledged support on transportation and logistical capabilities.

Compiled by Courtney Brady, Luiz Arthur Bihari, Audrea Lim, Jonathan Scotland and Grace Wu

⁸⁹¹ "EU-UN co-operation on Military Crisis Management Operations: Elements of Implementation of the EU-UN Joint Declaration", (Brussels), 17–18 June 2004. Date of Access: 15 December 2004. ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms Data/docs/pressdata/en/misc/81343.pdf

⁸⁹² In September 2004, the EU mobilized E12 million specifically from the African Peace Facility, to add to the E285 million pledged in direct humanitarian aid. See "Paul Nielson: Darfur tests new EU Foreign Aid approach," (Brussels), September 2004. Date of Access: 9 December 2004. www.ipsnews.net/nielsen.shtml.

^{893 &}quot;Communiqué: Africa—Europe Dialogue, Third Meeting of the Troikas," (Brussels), 6 December 2004. Date of Access: January 3, 2005. ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/er/82969.pdf
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