



**HOUSE OF COMMONS  
CANADA**

**HIV/AIDS AND THE HUMANITARIAN  
CATASTROPHE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA**

**REPORT OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE  
ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE**

**Bernard Patry, M.P.  
Chair**

**Irwin Cotler, M.P.  
Chair  
Sub-Committee on Human Rights and International Development**

**June 2003**

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# **THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE**

has the honour to present its

## **EIGHTH REPORT**

In accordance with its mandate under Standing Order 108(2), your Committee established a Sub-Committee to study issues relating to human rights and international development. On February 18, 2003 your Committee amended its Order of October 28, 2002 to the Sub-Committee on Human Rights and International Development to read as follows:

That consideration of the urgent matter of humanitarian catastrophe in several African states be referred to the Sub-Committee on Human Rights and International Development and that the Sub-Committee prepare recommendations for solutions to address the crisis.

Following completion of its study the Sub-Committee submitted its report to the Committee. Your committee adopted the Sub-Committee's Report and has agreed to report as follows:





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# LIST OF RECOMMENDATIONS

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*Africa, today, is the only continent where poverty is on the rise. One African in five is in some manner engaged in conflict. In sub-Saharan Africa, almost half the population of nearly 700 million people live on less than \$1 a day. Life expectancy in Africa is 47 years, ... 16 years lower than the next lowest region in the world and it has declined three years in the last ten. Of the 40 million people worldwide infected with HIV AIDS, more than two-thirds live in sub-Saharan Africa. I could go on with the litany of truly alarming statistic ...*

Robert Fowler, Personal Representative of the  
Prime Minister for Africa and for the G-8 Summit<sup>1</sup>

*The [HIV/AIDS] pandemic is overshadowing anything we know in human history, ... nothing is comparable, not the 14th century Black Death nor all the loss of life, both military and civilian, in the two world wars of the 20th century. Nothing can begin to compare to the dreadful consequences of the pandemic. People now talk about a hundred million deaths down the road.*

Stephen Lewis<sup>2</sup>

## PART II — URGENT CRISES IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

### 1. The HIV/AIDS Pandemic

#### Recommendations

- 1.1 The Sub-Committee commends the government for its commitment to fighting the HIV/AIDS pandemic through its contributions to multilateral programs and through bilateral programming. However, the magnitude and urgency of this crisis require additional action and resources. The Sub-Committee agrees with Stephen Lewis that the HIV/AIDS pandemic desperately needs a voice among industrial nations, and that Canada is uniquely positioned to be that voice. It calls on the government to make a substantial and public commitment to the political and moral leadership role needed to fight the HIV/AIDS pandemic in sub-Saharan Africa. And it urges the government to triple its contribution to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis & Malaria.**

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<sup>1</sup> Evidence, Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade (SCFAIT), Meeting No. 53, 29 January 2002.

<sup>2</sup> Evidence, Meeting No. 4, 1 April 2003.

- 1.2 The government must also review its bilateral development assistance programs and its humanitarian aid programs to reflect the changed realities in sub-Saharan Africa. The Sub-Committee believes that resources need to be targeted, and that development assistance and humanitarian aid programs must reflect the fact that in many African countries, HIV/AIDS is inextricably linked with other issues, including food shortages and famine, armed conflict and political violence, and problems of governance. The Sub-Committee believes that the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) should give greater priority to the fight against the HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa and focus its resources and programs on fewer sectors and fewer countries to make them more effective. Such an approach would involve both urgently needed humanitarian aid to help the victims of HIV/AIDS and to prevent the spread of the disease, and longer term programs designed to rebuild sectors most affected by the pandemic (agriculture, health care, social services, education, the public service).**
- 1.3 The response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic must do more to address the fact that “gender inequalities are a major driving force behind the AIDS epidemic”; women and girls are particularly vulnerable to infection and carry a disproportionate burden of the pandemic’s social and economic impact.<sup>3</sup> The Sub-Committee supports CIDA’s decision to make “promoting gender equality ... a cross-cutting theme running through all of CIDA’s programming.”<sup>4</sup>**
- 1.4 The Sub-Committee calls on the government to make access to medicines in poor countries a priority in its negotiating position within multilateral trade organizations. It should facilitate the implementation of the means recommended by the World Health Organization, such as the sale of patented medicines at lower cost in poor countries and access to generic drugs. With the goal of facilitating this implementation, the government should consider prohibiting the re-importation of medicines**

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<sup>3</sup> UNAIDS, Fact sheet “Gender and HIV/AIDS,” [http://www.unaids.org/fact\\_sheets/ungass/html/FSgender\\_en.htm](http://www.unaids.org/fact_sheets/ungass/html/FSgender_en.htm); UNAIDS, “HIV/AIDS and Gender” Web page, <http://www.unaids.org/gender/index.html>; UNAIDS and WHO, *AIDS epidemic update*, <http://www.unaids.org/worldaidsday/2002/press/Epiupdate.html>, page 19.

<sup>4</sup> The Honourable Susan Whelan, Minister for International Cooperation, in her testimony to the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, earlier this year (*Evidence*, SCFAIT Meeting No. 24, 20 March 2003).

from countries enjoying this privileged treatment, as was done recently by the European Union.

## **2. Food Shortages and Famine**

### **Recommendations**

- 2.1 The Sub-Committee calls on the government to increase its contributions to the ongoing emergency relief efforts, as massive food aid is urgently needed. Accordingly, the government should try to mobilize international support, especially for the relief of the famines in Southern Africa, Ethiopia, Eritrea and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.**
  
- 2.2 The government should also expand its Enhanced Partnerships Program to include more of the poorest countries in sub-Saharan Africa, and continue to implement programs designed to address underlying problems in these countries. Of particular importance is agriculture and rural sector development in countries affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic.**
  
- 2.3 The Sub-Committee calls on the government to make further efforts in untying official development assistance. It urges the government to redouble its efforts to eliminate agricultural subsidies in the countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); to reform WTO agricultural trade rules with particular attention to the needs of Africa's small food producers, and envisaging the establishment of a stabilization-insurance-type mechanism which would assure them of a decent income; to permit least developed and developing countries the use of trade measures to limit imports of agricultural products deemed unjustifiably subsidized; and to improve market access for least developed as well as developing countries.**
  
- 2.4 The government should review its development assistance policies and programs in light of the importance of linkages between different humanitarian and political crises in sub-Saharan Africa, and with the goal of addressing the underlying causes of the current food crises in some of the most affected countries.**

### **3. Human Rights, Democracy, Good Governance**

#### **Recommendations**

- 3.1 The Sub-Committee supports CIDA's emphasis on promoting human rights, the rule of law, democracy and good governance, and calls on the government to apply these principles to other government programs and policies affecting development in sub-Saharan Africa, including export and investment promotion.**
  
- 3.2 The Sub-Committee believes that the criteria used by CIDA for selecting countries for the enhanced partnerships program — commitment to democracy, good governance and human rights — must be applied strictly in order to create unambiguous incentives for African governments to make substantial improvements in these areas. The government should also redouble its efforts in the area of building democratic institutions and practices, governance capacity, effective and independent legal systems, and promoting human rights including the rights of women and children.**
  
- 3.3 The Sub-Committee believes that the meaning of good governance must include social aspects and democratic principles, and should not be reduced to economic management and facilitating private sector development and foreign investment. While the private sector can and must play a role in achieving development in sub-Saharan Africa, including through foreign investment, and while building private sector capacity and the public institutions required for sustained economic growth must be a central element of any development strategy, private sector involvement and development cannot be separated from the overarching objectives of sustainable development, if it is to succeed and benefit all Africans. And essential public goods and services must be made available to all Africans, rich and poor, rural and urban. In this context, the Sub-Committee urges CIDA to work only with companies that abide by the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises, which Canada has endorsed.**
  
- 3.4 In response to the seriousness and extent of the human rights abuses carried out in several countries in sub-Saharan Africa, often with impunity, the government should make every effort to ensure that international and national law is used to prosecute**

perpetrators, including through the establishment of special courts or tribunals such as the Special Court for Sierra Leone.

#### **4. The Case of Zimbabwe**

##### **Recommendations**

- 4.1** In light of the urgent humanitarian crisis in Zimbabwe, the Sub-Committee believes that the current relief effort must continue. The government should increase the resources available to the Canada Fund for supporting humanitarian needs and human rights in Zimbabwe and monitor humanitarian aid delivery closely — including, for example, food aid and medication — to ensure that it reaches those most in need of assistance and that it is not abused for political ends.
- 4.2** The Sub-Committee agrees with Mr. Loevinsohn’s assessment that “the health sector ... has ... been undersupported” in Zimbabwe and that “a massive international effort” is needed to address the urgent health crisis caused by the conjunction of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, malaria, tuberculosis and widespread malnutrition.
- 4.3** In light of the deteriorating political and human rights situation in Zimbabwe, the Sub-Committee calls on the government to intensify its efforts at all levels to bring about a peaceful resolution of the crisis. It urges the government to:
- (i)** increase and maintain consistent diplomatic and public pressure on the government of Robert Mugabe, including by continuing existing administrative actions announced over the past two years, and by working towards the creation of a special international tribunal to prosecute those responsible for the most serious human rights abuses;
  - (ii)** increase the monitoring of the situation on the ground through its High Commission;
  - (iii)** strongly encourage other African leaders, especially the presidents of Nigeria and South Africa, to show unwavering commitment to human rights, democracy and good governance in their dealings with President Mugabe’s government, and to push for the creation of

inter-party negotiations aimed at resolving the current crisis;

- (iv) intensify efforts within the Commonwealth to find a unified position aimed at bringing about a peaceful resolution of the crisis (this could include a new fact-finding mission of the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group and should include Zimbabwe's suspension from the Commonwealth pending a resolution of the current crisis);
- (v) work with other like-minded African nations towards finding a peaceful resolution to the current crisis; and
- (vi) consider freezing the personal assets and reinforcing the travel restriction on Mr. Mugabe and others responsible for the most serious human rights abuses.

**4.4** At the same, the Government of Canada must prepare to assist the government of Zimbabwe quickly, when the current situation is resolved, by providing assistance in areas such as equitable land reform, public and private sector capacity-building, training of police and judiciary, rebuilding the health and agriculture sectors, and strengthening civil society organizations.

## **5. Armed Conflicts**

### **Recommendations**

**5.1** The Sub-Committee believes that more must be done to address the problem of the illegal exploitation of natural resources in sub-Saharan Africa, and to examine and deal with corporate complicity in the illegal exploitation of raw materials. It calls on the government to use all possible legal and other means to hold Canadian companies to internationally agreed-upon standards of corporate conduct, as they have been defined, for example, in the nine principles of the UN Global Compact on corporate responsibility<sup>5</sup> and in the OECD

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<sup>5</sup> <http://www.unglobalcompact.org/Portal/>.



**Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises,<sup>6</sup> which have been endorsed by the government.<sup>7</sup>**

- 5.2 The Sub-Committee urges the government to seriously consider contributing a significant contingent of troops and police to the new United Nations security force in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where Canada’s expertise in peacekeeping and post-conflict rebuilding and our good reputation in the region would allow us to make a substantial contribution to resolving this crisis. The Sub-Committee understands that this may have implications for Canada’s involvement in other multilateral efforts, but believes that the urgency and magnitude of this humanitarian crisis must make it a priority for the government.**
- 5.3 The Sub-Committee calls on the government to intensify its efforts to reach agreement in the United Nations and through other multilateral channels to act immediately and forcefully to bring an end to the fighting in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, to start a massive humanitarian relief effort and to commit the international community to play its part achieving long-term stability and development in the region.**
- 5.4 The Sub-Committee commends the UN Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for its work. It urges the Panel to complete its work on corporate complicity in the plundering of the country’s natural wealth. The Sub-Committee calls on the government to**
- (i) follow up on any claims made by the Panel that specific Canadian companies have engaged in conduct that violates the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises, by conducting its own investigations and taking action where warranted;**
  - (ii) consider seriously implementing unilaterally — where possible — the recommendations made by the Panel with regard to “Persons for whom the Panel recommends a travel ban and financial restrictions”; and**

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<sup>6</sup> <http://www.oecd.org/pdf/M000015000/M00015419.pdf>.

<sup>7</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, “Canada Endorses Improved OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises,” Press Release No. 164, 27 June 2000, [http://webapps.dfaic-maeci.gc.ca/minpub/Publication.asp?FileSpec=/Min\\_Pub\\_Docs/103521.htm](http://webapps.dfaic-maeci.gc.ca/minpub/Publication.asp?FileSpec=/Min_Pub_Docs/103521.htm).

- (iii) help develop multilateral mechanisms, through the OECD and the United Nations, to provide greater incentives for companies to comply with agreed-upon standards of politically, socially and environmentally responsible corporate conduct.

## **PART III — CONCLUSION**

### **Recommendations**

- 6.1** The Sub-Committee urges the government to immediately increase its contributions to ongoing relief efforts in response to the urgent humanitarian crises in sub-Saharan Africa.
- 6.2** Resolving the urgent humanitarian crises in sub-Saharan Africa and overcoming obstacles to long-term development both require a more integrated approach to foreign policy, where diplomacy, defence and development are closely linked. The Sub-Committee calls on the government to intensify its efforts in this area, for example along the lines of current work at CIDA on the security-development nexus.
- 6.3** Such policy changes alone, however, cannot succeed in meeting the needs of sub-Saharan Africa or in allowing Canada to play a much greater role in long-term development without adequate resources. The Sub-Committee calls on the government to further increase and sustain the amount spent on all the major elements of Canadian foreign policy programs, including diplomacy, defence and development assistance. The Sub-Committee notes the concern expressed regarding resources devoted to diplomacy.
- 6.4** The Sub-Committee welcomes both the clearer focus of Canadian development assistance and the government's commitment to double its aid budget by 2010. However, the Sub-Committee notes the estimate of the Canadian Council for International Cooperation that the planned increases will not permit Canada to achieve the UN's target for official development assistance (ODA) of 0.7% of GNP until 2040, 25 years after many of the UN Millennium Development Goals are to be achieved. It therefore supports the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade's 2002 recommendation that Canada should propose a realistic timetable for achieving the UN's ODA target of 0.7%, and should

**lobby its G8 partners to increase substantially their level of ODA for Africa, with the objective of rapidly raising the overall level of assistance from the G8 members to that of the average of the non-G8 donor countries, currently 0.46% of GNP.**

- 6.5 Many of the current crises in sub-Saharan Africa are the result of regional rather than national developments. The government should therefore consider adopting a greater regional focus in its development programming in Africa, and integrate a regional focus with development cooperation with its countries of concentration.**



# PART I — INTRODUCTION

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*Africa, today, is the only continent where poverty is on the rise. One African in five is in some manner engaged in conflict. In sub-Saharan Africa, almost half the population of nearly 700 million people live on less than \$1 a day. Life expectancy in Africa is 47 years, ... 16 years lower than the next lowest region in the world and it has declined three years in the last ten. Of the 40 million people worldwide infected with HIV AIDS, more than two-thirds live in sub-Saharan Africa. I could go on with the litany of truly alarming statistic ...*

*Robert Fowler, Personal Representative of the  
Prime Minister for Africa and for the G-8 Summit<sup>1</sup>*

While international media and other attention remains focused on Iraq and on terrorism, many countries in sub-Saharan Africa are facing the most severe crisis in their history: in January 2003, Stephen Lewis, Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General for HIV/AIDS in Africa, and James Morris, Executive Director of the World Food Program (WHO) and Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General for Humanitarian Needs in Southern Africa, reported that the conjunction of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, famine, environmental degradation, endemic poverty, weak governance structures and bad policies is threatening entire societies.<sup>2</sup> In addition, political violence and armed conflicts continue to destroy the lives of millions and create conditions in which diseases flourish, poverty and hunger are widespread, democracy and the rule of law are repressed, and there are widespread violations of human rights. The Sub-Committee believes that, unless there is a massive concerted effort by the international community together with African leaders to address both the immediate humanitarian needs and longer term causes of this crisis, the lives of millions more will be lost and prospects for long-term development in the most affected countries will evaporate.

## 1. Purpose of this Report

Between March and May 2003, the Sub-Committee on Human Rights and International Development convened a number of hearings to examine some of the most urgent humanitarian crises in sub-Saharan Africa. The Sub-Committee's findings are summarized in this report, which also includes its recommendations for addressing both the immediate needs and longer term development issues in the region.

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<sup>1</sup> *Evidence*, Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade (SCFAIT), Meeting No. 53, 29 January 2002.

<sup>2</sup> James Morris, Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General for Humanitarian Needs in Southern Africa, and Stephen Lewis, Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General for HIV/AIDS in Africa, *Mission Report: Lesotho, Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, 22-29 January 2003*, <http://www.who.int/disasters/repo/8922.pdf>.

The report focuses on the HIV/AIDS pandemic as the single most devastating humanitarian crisis in sub-Saharan Africa and also examines: the famines in several parts of the continent; the human rights situation and issues of good governance and democracy; and armed conflict. It pays particular attention to the current situation in Zimbabwe and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The report does not intend to offer a comprehensive account of the current crises. Instead, it draws attention to some of the most urgent issues that require immediate action by the international community — including by Canada — while underlining longer term issues that require a strategic approach to development on the continent. These will have important implications for all elements of Canadian foreign policy — the “3 Ds” of diplomacy, defence and development assistance — but will have particular implications for the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

The longer term development issues in sub-Saharan Africa were examined in greater detail in a report by the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade on *Securing Progress for Africa and the World*, tabled last June, which focused largely on the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) as a step in the right direction of G8 and other international support.<sup>3</sup> Over the past year and a half the Sub-Committee has also held hearings on the continuing crisis in Zimbabwe and will closely monitor the situation in that country. And it will complete a study of human rights, development and other matters in Sudan.

## **2. Overview of the Urgent Humanitarian Crises in Sub-Saharan Africa**

Less than three years ago, the world’s Heads of State and Government, assembled at the United Nations in New York, committed themselves to achieving a series of eight “Millennium Development Goals.” These included the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, a reduction by two-thirds of child mortality, halting and reversing the spread of HIV/AIDS, malaria and other major diseases — all by 2015 — ensuring environmental sustainability, and developing a global partnership for development.<sup>4</sup> These are also the goals of NEPAD.

The current humanitarian crises in several countries of sub-Saharan Africa are a stark reminder of just how difficult it will be to achieve these goals. The Sub-Committee is particularly concerned about the conjunction of and linkages between the HIV/AIDS pandemic, widespread famine, and armed conflict and political violence in some regions and states.

Of the 42 million people living with HIV/AIDS in the world, 70% live in sub-Saharan Africa, and 20 million Africans have died from AIDS. In several countries national adult

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<sup>3</sup> Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Securing Progress for Africa and the World. A Report on Canadian Priorities for the 2002 G8 Summit*, June 2002. <http://www.parl.gc.ca/InfoComDoc/37/1/FAIT/Studies/Reports/faitrp21/03-cov-e.htm>.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>, <http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm>.

HIV prevalence is higher than 30%. Other diseases are also widespread on the continent. As a result, life expectancy has dropped significantly, by over 25 years in some cases.<sup>5</sup> In some countries, especially in Southern Africa, the effects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic on the economy and the ability to cope with severe droughts has been dramatic. In that region “as many as 14 million people, half of them children, are at risk of starvation,” and over 12 million are at risk in Ethiopia and Eritrea.<sup>6</sup> Across Africa, there are “over 40 million victims of the vast hunger crisis gripping the ... continent.”<sup>7</sup>

Armed conflicts and political violence often cause or exacerbate humanitarian crises. For example, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as many as “3.5 million people have died as a result of the war [that began in 1998], mostly of disease or starvation.”<sup>8</sup> In Zimbabwe, state-sponsored violence and political mismanagement have turned Southern Africa’s “breadbasket” into a country unable to cope with a severe drought; in a society where over one third of adults are infected by HIV/AIDS, over half of the population is now faced with starvation. Armed conflicts and political violence also contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS and other diseases by exacerbating the conditions in which they flourish, but also directly, because sexual violence against women and children is widespread and “frequently used as a weapon of war and terror.”<sup>9</sup>

The Sub-Committee believes that the ability to deal with humanitarian crises and to pursue effective strategies for achieving long-term development goals is also hampered in many sub-Saharan African countries by the lack of capacity in the public and private sectors, by the lack of democracy and respect for human rights, by weak or no rule of law, and by corruption. The result is that the enormous development potential of sub-Saharan Africa remains unfulfilled, and the lives of tens of millions of Africans — particularly children and youth — continue to be threatened by poverty, disease, environmental degradation, and armed conflicts.

Internationally, too, there are substantial obstacles to resolving both the immediate crises and to the long-term development needs of sub-Saharan Africa. As Stephen Lewis, Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General for HIV/AIDS in Africa, noted in his testimony before the Sub-Committee, there is no overall strategic response at the international level, and resources made available so far are not sufficient to fight the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

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<sup>5</sup> Evidence, Meeting No. 4, 1 April 2003; United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) and World Health Organization (WHO), *AIDS epidemic update*, December 2002, <http://www.unaids.org/worldaidsday/2002/press/Epiupdate.html>, pages 5, 17; United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Human Development Report 2002*, <http://www.undp.org/hdr2002/>, pages 27-28.

<sup>6</sup> UNICEF, Web site on the Southern Africa Crisis, <http://www.unicef.org/noteworthy/safricacrisis/index.html>; CARE Canada, “Ethiopia and Eritrea in the midst of a major food crisis,” [http://care.ca/rgnc/ethiopia/ethiopia\\_e.shtm](http://care.ca/rgnc/ethiopia/ethiopia_e.shtm).

<sup>7</sup> World Food Programme, “The Hunger Crisis in Africa,” <http://www.wfp.org/>, May 12, 2003.

<sup>8</sup> “Peace, they say, but the killing goes on,” *The Economist*, March 27, 2003.

<sup>9</sup> UNAIDS and WHO, *AIDS epidemic update*, <http://www.unaids.org/worldaidsday/2002/press/Epiupdate.html>, page 35.

According to the UN World Food Programme, resources committed to addressing the emergency food needs in many areas have been similarly inadequate.<sup>10</sup>

At the same time, the world's richest countries continue to subsidize their agricultural producers to the tune of well over US\$300 billion a year, roughly six times what they spend on development assistance. As the OECD's Secretary General, Canadian Donald Johnston, has pointed out, these subsidies "impose a heavy toll on developing countries. ... they may cause annual welfare losses of almost \$20 billion for developing countries."<sup>11</sup> Progress of the [World Trade Organization's] Doha Development Agenda continues to be slow, with OECD countries resisting demands for necessary policy changes in sectors that are vital to the development prospects of countries in Africa and elsewhere. As Gauri Sreenivasan of the Canadian Council for International Cooperation told the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade in February 2003,

... agriculture is the central development issue on the table at the World Trade Organization. All the issues are important, but we're looking at situations of countries, and developing countries, where at least 50% of the population derives their livelihood from agriculture. In the least developed countries, that is closer to 70%, sometimes 80%. This is a phenomenally important file. It's not a sector of the economy; this is almost the economy. Nothing is more important than agriculture for development.<sup>12</sup>

Finally, armed conflicts in Africa, despite their enormous human costs, do not receive the kind of attention in Canada and other industrialized countries that wars, terrorism and political violence in other parts of the world do.

The reasons for the urgent humanitarian crises in sub-Saharan Africa, then, are many. They include human-made and natural causes; local, national, regional and global factors; political, social and economic forces; and insufficient political commitment at the national and international level to achieving real change and sustained development in the region. But while the magnitude and complexity of the ongoing crises in several sub-Saharan states can be overwhelming, the Sub-Committee believes that many of these problems do have solutions and that Canada can and must play a leading role both in the search for them and in their implementation.

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<sup>10</sup> <http://www.wfp.org>.

<sup>11</sup> Donald Johnston, "Can OECD Countries Put Theory into Practice? A Blueprint for Progress Toward Sustainable Development," *Isuma*, fall 2002. For an example of the impact of these subsidies on African producers, see "Cotton subsidies squeeze Mali," BBC News, 19 May 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3027079.stm>.

<sup>12</sup> *Evidence*, SCFAIT, Meeting No. 18, 13 February 2003.



## **PART II — URGENT CRISES IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA**

### **1. The HIV/AIDS Pandemic**

The [HIV/AIDS] pandemic is overshadowing anything we know in human history, ... nothing is comparable, not the 14th century Black Death nor all the loss of life, both military and civilian, in the two world wars of the 20th century. Nothing can begin to compare to the dreadful consequences of the pandemic. People now talk about a hundred million deaths down the road.

Stephen Lewis<sup>13</sup>

It is impossible here to convey the magnitude of the HIV/AIDS pandemic that is ravaging many parts of sub-Saharan Africa: the loss of millions of lives, the long-term social and economic devastation of many countries, and the possible destruction of whole communities, societies and cultures. As several witnesses pointed out, the potential for disaster is so great as well because HIV/AIDS interacts with fundamental social and economic factors — including gender inequalities and long-standing practices in the agriculture sector — and with other crises — famine and the crisis of agriculture, armed conflicts and political violence, weak or non-existent health care systems and social services, the low capacity of public sectors to provide services and facilitate needed social and economic change — in a mutually reinforcing cycle.

In a joint meeting the Sub-Committee and the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade heard from Stephen Lewis, Special Envoy of the Secretary-General of the United Nations on HIV/AIDS in Africa. His compelling testimony forms the basis of this section, and members urge all Canadians to read it in full on the Sub-Committee's Web site.<sup>14</sup> Mr. Lewis also recommended his recent report on the humanitarian crisis in four Southern African states, which he prepared together with James Morris, Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General for Humanitarian Needs in Southern Africa.<sup>15</sup>

Of the 42 million people living with HIV/AIDS in the world, 29.4 million (70%) live in sub-Saharan Africa. Twenty million Africans have died from AIDS, and there are “some 14 million orphans attributable to AIDS” in the region.<sup>16</sup> Last year, sub-Saharan Africa saw 2 million deaths from the disease and 3.5 million new infections, bringing the total to 8.8 % of the adult population, by far the highest of any region. While there are significant

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<sup>13</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 4, 1 April 2003.

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.parl.gc.ca/InfoComDoc/37/2/SRID/Meetings/Evidence/sridEV04-E.HTM>.

<sup>15</sup> James Morris and Stephen Lewis, *Mission Report: Lesotho, Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, 22-29 January 2003*, <http://www.who.int/disasters/repo/8922.pdf>.

<sup>16</sup> Stephen Lewis, *Evidence*, Meeting No. 4, 1 April 2003.

difference between countries, all parts of sub-Saharan Africa have areas where the prevalence rate — the percentage of the adult population living with HIV/AIDS — is dangerously high and rising.<sup>17</sup> As Mr. Lewis noted, a prevalence rate of greater than 1% has “the potential for a more generalized epidemic in the community. When you’re at 5%, there is the assumption that it could spread exponentially. ... The 5% level is where it seems to take off through the general population.”<sup>18</sup> Table 1 lists United Nations prevalence figures for the 24 countries in sub-Saharan Africa with rates of at least 5%.

**Table 1. The countries most affected by HIV/AIDS<sup>19</sup>**

Country	Percent of Adults (ages 19-49 years) living with HIV/AIDS
Botswana	38.8
Zimbabwe	33.7
Swaziland	33.4
Lesotho	31.0
Namibia	22.5
Zambia	21.5
South Africa	20.1
Kenya	15.0
Malawi	15.0
Mozambique	13.0
Central African Republic	12.9
Cameroon	11.8
Côte d'Ivoire	9.7
Rwanda	8.9
Burundi	8.3
Tanzania	7.8
Congo	7.2
Sierra Leone	7.0
Burkina Faso	6.5
Ethiopia	6.4
Togo	6.0
Nigeria	5.8
Angola	5.5
Uganda	5.0

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.; UNAIDS and WHO, *AIDS epidemic update*, <http://www.unaids.org/worldaidsday/2002/press/Epiupdate.html>; UNDP, *Human Development Report 2002*, <http://www.undp.org/hdr2002/>, pages 27-28.

<sup>18</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 4, Tuesday 1 April 2003.

<sup>19</sup> UNDP, *Human Development Report 2002*, <http://www.undp.org/hdr2002/>, p. 171-173.

Several witnesses pointed out that other diseases are also widespread in sub-Saharan Africa. According to Bernard Taylor of Partnership Africa Canada, “malaria ... kills more than a million children a year.”<sup>20</sup> Over 90% of malaria cases occur in sub-Saharan, and according to UNAIDS and the WHO, Tuberculosis (TB) “cases are increasing 10% per year in Africa because of HIV ... as a consequence of the increased spread of HIV and the underfunding of strategies effective in curing TB.”<sup>21</sup> These epidemics are putting additional pressure on health care and social services, and on the ability of families and communities to survive. The result of this health crisis is a significant drop in life expectancy, by over 25 years in some countries.<sup>22</sup>

As Mr. Lewis noted, these numbers hide two disturbing realities of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in sub-Saharan Africa which profoundly shape its course and impact. First, “the pandemic reflects a selective decimation of the productive age group, people between 15 and 49, so you have an extraordinary skewing of population ... . You have large numbers of people who are older and large numbers of kids who are younger, and the population in the middle gradually atrophies.”<sup>23</sup> The impact on the labour force in all sectors, but especially in agriculture, is devastating, as societies who face ever-increasing numbers of people living with HIV/AIDS are also losing their agricultural workers, teachers, civil servants, health care providers, and others needed to provide and care for the pandemic’s victims and those left behind.

Second, “gender inequalities are a major driving force behind the AIDS epidemic”; women and girls are particularly vulnerable to infection and carry a disproportionate burden of the pandemic’s social and economic impact.<sup>24</sup> As Stephen Lewis explained in his testimony:

For me, it’s the single most emotional and distressing manifestation of the pandemic, that there is this kind of reverse Darwinian natural selection focused on women. They now represent 50% of the infections throughout the world. In Africa, close to 60% of those who are living with AIDS are women. If you look at the age category 15 to 24, nine million people, 67%, are women. There has never been such an assault on one gender as there is in the instance of this communicable disease.

It speaks to massive gender inequality, of course. It speaks to all of the underlying realities such as lack of property and inheritance rights and carrying the entire

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<sup>20</sup> Evidence, Meeting No. 6, 29 April 2003.

<sup>21</sup> “HIV Causing Tuberculosis Cases to Double in Africa,” Press Release WHO/21, 23 April 2001.

<sup>22</sup> UNAIDS and WHO, *AIDS epidemic update*, <http://www.unaids.org/worldaidsday/2002/press/Epiupdate.html>; UNDP, *Human Development Report 2002*, <http://www.undp.org/hdr2002/>.

<sup>23</sup> Evidence, Meeting No. 4, 1 April 2003.

<sup>24</sup> UNAIDS, Fact sheet “Gender and HIV/AIDS,” [http://www.unaids.org/fact\\_sheets/ungass/html/FSgender\\_en.htm](http://www.unaids.org/fact_sheets/ungass/html/FSgender_en.htm); UNAIDS, “HIV/AIDS and Gender” Web page, <http://www.unaids.org/gender/index.html>; UNAIDS and WHO, *AIDS epidemic update*, <http://www.unaids.org/worldaidsday/2002/press/Epiupdate.html>, page 19.

burden of care. The women who are sick themselves look after others who are sick and dying, look after the orphans, don't have any kind of economic benefit, and of course suffer a sexual subservience that is annihilating. The inability to say no to sexual overtures, the inability to tell a man to wear a condom, the inability to exercise sexual autonomy, the degrees of sexual violence, the predatory male sexual behaviour, intergenerational sexual behaviour, older men-younger women, it all spreads the virus.

Incredibly enough, perhaps the greatest single danger of infection for women in the high-prevalence countries of Africa now is so-called monogamous marriages.<sup>25</sup>

According to witnesses and reports published in recent months by international organizations and NGOs, the effects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic on the economy and the ability to survive severe droughts have been dramatic, especially in the countries most affected by both drought and HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa. For example, UNICEF estimates that "by 2010, the South African economy will be 20% smaller than it would have been without HIV/AIDS. This is a total loss of about \$ 17 billion."<sup>26</sup> And in Southern Africa, "as many as 14 million people, half of them children, are at risk of starvation."<sup>27</sup> While caused in part by droughts, the food crisis is driven by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which erodes sector after sector of affected countries. According to Mr. Lewis:

It was the numbers of farmers who had died, the agricultural workers who had died, and the diminution in productivity: 7 million agricultural workers since 1985, another 16 million forecast by the Food and Agricultural Organization by roughly 2020, overwhelmingly women again. ... So you see sectors breaking down, with not enough people to grow the crops or to take them to market. ... it's important we try to understand how the erosion of whole sectors cumulatively frays and shatters the society.<sup>28</sup>

The current food crisis in Southern Africa is, in other words, a new phenomenon, a "New Variant' Famine" that requires a concerted response nationally and from the international community, in the words of one expert.<sup>29</sup> As important as the urgently needed humanitarian relief efforts are to prevent widespread starvation, failure to combat the HIV/AIDS pandemic will leave many countries in a condition of structural famine and structural economic problems that will make development all but impossible.

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<sup>25</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 4, 1 April 2003; UNAIDS and WHO, *AIDS epidemic update*, <http://www.unaids.org/worldaidsday/2002/press/Epiupdate.html>, pages 18-20.

<sup>26</sup> United Nations Children's Fund, "The Humanitarian Crisis In Southern Africa," Submission to the International Development Committee, <http://www.unicef.org/noteworthy/safricacrisis/submission-safrica071002.pdf>.

<sup>27</sup> UNICEF, Web site on the Southern Africa Crisis, <http://www.unicef.org/noteworthy/safricacrisis/index.html>; CARE Canada, "Ethiopia and Eritrea in the midst of a major food crisis," [http://care.ca/rgnc/ethiopia/ethiopia\\_e.shtm](http://care.ca/rgnc/ethiopia/ethiopia_e.shtm).

<sup>28</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 4, 1 April 2003.

<sup>29</sup> Alex De Waal, "'New-Variant' Famine: How Aids Has Changed the Hunger Equation," *New York Times*, 19 November 2002.

Mr. Lewis noted that Jeffrey Sachs, Chair of the Commission on Macroeconomics and Health, Director of the Columbia University Earth Institute, and one of the world's leading economists, has arrived at the same conclusion in a report to the World Health Organization on the relationship health and economic development:

The burden of disease in some low-income regions, especially sub-Saharan Africa, stands as a stark barrier to economic growth and therefore must be addressed frontally and centrally in any comprehensive development strategy. The AIDS pandemic represents a unique challenge of unprecedented urgency and intensity. This single epidemic can undermine Africa's development over the next generation, and may cause tens of millions of deaths in India, China, and other developing countries unless addressed by greatly increased efforts.<sup>30</sup>

The HIV/AIDS pandemic alone will thus make it impossible to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, which "will simply not be reached in virtually any country where the prevalence rate is above 5% to 7%, which is the take-off point."<sup>31</sup> Twenty-four countries in sub-Saharan Africa have a prevalence rate among adults of 5% or more, and 18 a prevalence rate of 7% or higher (see Table 1). In many of them, the Millennium Development Goals are in reverse. Development in sub-Saharan Africa, including through the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), therefore, depends on our ability and political will to deal with the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

The HIV/AIDS pandemic together with the food crisis, to which it is linked especially in Southern Africa, are exacerbated further by armed conflicts and political violence. Armed conflicts and political violence not only contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS and other diseases by exacerbating the conditions in which they flourish — (sometimes deliberate) food shortages and famines, poor sanitary conditions, increased movements of large numbers of people (both military and civilian), the destruction of health care and social services systems. Armed conflicts and political violence also directly cause the spread of diseases like HIV/AIDS, because sexual violence against women and children is widespread and "frequently used as a weapon of war and terror."<sup>32</sup>

The 1994 Rwandan genocide, for example, led to a dramatic increase in the HIV prevalence rate: before the genocide, the rate was around 10% in urban areas and 1% in rural areas; by 1997, the rate had jumped to over 11% in both urban and rural areas.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> *Macroeconomics and Health: Investing in Health for Economic Development*, Report of the Commission on Macroeconomics and Health, chaired by Jeffrey D. Sachs, presented to Gro Harlem Brundtland, Director-General of the World Health Organization, on 20 December 2001, <http://www3.who.int/whosis/cmh/>, pages 1-2. Also see Laura D'Andrea Tyson, "For Developing Countries, Health Is Wealth," *Business Week*, 14 January 2002, [http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/02\\_02/b3765071.htm](http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/02_02/b3765071.htm). The Web site for the Commission on Macroeconomics and Health is at <http://www.cmhealth.org/index.html>, that of the Columbia University Earth Institute is at <http://www.earthinstitute.columbia.edu/>.

<sup>31</sup> Stephen Lewis, *Evidence*, Meeting No. 4, 1 April 2003.

<sup>32</sup> UNAIDS and WHO, *AIDS epidemic update*, <http://www.unaids.org/worldaidsday/2002/press/Epiupdate.html>, page 35.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

And in Zimbabwe, state-sponsored violence and political mismanagement have turned Southern Africa's breadbasket into a country unable to cope with a severe drought; in a society where over one third of adults are infected by HIV/AIDS, over half of the population is now faced with starvation. Food shortages, in turn, weaken the ability of those infected with HIV to fight the disease.

To summarize, the Sub-Committee believes that the HIV/AIDS pandemic is now the single most devastating humanitarian crisis in sub-Saharan Africa. It has the potential of destroying entire communities, societies and countries, especially when it is linked to other crises and problems in a mutually reinforcing, catastrophic cycle.

However, despite the enormity of the HIV/AIDS crisis, there is much that can be done to help its victims and prevent the disease from spreading to the vast majority of Africans who have not contracted HIV. UN Special Envoy Stephen Lewis was adamant about this: "We know how to turn it around. ... We know what to do about care, prevention, and treatment, and we could turn this pandemic around in a few years if we were able to summon the energy and mobilize the resources and the response."<sup>34</sup> He went on to state:

What must happen is that we take the responses to scale. We must generalize the community responses throughout the country. If we were able to do that, millions of lives would be saved. It is partly a matter of human resources, partly a matter of infrastructure, but it is overwhelmingly a matter of financial resources. If we had the dollars, we could prolong and save millions of lives, and everyone knows it. The greatest frustration and exasperation is to move around and not have the dollars.<sup>35</sup>

The urgent need for financial resources was emphasized also by the Secretary of State for Africa, the Honourable Denis Paradis. In his testimony to the Sub-Committee, he noted the link between widespread absolute poverty in sub-Saharan Africa — where the vast majority have an income of less than \$1 per day — and the HIV/AIDS pandemic.<sup>36</sup> Poverty and the lack of financial resources more generally have profound consequences for the prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS, because the necessary drugs are expensive:

To do treatment using anti-retroviral drugs produced by one of the major drug companies costs now roughly \$900 per person per year. To do treatment with generic drugs, one of the triple or double therapy combinations, costs \$300 per

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<sup>34</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 4, 1 April 2003.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*; This is also the position of UNAIDS and the WHO: "Massive efforts — from the world at large — are needed to bring treatment and care to the millions of Africans in need, and to cushion the epidemic's impact" (UNAIDS and WHO, *AIDS epidemic update*, <http://www.unaids.org/worldaidsday/2002/press/Epiupdate.html>, page 19)

<sup>36</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 7, 6 May 2003.

person per year. That's huge when people are earning less than a dollar a day and when governments are so strapped.<sup>37</sup>

The capability to produce generic drugs for the treatment of HIV/AIDS exists in such countries as India, Brazil, and Thailand. Unfortunately, according to Mr. Lewis the United States and the major drug companies oppose allowing generic manufacturers to export them to the neediest African countries, believing this precedent might affect their sales in Europe and North America.<sup>38</sup>

In April 2003, the Honourable Pierre Pettigrew, Minister for International Trade, told the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade that, "Canada continues to pursue a multilateral solution on access to medicines, but has joined other WTO members in declaring that we will not take action against measures taken by least-developed countries as they deal with public health crises such as HIV/AIDS or other epidemics."<sup>39</sup> Once again, however, Mr. Lewis stressed the need to go beyond our own policies to rally the international community on this issue. In his words,

On the generic drugs ... there is again the need for a voice, the need for a major country such as Canada to take a stand and say that the agreement all of us came to, with which only the United States differs, has to find a compromise. The compromise consists of looking at the raw materials, which are based largely in China, and making sure the generic company manufacturers in India, Thailand, and Brazil have access to the raw materials and a fairly secure market for purchase and distribution. That's the struggle, and it needs a voice.

He continued, "I think Canada should be saying that in matters of human health, trade considerations cannot be allowed to triumph. Therefore, if a country is manufacturing generic drugs, that country should have the right of export to a country that needs them, without feeling the fear that they're going to be hauled up in contravention of TRIPS" (Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights).<sup>40</sup>

The Sub-Committee believes that concerted and well-funded international action to combat the HIV/AIDS pandemic is urgently needed, and that Canada can and should make a real difference in this global effort. This effort must involve all stakeholders, but rich countries in particular are called on to mobilize the financial resources that are urgently needed to fight the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

At the same time, the international community must also address contributing factors such as malnutrition and famine, insufficient public and private sector capacity (including in the areas of health care, social services, and education), corruption and lack

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 4, 1 April 2003.

<sup>39</sup> *Evidence*, SCFAIT, Meeting No. 30, 9 April 2003.

<sup>40</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 4, 1 April, 2003.



of democracy, political violence and armed conflict, human rights abuses, and the profound gender inequalities that make women and girls particularly vulnerable to the disease and force them to carry a disproportionate burden of the pandemic's social and economic impact.

The Sub-Committee agrees with Mr. Lewis' assessment that the best available vehicle for an international response is the new Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis & Malaria.<sup>41</sup> It calls on the government to substantially increase its contributions to the Global Fund.

In addition, the government should take the initiative internationally, through its membership in the G8, the Francophonie, the Commonwealth, and the United Nations, to ensure that the fight against HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa is accorded the highest priority. It should also urge its G8 partners to do their part in overcoming the difficulties of the Global Fund, and to commit the resources required to combat the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

The Sub-Committee also believes that the severity of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and its linkages to famine, political violence and armed conflict, require a rethinking of Canada's development assistance policies and programs. The government has made important contributions to the fight against HIV/AIDS, including by funding training and support programs, local initiatives, and research. It has committed \$150 million over four years to the Global Fund. Furthermore HIV/AIDS is one of four Social Development Priorities announced by the Minister of International Cooperation in 2000.<sup>42</sup>

Canada's development assistance programs remain thinly spread across some 100 countries, and only new funds are being earmarked for its enhanced partnerships that focus bilateral assistance on a few countries and specific sectors. These concerns have been expressed repeatedly by witnesses in these and other hearings held by the Sub-Committee, and in hearings of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade. The Sub-Committee believes that the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) should give greater priority to the fight against the HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa and focus its resources and programs on fewer sectors and fewer countries to make them more effective.

One way of doing this would be to adopt a comprehensive yet focused approach that would involve designating a significant portion of resources to helping a small group

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<sup>41</sup> The Fund was formed in 2001 and has operated since 2002. Its governing board includes stakeholders and policy makers from all regions and sectors, including national governments, regional organizations, NGOs, and the relevant international organizations. The mechanisms put in place to disperse funds ensure that all relevant stakeholders are involved in project design and delivery. <http://www.globalfundatm.org/>.

<sup>42</sup> See the testimony of the Honourable Susan Whelan, Minister for International Cooperation, to the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, earlier this year (*Evidence*, SCFAIT, Meeting No. 24, 20 March 2003); and additional information provided by the Honourable Susan Whelan, Minister for International Cooperation, in response to questions raised by members of the SCFAIT during this testimony.



of countries overcome the HIV/AIDS pandemic. In close cooperation with recipient nations, Canada's role could involve both urgently needed humanitarian aid to help the victims of HIV/AIDS and to prevent the spread of the disease, and longer term programs designed to rebuild sectors most affected by the pandemic (agriculture, health care, social services, education, the public service), as suggested by Stephen Lewis.

## **Recommendations**

- 1.1 The Sub-Committee commends the government for its commitment to fighting the HIV/AIDS pandemic through its contributions to multilateral programs and through bilateral programming. However, the magnitude and urgency of this crisis require additional action and resources. The Sub-Committee agrees with Stephen Lewis that the HIV/AIDS pandemic desperately needs a voice among industrial nations, and that Canada is uniquely positioned to be that voice. It calls on the government to make a substantial and public commitment to the political and moral leadership role needed to fight the HIV/AIDS pandemic in sub-Saharan Africa. And it urges the government to triple its contribution to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis & Malaria.**
  
- 1.2 The government must also review its bilateral development assistance programs and its humanitarian aid programs to reflect the changed realities in sub-Saharan Africa. The Sub-Committee believes that resources need to be targeted, and that development assistance and humanitarian aid programs must reflect the fact that in many African countries, HIV/AIDS is inextricably linked with other issues, including food shortages and famine, armed conflict and political violence, and problems of governance. The Sub-Committee believes that the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) should give greater priority to the fight against the HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa and focus its resources and programs on fewer sectors and fewer countries to make them more effective. Such an approach would involve both urgently needed humanitarian aid to help the victims of HIV/AIDS and to prevent the spread of the disease, and longer term programs designed to rebuild sectors most affected by the pandemic (agriculture, health care, social services, education, the public service).**
  
- 1.3 The response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic must do more to address the fact that "gender inequalities are a major driving force behind the AIDS epidemic"; women and girls are particularly vulnerable to infection and carry a disproportionate**

burden of the pandemic's social and economic impact.<sup>43</sup> The Sub-Committee supports CIDA's decision to make "promoting gender equality ... a cross-cutting theme running through all of CIDA's programming."<sup>44</sup>

- 1.4 The Sub-Committee calls on the government to make access to medicines in poor countries a priority in its negotiating position within multilateral trade organizations. It should facilitate the implementation of the means recommended by the World Health Organization, such as the sale of patented medicines at lower cost in poor countries and access to generic drugs. With the goal of facilitating this implementation, the government should consider prohibiting the re-importation of medicines from countries enjoying this privileged treatment, as was done recently by the European Union.

## 2. Food Shortages and Famine

The United Nations' World Food Programme (WFP) estimates that over 40 million people in sub-Saharan Africa are "victims of the vast hunger crisis gripping the ... continent." Many Canadians are aware of widespread famine and starvation threatening Southern Africa, where "as many as 14 million people, half of them children, are at risk of starvation," and the Horn of Africa, where over 12 million are at risk in Ethiopia and Eritrea.<sup>45</sup> But millions of Africans are affected by severe food shortages in other regions as well. According to the WFP, the following countries "are currently suffering exceptional food shortages": Angola, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Republic of Congo, Sudan, Swaziland, Uganda, Guinea, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, Mauritania, Senegal, the Gambia, Cape Verde and Mali, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.<sup>46</sup>

While droughts and other severe weather conditions have contributed to over half of these food crises, ongoing and recent conflicts and political violence contributed significantly to food and other humanitarian emergencies in almost as many of these countries. For one third of them, the WFP lists armed conflict as the primary cause of the

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<sup>43</sup> UNAIDS, Fact sheet "Gender and HIV/AIDS," [http://www.unaids.org/fact\\_sheets/ungass/html/FSgender\\_en.htm](http://www.unaids.org/fact_sheets/ungass/html/FSgender_en.htm); UNAIDS, "HIV/AIDS and Gender" Web page, <http://www.unaids.org/gender/index.html>; UNAIDS and WHO, *AIDS epidemic update*, <http://www.unaids.org/worldaidsday/2002/press/Epiupdate.html>, page 19.

<sup>44</sup> The Honourable Susan Whelan, Minister for International Cooperation, in her testimony to the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, earlier this year (*Evidence*, SCFAIT Meeting No. 24, 20 March 2003).

<sup>45</sup> UNICEF, Web site on the Southern Africa Crisis, <http://www.unicef.org/noteworthy/safricacrisis/index.html>; CARE Canada, "Ethiopia and Eritrea in the midst of a major food crisis," [http://care.ca/rgnc/ethiopia/ethiopia\\_e.shtm](http://care.ca/rgnc/ethiopia/ethiopia_e.shtm).

<sup>46</sup> World Food Programme (WFP), *Africa Hunger Alert*, <http://www.wfp.org/index.asp?section=3>.

exceptional food shortages. Also, in some of the worst affected areas — the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea, Southern Africa — this year’s famine is closely linked to at least one other crisis: the HIV/AIDS pandemic and other diseases, political mismanagement, economic crisis, and/or extreme poverty. As UNICEF noted in a recent submission to the International Development Committee:

Many people in the international relief community are linking the current crisis in Eastern and Southern Africa primarily with drought and food shortage. ... It is true that the region has been affected by erratic rainfall, inappropriate agricultural policies and, in some cases, misguided economic policies. But the scope of the humanitarian emergency in Southern Africa is much broader. Its roots lie in problems that existed before the onset of the present drought.<sup>47</sup>

As we argued in the previous section, the most important of these is the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which “will kill many more women and children than the lack of rainfall. And the AIDS catastrophe will continue long after the rains return to the region.”<sup>48</sup>

There are, in other words, a number of distinct food emergencies in sub-Saharan Africa, and several have different interacting causes. As several witnesses noted, an adequate response to the current food crises must therefore address both the immediate needs of the more than 40 million Africans whose lives are threatened by starvation, and the longer term problems that have contributed to or exacerbated these emergencies and that have made it impossible for many countries to cope with wide-spread food shortages.

### Emergency food aid

As Ernest Loevinsohn, Director General of CIDA’s Program Against Hunger, Malnutrition and Disease, stated before the Sub-Committee, “massive food aid” is urgently needed to help those threatened by famine.<sup>49</sup> There have been repeated appeals for food aid and financial resources from the World Food Programme, other multilateral organizations and NGOs. But only just over 30% of what is needed according to WFP estimates has been received or pledged from donor countries, leaving a shortfall of currently US\$1 billion. In April, the head of the WFP, James Morris, accused western countries of a double standard, contributing substantial amounts to the war and humanitarian effort in Iraq, while ignoring the plight of millions of Africans threatened by starvation. “How is it we routinely accept a level of suffering and hopelessness in Africa

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<sup>47</sup> United Nations Children’s Fund, “The Humanitarian Crisis In Southern Africa,” Submission to the International Development Committee, <http://www.unicef.org/noteworthy/safricacrisis/submission-safrica071002.pdf>.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 5, 8 April 2003.

we would never accept in any other part of the world? We simply cannot let this stand,” he stated at the United Nations Security Council.<sup>50</sup>

When he appeared before the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade in November 2002, Mr. Morris noted that Canada has “contributed \$3.5 billion of resources” to the WFP since the early 1960s, and that it has been “one of the most important contributors to our work, helping us to think through how we maximize our productivity and do our work better, and you’ve been very creative.”<sup>51</sup>

According to CIDA, Canada’s Emergency Assistance to Africa for the last and current fiscal years has been as follows:

- The total amount of Canada's emergency humanitarian assistance to Africa last year (FY 2002-03) was \$139,328,761. So far this year (FY 2003-04), CIDA has disbursed a further \$11,328,546 to respond to the ongoing humanitarian crises in Africa bringing the total response to \$150,657,307.
- Of the amount for FY 2002-03, \$56.4 million was specifically directed for food aid to Africa (e.g. through the World Food Programme, Canadian Foodgrains Bank and other partners).<sup>52</sup>

### Long-term Solutions

Bernard Taylor of Partnership Africa Canada told the Sub-Committee that food crises are a recurring phenomenon in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, partly because of regular droughts. One priority area must therefore be to address some of the structural problems underlying recurring food emergencies and to strengthen the ability of societies to cope with food shortages. The Sub-Committee agrees with Mr. Taylor’s view that regional food security programs would make an important contribution in this area.

As Ernest Loevinsohn, Director General of CIDA’s Program Against Hunger, Malnutrition and Disease, and other witnesses pointed out, another focus area must be agriculture and rural sector development. The Sub-Committee commends CIDA for making this one of the sectoral priorities in its development programming. CIDA has also made agriculture and rural sector development one of priority areas for the Canada Fund for Africa and the Enhanced Partnerships Program, for which it has so far selected six sub-Saharan African countries — Ethiopia, Ghana, Mali, Mozambique, Senegal and

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<sup>50</sup> BBC News, World Edition, “UN slams aid ‘double standards’,” 8 April 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/2927889.stm>.

<sup>51</sup> *Evidence*, SCFAIT Meeting No. 7, 5 November 2002.

<sup>52</sup> Information provided by CIDA to the Sub-Committee.

Tanzania.<sup>53</sup> Beyond local, national and regional strategies for developing the rural sector and adapting it to changed environmental and social conditions — including a growing labour shortage as a result of the HIV/AIDS pandemic — sustainable and effective development of agriculture cannot proceed in isolation from global economic conditions. Here, rich countries must accept their responsibility for establishing a fair and open international trading system in agriculture products. That means opening domestic markets to imports from developing countries and significantly reducing subsidies to producers in OECD countries. The Sub-Committee calls on the government to make every effort to help bring the current WTO negotiations under the Doha Development Agenda to a successful conclusion.

In light of the devastating impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and of armed conflicts on food production and security, sub-Saharan African leaders and the international community must make every effort to fight the HIV/AIDS pandemic and to address the causes of conflict on the continent.

## **Recommendations**

- 2.1 The Sub-Committee calls on the government to increase its contributions to the ongoing emergency relief efforts, as massive food aid is urgently needed. Accordingly, the government should try to mobilize international support, especially for the relief of the famines in Southern Africa, Ethiopia, Eritrea and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.**
  
- 2.2 The government should also expand its Enhanced Partnerships Program to include more of the poorest countries in sub-Saharan Africa, and continue to implement programs designed to address underlying problems in these countries. Of particular importance is agriculture and rural sector development in countries affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic.**
  
- 2.3 The Sub-Committee calls on the government to make further efforts in untying official development assistance. It urges the government to redouble its efforts to eliminate agricultural subsidies in the countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); to reform WTO agricultural trade rules with particular attention to the needs of**

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<sup>53</sup> CIDA, *Canada Making a Difference in the World: A Policy Statement on Aid Effectiveness*, September 2002, <http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/aideffectiveness>. See the testimony of the Honourable Susan Whelan, Minister for International Cooperation, to the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, earlier this year (*Evidence*, SCFAIT Meeting No. 24, 20 March 2003); and additional information provided by the Honourable Susan Whelan, Minister for International Cooperation, in response to questions raised by members of SCFAIT during this testimony.

**Africa's small food producers, and envisaging the establishment of a stabilization-insurance-type mechanism which would assure them of a decent income; to permit least developed and developing countries the use of trade measures to limit imports of agricultural products deemed unjustifiably subsidized; and to improve market access for least developed as well as developing countries.**

**2.4 The government should review its development assistance policies and programs in light of the importance of linkages between different humanitarian and political crises in sub-Saharan Africa, and with the goal of addressing the underlying causes of the current food crises in some of the most affected countries.**

### **3. Human Rights, Democracy, Good Governance**

Bernard Taylor, the Executive Director of Partnership Africa Canada, told the Sub-Committee that

Some of the major problems characterizing Africa and the humanitarian crisis may be summarized in the following way. Africa has many weak states, weak democracies, and resulting weak institutions. All too frequently this results, in many parts of Africa, in repression, human rights abuses and sometimes conflict.<sup>54</sup>

Human rights have long been a priority of Canada and the rest of the international community, and efforts to ensure their promotion and protection in Africa continue in such multilateral fora as the UN's Commission on Human Rights. Alex Neve of Amnesty International told the Sub-Committee in March 2003 during a meeting focused on the situation in Zimbabwe:

Let me begin by adding how important it is — and I can't stress this enough — that in these troubling times, with so much international focus on the situation in Iraq, this Sub-Committee continues to ensure, through hearings such as today's, that the very many other very pressing human rights concerns in the world today receive attention.<sup>55</sup>

Beyond human rights, in recent years the international community has come to realize that the related issues of good governance and democracy are also key to achieving sustainable development, which rests on three pillars: economic growth, environmental protection and social equity. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has recently pointed out that our experience with development around the world

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<sup>54</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No.6, 29 April 2003.

<sup>55</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No.3, 25 March 2003.

has in fact proven that promoting sustainable development "is not just a social, economic and technological challenge: it is also an institutional and political challenge."<sup>56</sup> In addition to being central principles of national and international political life in their own right, democracy, the rule of law, justice, and human rights must now also be seen as essential to the development process.

As Mark Halle of the Winnipeg-based International Institute for Sustainable Development puts it:

The institutions and mechanisms of governance that underpin sustainable development and on which it depends are so important that they constitute the fourth essential pillar of sustainable development. It is, indeed, this fourth pillar that confers legitimacy on economic development and holds the development process accountable for what is achieved with development funding. It is predicated on democratic institutions, which provide everyone with a say in decisions that affect their lives. It relies on greater transparency and greater opportunities to participate in making social choices. And it depends on genuine mechanisms to oversee and exercise accountability for development decisions. It is now clear that attempts to erect the first three pillars in the absence of the fourth were doomed to failure.<sup>57</sup>

Widespread acknowledgement of the importance of national and international institutions and politics to sustainable development has led to the emergence of a new consensus, as reflected in the *Human Development Report 2002* and the *Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development* agreed to by world leaders at last year's UN World Summit on Sustainable Development. It is also reflected in the work done by international organizations like the United Nations Development Program. As its administrator, Mark Malloch Brown, pointed out before the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade in February 2003:

...60% of our technical assistance in the world now is spent on governance, because we've come to understand that the institutions of government and their non-corrupt, honest operation is the fundamental software of development. You can build roads, bridges, and the rest, but if you don't have trusted, honest institutions and laws and good policy-making capacity, the rest goes for naught.<sup>58</sup>

Unfortunately, bad governance, corruption and continued abuses of human rights remain all too frequent in sub-Saharan Africa, as the case of Zimbabwe, which is discussed below, demonstrates. And human rights violations and atrocities are committed with impunity by political leaders, state officials, armed groups and others. However, this need not be the case, and the international community can make substantial contributions to creating the legal framework and institutions needed to prosecute perpetrators effectively. The Special Court for Sierra Leone, which was established jointly

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<sup>56</sup> UNDP, *Human Development Report 2002*, p. 51.

<sup>57</sup> Mark Halle, "Sustainable development cools off," *IISD Commentary*, July 2002, <http://www.iisd.org/publications/publication.asp?pno=481>.

<sup>58</sup> *Evidence*, SCFAIT, Meeting No.18, 13 February 2003.

by a treaty between Sierra Leone and the United Nations, is a new and particularly noteworthy model for bringing “perpetrators of war crimes to justice,” because it is “under joint UN-Sierra Leonean jurisdiction” and is “staffed with both local and international judges and prosecutors.” It is also expected to operate with a substantially smaller budget than other international tribunals.<sup>59</sup>

In addition to being major obstacles to development, bad governance, corruption and human rights abuses also pose particular problems for humanitarian relief efforts because organizations delivering urgently needed aid have to contend with state institutions and governments that often try to use aid for political aims; because bad policies and corruption are themselves a cause or a contributing factor to humanitarian crises; because access to the most needy may be restricted; and because aid agency representatives and workers may themselves be at risk.

However, as John Watson of Care Canada reminded members, we need to ensure that we do not penalize victims of humanitarian crises for the abuses of their governments, and where there are repressive and corrupt governments, there are often also massive humanitarian needs. He argued that, “even with the most terrible governments ... we find that it is possible to deal with them in such a way to get assistance down to poor people who need it,” and that “aid can be used very effectively even under repressive contexts.”<sup>60</sup>

Although human rights abuses, bad governance and corruption are still widespread in sub-Saharan Africa, it is important to recognize that developing respect for such values is a long-term process, and that the trends are moving in the right direction. As Mark Malloch Brown pointed out, on a global basis “... since 1980 the number of countries that are democratic has doubled. As we reported in our Human Development Report last year, 70% of the world now lives in democracies, many of them very imperfect, with only a limited set of rights, maybe not much more than a vote every five years. But the trend and momentum are very clear ... we’ve created the institutions of democracy. Now we have to create the language, coalitions, and manifesto for democracy.”<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Michelle Sieff, “A ‘Special Court’ for Sierra Leone’s War Crimes,” *Global Policy Forum* Web site, 2001, <http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/sierra/court/2001/analysis.htm>.

<sup>60</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 3, 25 March 2003.

<sup>61</sup> *Evidence*, SCFAIT, Meeting No.18, 13 February 2003.



Promoting human rights and the rule of law, democracy and good governance have become important elements of Canada's international development policy and programming. According to CIDA, "Extensive investments have been made in good governance and long-term democratic development initiatives."<sup>62</sup> This is also an important element of the government's increasing focus on Africa. For example, countries selected for the Enhanced Partnerships Program, which is funded through the Canada Fund for Africa, "must demonstrate a commitment to democracy, good governance and human rights."<sup>63</sup>

### The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)<sup>64</sup>

One mechanism for pursuing this goal in Africa is the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which was examined in detail by the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade in its report *Securing Progress for Africa and the World. A Report on Canadian Priorities for the 2002 G8 Summit*, tabled in June 2002.<sup>65</sup>

Briefly, NEPAD was put in place in 2001 by African leaders. It is a comprehensive policy framework and program of implementation aimed at achieving growth and sustainable development on the continent. It was designed and agreed to by African leaders, in cooperation with traditional donors, and has been "endorsed by the 53 member states of the Organization of African Unity [now the African Union]. It emphasizes African leadership and ownership of the development process and calls for a new global partnership based on shared responsibility and mutual interest."<sup>66</sup> The principles and objectives of NEPAD are listed in Box 1.

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<sup>62</sup> See the testimony of the Honourable Susan Whelan, Minister for International Cooperation, to the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, earlier this year (*Evidence*, SCFAIT, Meeting No. 24, 20 March 2003); and additional information provided by the Honourable Susan Whelan, Minister for International Cooperation, in response to questions raised by members of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade during this testimony.

<sup>63</sup> CIDA, *Canada Making a Difference in the World: A Policy Statement on Aid Effectiveness*, <http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/aideffectiveness>, page 26.

<sup>64</sup> The official NEPAD Web site is: <http://www.avmedia.at/nepad/indexgb.html>.

<sup>65</sup> <http://www.parl.gc.ca/InfoComDoc/37/1/FAIT/Studies/Reports/faitrp21/03-cov-e.htm>. See Chapter III: Action Towards a New Partnership for Africa's Development.

<sup>66</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Web site, <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/department/focus/africa0402-en.asp>.

### Box 1 — PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES OF NEPAD<sup>67</sup>

- Ensuring African ownership, responsibility and leadership.
- Making Africa attractive to both domestic and foreign investors.
- Unleashing the vast economic potential of the continent.
- Achieving and sustaining an average gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate of over 7% per annum for the next 15 years.
- Ensuring that the continent achieves the agreed International Development Goals (IDGs).
- Increasing investment in human resource development.
- Promoting the role of women in all activities.
- Promoting sub-regional and continental economic integration.
- Developing a new partnership with industrialised countries and multilateral organisations on the basis of mutual commitments, obligations, interest, contributions and benefits.
- Strengthening Africa's capacity to lead her own development and to improve coordination with development partners.
- Ensuring that there is a capacity to lead negotiations on behalf of the continent on major development programmes that require coordination at a continental level.
- Ensuring that there is capacity to accelerate implementation of major regional development co-operation agreements and projects already approved or in the pipeline.
- Strengthening Africa's capacity to mobilize additional external resources for its development.

In its report *Securing Progress for Africa and the World* the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade concluded that, while NEPAD was not perfect, it represented an important step in the right direction, which Canada, the G8 and the rest of the international community should support. Under Canadian leadership, the G8 at last year's summit in Kananaskis supported the NEPAD through its Africa Action Plan, and while progress will take time, Anne-Marie Bourcier of DFAIT told the Sub-Committee in March 2003 that "NEPAD is already having an impact. In December, Kenyans went to the polls in free and fair elections. They changed their government peacefully."<sup>68</sup>

A similar argument was made with regard to Zimbabwe by Alex Neve of Amnesty International in his testimony to the Sub-Committee:

It is vital ... that Canada maintain bilateral pressure on African governments, such as South Africa and Nigeria, the best-known, but also Namibia, Angola, Malawi, and Zambia, all of whom are relatively supportive of [Zimbabwe's] President Mugabe. One very clear vehicle for doing so is to make use of the commitments to good governance, human rights protection, and peer review, which are at the heart of the NEPAD initiative and the G-8's recent promise to support NEPAD through its Africa action plan. The need for these African governments to be pressed to play a strenuous role in pushing for reform in Zimbabwe is of particular importance, given that the Mugabe government is so often impervious to criticism and pressure from Europe and North America.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Source: NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICAS DEVELOPMENT (NEPAD) Engl. Version, page 5, [http://www.avmedia.at/cgi-script/csNews/news\\_upload/NEPAD\\_2dCORE\\_2dDOCUMENTS\\_2edb.NEPAD\\_FRAMEWORK\\_DOCUMENT\\_ENGL.pdf](http://www.avmedia.at/cgi-script/csNews/news_upload/NEPAD_2dCORE_2dDOCUMENTS_2edb.NEPAD_FRAMEWORK_DOCUMENT_ENGL.pdf).

<sup>68</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 5, 8 April 2003.

<sup>69</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 3, 25 March 2003.

The Sub-Committee agrees with witnesses who argued that the NEPAD is a promising initiative that has the potential of making a significant break with failed past initiatives for development in Africa.<sup>70</sup> However, it believes that two aspects of the New Partnership in particular warrant critical examination, and their implementation must be followed closely.

The first is the issue of accountability, which is closely linked to the issues of human rights, democracy, and good governance. The African Heads of State and Government, who designed and are implementing NEPAD, have through this initiative made a political commitment to accountability, democracy, and good governance. The document outlining the NEPAD policy framework that was put in place at the first meeting of its Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee in Abuja, Nigeria on 23 October 2001, stated that, to achieve the objectives of NEPAD, “African leaders will take joint responsibility for ... promoting and protecting democracy and human rights in their respective countries and regions, by developing clear standards of accountability, transparency and participatory governance at the national and subnational levels.”<sup>71</sup>

Leaders also agreed to institute a peer review process to assess progress in this area. The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) was approved in principle in 2002, and in March 2003, the heads of state and government agreed to a framework for the APRM.<sup>72</sup> The framework foresees a role for organizations like the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights, the African Committee of the Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, and the Pan-African Parliament in the peer review process, where “matters relating to human rights, democracy and political governance” are concerned (paragraph 6.3). But the APRM is clearly governed and controlled by leaders themselves through the Committee of Participating Heads of State and Government. Essentially, this means that African Heads of State and Government will hold each other accountable.

While the Sub-Committee agrees with witness who argued that it is “too early to make a call on whether they’ll be able to follow through on that commitment,”<sup>73</sup> it has serious concerns about the effectiveness of this process in holding Heads of State and Government accountable, especially because too many of the current leaders of

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<sup>70</sup> For example, Jean-Marc Métivier, Vice-President, Multilateral Programmes Branch, Canadian International Development Agency, *Evidence*, Meeting No. 5, 8 April 2003.

<sup>71</sup> NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICAS DEVELOPMENT (NEPAD) Engl. Version, page 5, [http://www.avmedia.at/cgi-script/csNews/news\\_upload/NEPAD\\_2dCORE\\_2dDOCUMENTS\\_2edb.NEPAD\\_FRAMEWORK\\_DOCUMENT\\_ENGL.pdf](http://www.avmedia.at/cgi-script/csNews/news_upload/NEPAD_2dCORE_2dDOCUMENTS_2edb.NEPAD_FRAMEWORK_DOCUMENT_ENGL.pdf).

<sup>72</sup> “African Peer Review Mechanism — Organisation and Processes,” *NEPAD/HGSIC-3-2003/APRM/Guideline/O&P*, 9 March 2003, [http://www.avmedia.at/cgi-script/csNews/news\\_upload/NEPAD\\_2dCORE\\_2dDOCUMENTS\\_2edb.APRMFinalOP090303.pdf](http://www.avmedia.at/cgi-script/csNews/news_upload/NEPAD_2dCORE_2dDOCUMENTS_2edb.APRMFinalOP090303.pdf).

<sup>73</sup> David Angell, Deputy to the Personal Representative of the Prime Minister for Africa and Director of the Eastern and Southern Africa Division, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Evidence*, Meeting No. 5, 8 April 2003.

sub-Saharan African countries have not demonstrated an unambiguous and unwavering commitment to human rights, democracy and good governance.

The commitment of African leaders is also undermined by inconsistencies and contradictions in the policies pursued by major donor countries and international financial institutions. As Andrew Mack, Director of the Human Security Centre at the University of British Columbia, explained in his testimony before the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade in April 2003:

The World Bank and the United States are saying, “Our aid policies must be to reward good performance. We’ll only give money to good performers. That will encourage them. Other countries, seeing that they won’t get any money, and if they’re good performers, will change”. If we were to follow that through, ... no one in sub-Saharan Africa would get a cent ... because they’re not good performers. So what you find the World Bank now doing is saying, “Okay, we have to have a special category called low-income countries under stress and they’re going to get money anyway”. So, actually, nothing has changed.<sup>74</sup>

In light of recent developments in Zimbabwe and the Commonwealth, the Sub-Committee has serious concerns about the willingness of many African leaders to follow through on this commitment and accord human rights, democracy and good governance the highest priority at home and in their relations with other countries. It calls on the Canadian government to intensify its efforts in this area — including through its participation in multilateral organizations like the Commonwealth, la Francophonie, the United Nations, and the G8 — and to assure that the policies of international economic institutions to not undermine this commitment made under the NEPAD.

The second area of concern for the Sub-Committee is the emphasis on private sector involvement. This raises some troubling prospects, if it is not implemented in accordance with the sustainable development goals defined by the United Nations (the Millennium Goals), the NEPAD or CIDA. Private sector development and capacity building are, of course, central elements of any development strategy. But the Millennium Goals of eradicating extreme poverty and hunger, reducing child mortality by two-thirds, halting and reversing the spread of HIV/AIDS, malaria and other major diseases, ensuring environmental sustainability, and developing a global partnership for development, must also govern private sector involvement and development. And, as Charles Mugiraneza of Alternatives Canada argued before the Sub-Committee, the meaning of good governance must include social aspects and democratic principles, and should not be reduced to economic management and facilitating private sector development and foreign investment.<sup>75</sup>

John McNee, DFAIT’s Assistant Deputy Minister for Africa and the Middle East, noted in his testimony that both the NEPAD and “the economic development chapter of

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<sup>74</sup> *Evidence*, SFAIT Meeting No. 31, 10 April 2003.

<sup>75</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 6, 29 April 2003

the Kananaskis Africa action plan foresee a key role for the private sector and for trade in bringing development to Africa.”<sup>76</sup> In support of this objective, the Canadian government is sponsoring a public-private Canada investment fund for Africa with \$100 million to channel Canadian investment to the continent. This fund could provide much needed financial resources for small and medium-size enterprises (SMEs), who so far have lacked the capital to pursue business opportunities in Africa, in cooperation with local partner firms. However, the Sub-Committee is concerned that the Fund’s goal “to maximize the beneficial impact of the fund’s activities on Canadian interests”<sup>77</sup> and an apparent lack of clear guidelines with regard to the local development impact of investments supported by the Fund could mean that it supports investment activities that run counter to the development priorities defined by CIDA and that may be detrimental to a long-term sustainable development process in Africa.

One area where this emphasis on private sector involvement has already shown to be problematic and highly contentious is in the privatization of public services and the provision of essential public goods like water. As Bernard Taylor of Partnership Africa Canada pointed out, the privatization of water is being encouraged “within NEPAD and certainly ... by some financial institutions [and] some countries.”

... many in Africa would disagree with that. It’s certainly causing a lot of adverse reactions in South Africa, in Soweto, places like that, and I think we have to be very careful about seeking western solutions from certain countries to problems of Africa. The privatization of their electricity in Senegal ... has not been a success.<sup>78</sup>

The Sub-Committee believes that the private sector can and must play a role in achieving development in sub-Saharan Africa, including through foreign investment. Building private sector capacity and the public institutions required for sustained economic growth — including the rule of law, democratic and transparent policy and decision-making processes, and the protection of human and civil rights — must be a central element of any development strategy. However, private sector involvement and development cannot be separated from the overarching objectives of sustainable development, if it is to succeed and benefit all Africans. And essential public goods and services must be made available to all Africans, rich and poor, rural and urban.

## Recommendations

### **3.1 The Sub-Committee supports CIDA’s emphasis on promoting human rights, the rule of law, democracy and good governance, and calls on the government to apply these principles to other government programs and policies affecting development in sub-Saharan Africa, including export and investment promotion.**

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<sup>76</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 3, 25 March 2003.

<sup>77</sup> [http://www.ccc.ca/eng/fea\\_aif.cfm](http://www.ccc.ca/eng/fea_aif.cfm).

<sup>78</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 6, 29 April 2003.

- 3.2** The Sub-Committee believes that the criteria used by CIDA for selecting countries for the enhanced partnerships program — commitment to democracy, good governance and human rights — must be applied strictly in order to create unambiguous incentives for African governments to make substantial improvements in these areas. The government should also redouble its efforts in the area of building democratic institutions and practices, governance capacity, effective and independent legal systems, and promoting human rights including the rights of women and children.
- 3.3** The Sub-Committee believes that the meaning of good governance must include social aspects and democratic principles, and should not be reduced to economic management and facilitating private sector development and foreign investment. While the private sector can and must play a role in achieving development in sub-Saharan Africa, including through foreign investment, and while building private sector capacity and the public institutions required for sustained economic growth must be a central element of any development strategy, private sector involvement and development cannot be separated from the overarching objectives of sustainable development, if it is to succeed and benefit all Africans. And essential public goods and services must be made available to all Africans, rich and poor, rural and urban. In this context, the Sub-Committee urges CIDA to work only with companies that abide by the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises, which Canada has endorsed.
- 3.4** In response to the seriousness and extent of the human rights abuses carried out in several countries in sub-Saharan Africa, often with impunity, the government should make every effort to ensure that international and national law is used to prosecute perpetrators, including through the establishment of special courts or tribunals such as the Special Court for Sierra Leone.

#### **4. The Case of Zimbabwe**

Over the past year and a half, the Sub-Committee has held several hearings on Zimbabwe. While it is important to recognize the historical background of the current political crisis and the fact that abuses and political violence are not, unfortunately, unique to that country, the current conjunction of crises in Zimbabwe demands special attention. In February 2002, the Sub-Committee adopted a resolution, “strongly condemning Zimbabwe’s President Robert Mugabe’s increasingly flagrant abuse of human rights, and

his refusal to uphold the principles of democracy and the rule of law.”<sup>79</sup> As part of its recent hearings on the urgent humanitarian crises in sub-Saharan Africa, the Sub-Committee heard testimony on Zimbabwe from the Secretary of State for Africa, the Honourable Denis Paradis, officials from DFAIT and CIDA, and representatives from several NGOs.

The Sub-Committee views the worsening situation in Zimbabwe as one that exemplifies each of the three crises discussed above — the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the more general health crisis, famine and the politics of hunger, and the repression of democracy, human rights and the rule of law. It also serves as a stark example of the consequences of divisions and inaction of the international community and the reluctance of some key leaders in sub-Saharan Africa to hold other governments accountable for political repression and significant human rights violations.<sup>80</sup>

### Repression, Human Rights Abuses, Corruption and Bad Governance

Concerns over the human rights situation in Zimbabwe have surfaced repeatedly for many years, but several developments have focused international attention on the country in recent years. These include: the economic crisis that began in the late 1990s; a misguided policy of land-redistribution which has led to increasing political violence and a dramatic downturn in the agriculture sector; the emergence of a new opposition group, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), in 1999 in reaction to the worsening economic crisis and to Zimbabwe’s military involvement in the war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DR Congo); and successively more repressive attempts by President Mugabe to maintain political control of the country in the face of growing opposition.

John McNee, Assistant Deputy Minister for Africa and the Middle East at DFAIT, summarized the government’s assessment of the current situation in his testimony before the Sub-Committee as follows:

The human rights situation has deteriorated steadily over the last few years and remains very poor. The Government of Zimbabwe continues to violate the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights instruments, including the Commonwealth’s Harare principles of 1991. To date, the majority of violations of human rights appear to be sponsored, abetted, or condoned by ZANU senior officials and government officials around President Mugabe.

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<sup>79</sup> Sub-Committee on Human Rights and International Development, News Release, 28 February 2002, <http://www.parl.gc.ca/InfoComDoc/37/1/SRID/PressReleases/SRIDPR-e.htm>.

<sup>80</sup> For a useful backgrounder on Zimbabwe, see BBC News at [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country\\_profiles/1064589.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country_profiles/1064589.stm) and [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country\\_profiles/1831470.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country_profiles/1831470.stm).



We are deeply troubled by continuing state-sponsored or state-condoned violence, harassment, and intimidation directed against members of the opposition parties and movements, as well as those suspected of supporting them, including representatives of civil society and the independent media. If anything, the situation has only worsened over the last several years.

Repressive legislation, much of which was introduced around the flawed presidential election of March 2002, is now used to undermine freedom of opinion, expression, and association in Zimbabwe. The partisan application of these repressive laws has had a significant negative impact on freedom of association and expression.

The Zimbabwean government's interference in the judiciary, including the intimidation of judges, threatens seriously to undermine its independence. The government has also circumvented unfavourable decisions of the courts and has publicly criticized the judiciary when such rulings are made.

L'intervention du gouvernement zimbabwéen dans le fonctionnement de l'appareil judiciaire, notamment l'intimidation des juges, menace sérieusement de compromettre son indépendance. Le gouvernement s'est également soustrait aux décisions défavorables de tribunaux et a publiquement critiqué l'appareil judiciaire lorsque de telles décisions ont été rendues.<sup>81</sup>

Alex Neve of Amnesty International concurred with this assessment, noting four “main areas of concern” in his testimony: (i) “the political manipulation of food aid”; (ii) “arbitrary arrests, torture, and political killings,” and a more general “upsurge in political violence”; (iii) attacks on human rights defenders and the independent media” with the help of a “web of repressive legislation” and through “harassment, death threats, attacks, and arbitrary arrests”; and (iv) “the erosion of the independence of the judiciary.”<sup>82</sup>

According to the Canadian High Commissioner to Zimbabwe, John Schram,<sup>83</sup> the government continues to repress the opposition and the media (including foreign journalists), and intimidate the judiciary, through deportation of foreign journalists, arbitrary arrests, torture and even murder. The International Crisis Group has reported that “The Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum identified 1,061 cases of torture and 58 political murders in 2002. Most victims were MDC supporters. This has continued into 2003.”<sup>84</sup>

There was also agreement among witnesses, as there is among international experts, that the government's mismanagement of the economy and its land redistribution scheme has thrown the agricultural sector, which once made the country self-sufficient in

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<sup>81</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 3, 25 March 2003.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> International Crisis Group, *Zimbabwe: Danger and Opportunity*, 10 March 2003, page 7, [http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/africa/southernafrica/reports/A400915\\_10032003.pdf](http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/africa/southernafrica/reports/A400915_10032003.pdf).



food and a major food exporter, into deep crisis and contributed significantly to the severe food crisis.<sup>85</sup> And corruption seems widespread among leading state and ZANU-PF officials, many of whom have benefited personally from land seizures and Zimbabwe's illegal exploitation of diamond resources in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.<sup>86</sup>

### Famine and the Politics of Hunger

The growing food crisis in Zimbabwe was discussed by John Watson of CARE Canada in his testimony before the Sub-Committee:

Pre-famine conditions are tightening their grip on Zimbabwe. Throughout Zimbabwe, once the breadbasket of southern Africa, thousands of families now can't grow enough food to survive. Farmers have little food to sell in the country's markets, and the price, for what food is available there, is soaring. Even the game and wild fruits that rural Zimbabweans rely on when other food is scarce are fast disappearing. Many families, as a result, have been forced to sell their livestock and other possessions to buy food. This is only a temporary solution.

Severe hunger, even starvation, threatens millions of Zimbabweans, particularly the most vulnerable — children, the elderly, and pregnant and nursing women. Today, more than 7 million Zimbabweans — just over half the country's total population — require food aid.

Drought, disruption in the agricultural sector, lack of foreign exchange, HIV/AIDS, and the government's land reform policies are to blame for the Zimbabwean food crisis. These lethal elements, alone and in combination, have destroyed crops and disrupted supply, leaving no part of Zimbabwe unaffected.<sup>87</sup>

While food aid has been coming into the country in significant amounts — according to Ernest Loevinsohn of CIDA, the response rate to the World Food Programme's appeal was at about 84% in March — government-run food programs are widely reported to have been used for political purposes, denying those associated with the opposition vital relief; and independent relief efforts and programs such as those run by CARE and the WFP operate in a political atmosphere that "is highly charged." Despite this, Mr. Watson of CARE Canada stressed that, as long as aid agencies can maintain their political impartiality and operate according to the criteria of need, "aid can

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<sup>85</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 3, 25 March 2003; World Food Program, "Food Shortages in Zimbabwe: the Facts," [http://www.wfp.org/newsroom/in\\_depth/Africa/sa\\_zimbabwe020705.htm](http://www.wfp.org/newsroom/in_depth/Africa/sa_zimbabwe020705.htm); International Crisis Group, *Zimbabwe: Danger and Opportunity*, 10 March 2003, [http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/africa/southernafrica/reports/A400915\\_10032003.pdf](http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/africa/southernafrica/reports/A400915_10032003.pdf).

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*; *Final report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo* (United Nations, 2002), <http://www.natural-resources.org/minerals/law/docs/pdf/N0262179.pdf>.

<sup>87</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 3, 25 March 2003.

be used very effectively even under repressive contexts.”<sup>88</sup> And he urged the Sub-Committee:

... to appreciate that public funds from Canada are making a significant difference in the lives of the poor of Zimbabwe. Further, I urge this committee to see that desperately needed funds are not lifted out of Zimbabwe and other countries in southern Africa to pay for other more media-worthy activities — amongst them, the reconstruction of Iraq. The critically important and demonstrably effective programs now under way in Zimbabwe must be permitted to continue.<sup>89</sup>

### The HIV/AIDS Pandemic, Malaria and Tuberculosis

The food crisis is having a devastating impact on the health of Zimbabwe’s population, which is already ravaged by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, malaria and tuberculosis. Because good nutrition is often the only defence available to those infected with HIV against the onset of AIDS and related illnesses, widespread malnutrition is expected to further increase the death toll from AIDS.

According to UN estimates, one third (33.7%) of Zimbabwe’s adult population was infected with HIV at the end of 2001. That is the second highest prevalence rate in sub-Saharan Africa and in the world. The total number of those infected was 2.3 million, of whom 1.2 million were women and 240,000 children. In 2001, 200,000 Zimbabweans died of AIDS, and there were 780,000 orphans. In addition to HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis are widespread and contribute to a health crisis of catastrophic proportions, which “is tearing Zimbabwean society apart.”<sup>90</sup>

No sector of Zimbabwean society has escaped the dramatic consequences of this crisis: the labour force is shrinking, resulting in a smaller tax base and lower government revenues. At the same time, more and more people fall ill and require help and support in the form of subsistence and medical care, and many families are left without working-age members to provide for them. The health care sector cannot cope because many health workers have left the country or are themselves dying of AIDS. Agriculture, already thrown into crisis by bad government policies, cannot cope with droughts and other extreme weather conditions because many rural areas are devastated by HIV/AIDS and malaria.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> WFP, “HIV/Aids in Zimbabwe: Legacy of a Lost Generation,” <http://www.wfp.org/index.asp?section=2>; UNDP, *Human Development Report 2002*, <http://www.undp.org/hdr2002/>; UNAIDS, WHO, *Epidemiological Fact Sheets — Zimbabwe*, 2002 Update, [http://www.who.int/emc-hiv/fact\\_sheets/pdfs/Zimbabwe\\_EN.pdf](http://www.who.int/emc-hiv/fact_sheets/pdfs/Zimbabwe_EN.pdf); UN Relief and Recovery Unit, “Zimbabwe Humanitarian Situation Report 28 April 2003,” <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/3a81e21068ec1871c1256633003c1c6f/0041eebb89ccf5f485256d17006147a8?OpenDocument>.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.; *Evidence*, Meeting No. 3, 25 March 2003.

To summarize, the conjunction of the political, economic, food and health crises, which are linked and mutually reinforcing, have brought Zimbabwe to the brink of collapse. As a recent report from the International Crisis Group states:

In the year since President Robert Mugabe's ruling ZANU-PF party stole the presidential election, Zimbabwe's economic and political crises have intensified to the point that state collapse, with extensive regional consequences, is an increasing prospect. A high-ranking South African official commented: "The signs are that Zimbabwe is getting close to the mortuary stage. State collapse is now the issue." The spokesperson for the South African Catholic Bishops Conference, Buti Thlagale, concurred: "There are deeply disturbing signs that Zimbabwe is on the brink of a total breakdown into civil war."<sup>92</sup>

The human costs of this crisis is already staggering, with hundreds of thousands dying each year of HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis, more expected to die of hunger, the vast majority of survivors living in poverty in a society torn apart by disease, hunger and political violence. "Even before this year's severe crop failure, 75% of the population were classified as poor; 42%, very poor"<sup>93</sup>; life expectancy is dropping and is now at 42.9 years; and the human development index for Zimbabwe has declined substantially since the mid-1980s.<sup>94</sup>

### International Response

While the international response to Zimbabwe's food crisis has been reasonably good, as Ernest Loevinsohn of CIDA pointed out in his testimony, the same cannot be said for the international community's response to the worsening political crisis in general, and to the widespread human rights violations, the repression of the rule of law and democracy, and increasing use of political violence by the government of President Robert Mugabe. In a recent report, the International Crisis Group summarizes the international response and the consequences of inaction as follows:

While the crisis deepens, the international response has become more divided. The Commonwealth's very purpose is being called into question. Though the principles upon which it is based are being flouted, leading members, South Africa and Nigeria, are arguing against all the evidence that Zimbabwe's suspension should be lifted because the situation has improved. The relevant regional and continental international organizations (SADC and the African Union respectively) have yet to engage meaningfully while South Africa and Nigeria set the tone. The European Union is rent by divisions, with France's invitation to Mugabe to participate in a pan-African summit in Paris having engendered a controversy that nearly put an end to the targeted sanctions regime that was established shortly

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<sup>92</sup> International Crisis Group, *Zimbabwe: Danger and Opportunity*, 10 March 2003, [http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/africa/southernafrica/reports/A400915\\_10032003.pdf](http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/africa/southernafrica/reports/A400915_10032003.pdf).

<sup>93</sup> WFP, "Food Shortages in Zimbabwe: the Facts," [http://www.wfp.org/newsroom/in\\_depth/Africa/sa\\_zimbabwe020705.htm](http://www.wfp.org/newsroom/in_depth/Africa/sa_zimbabwe020705.htm).

<sup>94</sup> UNDP, *Human Development Report 2002*, <http://www.undp.org/hdr2002/>.

before Mugabe's re-election. The U.S. remains a weak actor, able to implement a promised asset freeze component in its own targeted sanctions regime only after nearly a year's delay because of internal mid-level policy disagreements. Western nations still need to break down suspicions.

The international community's inaction deprives it of a chance to influence what increasingly appears to be the onset of a serious succession battle within President Mugabe's ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) party. Leading officials are engaged in bitter debates — and some clandestine diplomacy — about how to move beyond Mugabe. The tensions, which might well lead to a ZANU-PF break-up, are driven primarily by the accelerating erosion of the state and the economy, which threatens the viability of the spoils system from which the party leaders have benefited. They result partly, however, also from international pressure and isolation — as divided and inconsistent as these have been.

Reducing international pressure on ZANU-PF now, just when it appears that there is some prospect the political situation inside Zimbabwe is moving, would be a great mistake, one that would only lower the chance that the change will be peaceful or positive. New efforts to coordinate both African and wider international efforts are called for, with a practical focus on restarting, ideally under new sponsorship, the negotiations between ZANU-PF and the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) opposition that South Africa and Nigeria fitfully facilitated and then abandoned in the first half of 2002.<sup>95</sup>

The most recent efforts by the presidents of South Africa, Nigeria and Malawi, who visited Harare in early May, to set up negotiations between the government and the Movement for Democratic Change failed to achieve an agreement between the two sides.

The Government of Canada has been active in a number of areas to address the different political and humanitarian dimensions of the crisis. According to John McNee, DFAIT's Assistant Deputy Minister for Africa and the Middle East:

the efforts of the Canadian government have really been in four different areas: one, to meet the immediate humanitarian crisis; two, to find practical, constructive ways to help strengthen and reinforce civil society on the ground, as my CIDA colleagues have described in some detail in terms of those programs; three, to work within the Commonwealth, with our African countries within the Commonwealth and other leaders, to try to find ways to influence developments in Zimbabwe; and four is the declaratory policy, the policy position of the Canadian government.

Canadian representatives have also been active in Zimbabwe, as High Commissioner John Schram explained in his testimony. For example, diplomatic staff from the High Commission in Harare have actively monitored the human rights situation, including by observing demonstrations, meeting with civil society leaders and attending

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<sup>95</sup> International Crisis Group, *Zimbabwe: Danger and Opportunity*, 10 March 2003, [http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/africa/southernafrika/reports/A400915\\_10032003.pdf](http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/africa/southernafrika/reports/A400915_10032003.pdf), page i.

politically motivated trials of opposition leaders. Such activities serve not only to gather information on the ground, but to show a Canadian presence.<sup>96</sup>

Canada has also been active with development assistance and humanitarian aid. According to Ernest Loevinsohn, Director General, Program Against Hunger, Malnutrition and Disease, at CIDA:

In terms of Canada's response, over the past year CIDA has provided over \$14.2 million through multilateral and non-governmental channels. Our response included \$11 million for food and nutrition through such partners as the Canadian Foodgrains Bank and the United Nations World Food Program. We've also put in a further \$3.2 million to support agricultural recovery, health, water, and sanitation. Overall, we're the sixth-largest donor to the World Food Program emergency operation in Zimbabwe, which is far higher than our overall rank as an aid donor.<sup>97</sup>

And "Canada has had a development program in Zimbabwe since 1961," as Mr. Michel Lemelin, Regional Director of the Southern Africa Program in CIDA's Africa and Middle East Branch noted:

The current CIDA bilateral program in Zimbabwe is comprised of six operational projects. Four of these projects are responsive funds, through which civil society organizations can apply to receive financial support for their own initiatives: one focussing on gender equality; one on environment and food security; one on human rights, democracy and good governance; and the Canada Fund for Local Initiatives, better known as the little embassy fund.<sup>98</sup>

Mr. Lemelin also noted that "there are more than 20 Canadian non-governmental organizations active in Zimbabwe which benefit from funding provided by CIDA's Canadian Partnership Branch."<sup>99</sup>

## Recommendations

- 4.1 In light of the urgent humanitarian crisis in Zimbabwe, the Sub-Committee believes that the current relief effort must continue. The government should increase the resources available to the Canada Fund for supporting humanitarian needs and human rights in Zimbabwe and monitor humanitarian aid delivery closely — including, for example, food aid and medication — to ensure that it reaches those most in need of assistance and that it is not abused for political ends.**

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<sup>96</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 03, 25 March 2003.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

- 4.2 The Sub-Committee agrees with Mr. Loevinsohn’s assessment that “the health sector ... has ... been undersupported” in Zimbabwe and that “a massive international effort” is needed to address the urgent health crisis caused by the conjunction of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, malaria, tuberculosis and widespread malnutrition.**
- 4.3 In light of the deteriorating political and human rights situation in Zimbabwe, the Sub-Committee calls on the government to intensify its efforts at all levels to bring about a peaceful resolution of the crisis. It urges the government to:**
- (i) increase and maintain consistent diplomatic and public pressure on the government of Robert Mugabe, including by continuing existing administrative actions announced over the past two years, and by working towards the creation of a special international tribunal to prosecute those responsible for the most serious human rights abuses;**
  - (ii) increase the monitoring of the situation on the ground through its High Commission;**
  - (iii) strongly encourage other African leaders, especially the presidents of Nigeria and South Africa, to show unwavering commitment to human rights, democracy and good governance in their dealings with President Mugabe’s government, and to push for the creation of inter-party negotiations aimed at resolving the current crisis;**
  - (iv) intensify efforts within the Commonwealth to find a unified position aimed at bringing about a peaceful resolution of the crisis (this could include a new fact-finding mission of the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group and should include Zimbabwe’s suspension from the Commonwealth pending a resolution of the current crisis);**
  - (v) work with other like-minded African nations towards finding a peaceful resolution to the current crisis; and**

- (vi) **consider freezing the personal assets and reinforcing the travel restriction on Mr. Mugabe and others responsible for the most serious human rights abuses.**

**4.4 At the same, the Government of Canada must prepare to assist the government of Zimbabwe quickly, when the current situation is resolved, by providing assistance in areas such as equitable land reform, public and private sector capacity-building, training of police and judiciary, rebuilding the health and agriculture sectors, and strengthening civil society organizations.**

## **5. Armed Conflicts**

Throughout the hearings, witnesses pointed out that one of the major causes of humanitarian disasters on the continent and one of the greatest impediments to development in sub-Saharan Africa is armed conflict. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Africa has experienced the largest number of armed conflicts of any region since the end of the Cold War.<sup>100</sup> In its *Armed Conflicts Report 2002*, Project Ploughshares lists 14 major armed conflicts in Africa for 2001.<sup>101</sup>

In their testimony before the Sub-Committee, DFAIT and CIDA officials painted a disturbing picture of the prevalence and effects of armed conflicts on the continent. According to Anne-Marie Bourcier, Director General of the Africa Bureau at DFAIT:

Conflicts in Africa have killed, injured and displaced more civilians than in any other region of the world. Indeed, combatants have sought to cause civilian casualties as deliberate war aim. The indirect—but equally serious—effects on civilians include death, spread of disease and destruction of health, agriculture and education systems.<sup>102</sup>

And Jean-Marc Métivier, CIDA's Vice-President of the Multilateral Programs Branch, noted that

Since the beginning of the 1980s, no fewer than 28 of Africa's 50 countries have been at war. The region stands out from other developing regions by the sheer number of conflicts and the massive impact on lives and livelihoods. This impact includes massive population displacement with 13.5 million internally displaced

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<sup>100</sup> Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *SIPRI Yearbook 2002 Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

<sup>101</sup> <http://www.ploughshares.ca/content/ACR/ACR00/ACR00.html>.

<sup>102</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 5, 8 April 2003.

persons, and 3.6 million refugees, the majority of whom are women and children.<sup>103</sup>

The humanitarian consequences of armed conflicts have been disastrous, then, as is evidenced by the number and magnitude of the humanitarian crises that are caused by them. For example, as noted earlier in our discussion of the current food crises, the World Food Programme lists armed conflict as the primary cause of one third of the exceptional food shortages experienced this year in sub-Saharan Africa, and it is a significant contributing factor to several other food emergencies. Armed conflicts have also contributed to the spread of and exacerbated health epidemics, including HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis. The result is that a considerable portion of the world's resources that are devoted to development assistance and humanitarian aid are spent on addressing humanitarian crises created by armed conflicts. In the Canadian case, as CIDA noted in a written response to questions raised by members of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade:

Historically and indeed, at present, when conflict is not prevented and countries are in crisis, CIDA's first response is to address humanitarian needs. This is a pressing and expensive imperative. In fact, humanitarian spending is over \$100 million annually, mostly in response to crises related to conflict (over 80%) rather than to natural disasters. ... Figures for humanitarian needs and food aid can quickly dwarf regular bilateral spending.<sup>104</sup>

In addition to their disastrous consequences for the people of sub-Saharan Africa, armed conflicts, because of their number, extent and intensity, have also had a profound impact on social and economic development on the continent. According to Mr. Métivier of CIDA:

Armed conflict has also stunted and reversed Africa's socio-economic development, contributing to alarming levels of poverty. It is no coincidence that the world's conflict-affected countries are most often the poorest.<sup>105</sup>

Andrew Mack recently made a similar argument about the relationship between armed conflicts and economic development in his testimony before the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade:

When your GDP [per capita] goes up from [US] \$250 to \$600, ... from a very poor country to a still-very-poor country, but somewhat less poor, the risk of violence, the risk of being involved in a civil war in the next five years, halves. When you go from \$600 to \$1,200, it halves again. By the time you've reached \$5,000, the risk has been reduced by 32 times. The implication of this is that development is the

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Additional information provided by the Honourable Susan Whelan, Minister for International Cooperation, in response to questions raised by members of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade during this testimony.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.



best form of conflict prevention, but we know that the two are intimately linked. You can't have development without security, and you can't have security without development.<sup>106</sup>

Witnesses noted that the current armed conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa and the resulting humanitarian crises and political problems “are deep, wide and complex” and that “successful resolution will not be easy, nor come overnight.”<sup>107</sup> According to Mr. Métivier of CIDA:

The roots of these conflicts are complex but include socio-economic inequality between groups, poor governance, and competition over scarce or highly-valued resources such as diamonds and oil. They are fuelled by a proliferation of small arms. They increasingly take on regional dimensions.<sup>108</sup>

And in some cases, as Andrew Mack pointed out, “people just don't know what to do ... . The Democratic Republic of the Congo, nobody knows what to do. They're just too hard. It's very depressing.”<sup>109</sup> At the same time, recent developments in several cases — for example Angola, Sierra Leone, Eritrea and Ethiopia — are cause for cautious optimism and suggest that Canada and the international community can help resolve and prevent conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa, provided the international community is willing to devote its attention to continent, put aside particular interests, and commit the necessary resources to diplomacy, defence and development.

Canada has already made an important contribution to the rethinking of the international community's role in dealing with armed conflicts and humanitarian crises. In 2000, the government set up the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), which prepared a report entitled *The Responsibility to Protect*, presented to the United Nations in December 2001. The report established basic principles governing the relationship between state sovereignty and the legitimacy of foreign intervention:

- A. State sovereignty implies responsibility, and the primary responsibility for the protection of its people lies with the state itself.

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<sup>106</sup> Evidence, SCFAIT Meeting No. 31, 10 April 2003.

<sup>107</sup> Anne-Marie Bourcier, Director General of the Africa Bureau, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Evidence, Meeting No. 5, 8 April 2003.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Evidence, SCFAIT, Meeting No. 31, 10 April 2003.

- B. Where a population is suffering serious harm, as a result of internal war, insurgency, repression or state failure, and the state in question is unwilling or unable to halt or avert it, the principle of non-intervention yields to the international responsibility to protect.

And it outlined three elements of the responsibility to protect:

- A. The responsibility to prevent: to address both the root causes and direct causes of internal conflict and other man-made crises putting populations at risk.
- B. The responsibility to react: to respond to situations of compelling human need with appropriate measures, which may include coercive measures like sanctions and international prosecution, and in extreme cases military intervention.
- C. The responsibility to rebuild: to provide, particularly after a military intervention, full assistance with recovery, reconstruction and reconciliation, addressing the causes of the harm the intervention was designed to halt or avert.

The ICISS's report, therefore, provides an important starting point for the development of a new approach to dealing with the kinds of crises and armed conflicts that are now ravaging sub-Saharan Africa, including the Democratic Republic of the Congo.<sup>110</sup>

The Sub-Committee wants to draw attention also to the work CIDA and other government departments have done in recent years to address the problem of armed conflict in a comprehensive approach involving the "3 Ds" of Canadian foreign policy — diplomacy, defence and development. In responding to questions raised by members of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade during her testimony on March 20, 2003, the Honourable Susan Whelan, Minister of International Cooperation, provided a document drafted by CIDA which explains what the government is doing to deal with and prevent conflicts:

- In conflict and post-conflict situations, its main activities include providing humanitarian aid; assisting in conflict transition and stabilization through diplomacy (e.g. ceasefire agreements), defence (e.g. peacekeeping) and development programs; and three special programs targeted at specific post-conflict needs (the demining program funded by the five-year \$100-million Canadian Landmine Fund, the Special Advisor on War-Affected Children, and the Canadian Policing Arrangement, "an interdepartmental arrangement whereby

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<sup>110</sup> International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), *The Responsibility to Protect*, 2001, <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/iciss-ciise/report-en.asp>.

CIDA, DFAIT and the Solicitor General manage the participation of civilian police in multilateral peace support operations.”

- Conflict prevention: CIDA is increasingly focusing on conflict prevention and is currently “working towards mainstreaming or better integrating conflict prevention and peacebuilding into [its] development cooperation policies and programming.” “Extensive investments have been made in good governance and long-term democratic development initiatives.” And “DFAIT, CIDA and the Department of National Defence increasingly collaborate on peacebuilding and conflict prevention issues, particularly in the context of the Peacebuilding Initiative. CIDA is also working with the Office of the Solicitor General, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), and the Department of Justice on a number of judicial and police-related activities ... .”<sup>111</sup>

CIDA acknowledges that, while it “is headed in the right direction, ... it will need to focus more on the root causes of conflict in designing its aid programming through all channels.” The document concludes:

The continued occurrence of complex emergencies since the end of the Cold War creates a demand from OECD countries for types of intervention that involve an increasing number of actors: armed forces in peacemaking, then peacebuilding, roles; police forces; experts from the judiciary sector; and, of course, disaster relief personnel and development experts. Canada, for its part, has tried to coordinate its inputs through an *ad hoc* approach. The creation of a mechanism to deal more systematically with the Canadian contribution in such circumstances is deemed necessary by a number of senior officials and would have an impact on the use of ODA in these crises. To this end, CIDA’s Executive Committee met on April 1st, 2003, to consider the security-development nexus and how to best approach programming in fragile states.<sup>112</sup>

The Sub-Committee commends CIDA for these efforts and believes that another area where the government can do more is with regard to CIDA’s general preparedness to respond to humanitarian crises. The President of CARE Canada, John Watson, emphasized the importance of improving CIDA’s capacity to respond to humanitarian crises in post-conflict situations in his testimony on the Iraq crisis before the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade in February 2003:

We have all been concentrating on the military and the preparedness of the Canadian Forces for deployment overseas. ... in the case of the humanitarian side, preparedness is equally important, and there are no resources for a preparedness among Canadian humanitarian agencies for catastrophes like this. We were thrown on the generosity of independent donors ... . Our first activities in Afghanistan were entirely driven by private sources post-war. Also, we’ve had good support from CIDA for ongoing programming. This again increases the problems

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<sup>111</sup> Additional information provided by the Honourable Susan Whelan, Minister for International Cooperation, in response to questions raised by members of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade during this testimony.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

when we deal with a specific crisis. In other words, if there is no general funding available for humanitarian preparedness, even to go for funding for a context like Iraq, in some eyes, puts us in a position of no longer being neutral, because we're assuming that there will be a war. Generic funding for preparedness will allow us to do something without having to deal with that issue. It would also lessen dependence on the military in the earlier stages of humanitarian relief efforts in a post-war context.<sup>113</sup>

## **Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources**

The Sub-Committee is very concerned about the contribution of the illegal exploitation of natural resources to the causes, extent and intensity of armed conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa. Of particular importance in this context has been the role oil and diamonds have played in some of the most serious conflicts on the continent. With regard to diamonds, Partnership Africa Canada notes:

Diamonds are central to the economy of conflicts in several countries in Africa, fuelling the conflicts and motivating those who benefit from the continuation of war. Until the diamond-producing areas and the diamond trade are brought under the control of legitimate authorities and managed both responsibly and legally, there can be no sustainable peace or improvement to the human security and living standard of the populations in the affected areas.<sup>114</sup>

While efforts to control the trade in so-called "conflict diamonds" have been successful in some areas, struggle for control over diamonds and other raw materials continues to fuel armed conflicts and political violence in several parts of sub-Saharan Africa, including in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (see below) and the Sudan.

## **Recommendation**

**5.1 The Sub-Committee believes that more must be done to address the problem of the illegal exploitation of natural resources in sub-Saharan Africa, and to examine and deal with corporate complicity in the illegal exploitation of raw materials. It calls on the government to use all possible legal and other means to hold Canadian companies to internationally agreed-upon standards of corporate conduct, as they have been defined, for example, in the nine principles of the UN Global Compact on corporate responsibility<sup>115</sup> and in the OECD**

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<sup>113</sup> Evidence, SCFAIT Meeting No. 20, 20 February 2003.

<sup>114</sup> <http://partnershipafricacanada.org/hspd/index.html>.

<sup>115</sup> <http://www.unglobalcompact.org/Portal/>.

## Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises,<sup>116</sup> which have been endorsed by the government.<sup>117</sup>

### The Democratic Republic of the Congo

The war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo [is] the most serious political and humanitarian crisis in Africa.

Denis Paradis, Secretary of State for Africa<sup>118</sup>

This is the most deadly war ever documented in Africa, indeed the highest war death toll documented in the world since World War II.

International Rescue Committee<sup>119</sup>

There is an urgent need to demonstrate that the lives of Congolese are as important as the lives of Iraqis or any other life on this planet.

Sergio Vieira de Mello, UN Commissioner for Human Rights<sup>120</sup>

The ongoing crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DR Congo, formerly Zaire) illustrates the disastrous humanitarian consequences of armed conflict perhaps more than any other. The current war began in the mid-1990s. It is closely linked with previous and ongoing conflicts in neighbouring countries and has involved military forces from six of them. It has been driven, if not caused, by the illegal exploitation of diamonds and other natural resources. It has produced a humanitarian catastrophe that has killed over three million civilians, and continues to get worse. And it has produced an environment of ethnic tensions in which the prospects of genocide are very real.

As the Secretary of State for Africa, the Honourable Denis Paradis, explained in his testimony, the current conflict has involved 13 major fighting forces: “six foreign armies ...; two large rebel armies; government forces; two armies of *genocidaires*; and several small rebel and nationalist groups.” It occurred in a region that had seen several of the worst armed conflicts on the continent, many of them long-lasting, all with strong Congolese connections, almost all “occurring partly on Congolese territory with Congolese participants,” and all with devastating humanitarian consequences. And it

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<sup>116</sup> <http://www.oecd.org/pdf/M000015000/M00015419.pdf>.

<sup>117</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, “Canada Endorses Improved OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises,” Press Release No. 164, 27 June 2000, [http://webapps.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/minpub/Publication.asp?FileSpec=/Min\\_Pub\\_Docs/103521.htm](http://webapps.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/minpub/Publication.asp?FileSpec=/Min_Pub_Docs/103521.htm).

<sup>118</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 7, 6 May 2003.

<sup>119</sup> <http://www.theirc.org/DRCongo/>.

<sup>120</sup> Quoted in *The Leader-Post*, 17 May 2003.

began shortly after one of the worst atrocities in human history, the Rwandan genocide, and the movement of more than a million Hutu refugees and thousands of perpetrators of the genocide into what was then Zaire, following the victory of the Tutsi-led Rwandese Patriotic Front over the Rwandese army.<sup>121</sup>

The government's account and assessment of the war in the DR Congo was communicated to the Sub-Committee in the testimonies of the Secretary of State for Africa, the Honourable Denis Paradis; Canada's Special Envoy for the Congo and the Great Lakes Region, Mr. Marc-André Brault, and Robert Peck of DFAIT.<sup>122</sup> Detailed reports and updates on the crisis are available from a number of organizations, including the United Nations<sup>123</sup> and the International Crisis Group (ICG).<sup>124</sup> According to Dr François Grignon of the International Crisis Group:

The war has contributed to the complete collapse of state authority across the DRC, the destruction of economic infrastructure and generated predatory behaviour from the occupying armies and factions as well as from regional and international corporations. The violence committed by multiple armed factions, and the generalized communal division and hostility, have encouraged the emergence of warlords and of illegal trade networks of diamonds, minerals, and arms, as documented by the UN panel reports on the illegal exploitation of DRC natural resources. The regional war has also aggravated several local sub-conflicts, particularly in Eastern Congo, leading to destruction of local authority, interethnic killings, the fragmentation of rebel groups and new tensions between occupying forces, Rwanda and Uganda.<sup>125</sup>

The humanitarian catastrophe was described to the Sub-Committee by DFAIT and CIDA officials:

... in the Democratic Republic of Congo, despite tentative steps to peace, the UN estimates that 16 million people have critical humanitarian needs. Over 3 million people have died from malnutrition and disease over 2 ½ years in Eastern DRC. The child mortality rate is the 9th worst in the world and infant mortality is 50% higher than the African average.<sup>126</sup>

By some estimates, as many as half of all children in the worst hit areas die before they reach the age of two years.

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<sup>121</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 7, 6 May 2003; Project Ploughshares, *Armed Conflicts Report 2002*, <http://www.ploughshares.ca/content/ACR/ACR00/ACR00.html>.

<sup>122</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 7, 6 May 2003.

<sup>123</sup> United Nations news and press releases about the DR Congo are available at <http://www.un.org/esa/africa/africanews.htm> and at <http://www.irinnews.org/>.

<sup>124</sup> <http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/reports.cfm?keyid=2>.

<sup>125</sup> "Conditions in the Congo," Statement of Dr. Francois Grignon, Congressional Testimony by Federal Document Clearing House, Committee on House International Relations Sub-Committee on Africa, <http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/showreport.cfm?reportid=938>.

<sup>126</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 5, 8 April 2003.

This situation is compounded by the lack of basic infrastructure and information, which would allow aid agencies to properly assess and respond to the most urgent needs of the civilian population. According to Mr. Louis-Robert Daigle of DFAIT, there is:

... no infrastructure, very little infrastructure. The very little infrastructure there was collapsed. The problem was compounded by the war, which is true. There have been many victims of the war, but not necessarily direct victims of the war because this is not a classic, conventional war that you see in Africa. What you've seen is people suffering, dying, because of no food aid coming in, no medicine coming in because there's no way to deliver the goods in those regions where there are no roads.<sup>127</sup>

In addition, fighting between ethnic groups continues in several parts of the country. There have been massacres of civilians, and the situation in the northeastern DR Congo around the town of Bunia continues to deteriorate rapidly, as a result of intense fighting between Lendu and Hema militia. The United Nations has warned repeatedly that fighting could quickly escalate into genocide in this region, where "whole villages ... [are] slaughtering each other" and thousands have been forced to flee, many seeking shelter in a UN compound.<sup>128</sup>

Aid workers and UN observers face serious risks from the ongoing violence. On May 11, ethnic militia in the northeastern town of Bunia killed two volunteers from the Red Cross Society; "both were wearing vests that clearly identified them as Red Cross personnel."<sup>129</sup> And 2 soldiers serving with the 700-strong UN mission in the same region were "savagely killed" after going missing on May 13.<sup>130</sup>

According to a UN news report quoting Canadian Carolyn McAskie, the UN Deputy Emergency Relief Coordinator:

The dire security situation — where a "rather nasty cocktail" of rebel groups and dissatisfaction with local authorities was playing on ethnic hatreds — meant that relief agencies were "down to the minimum in terms of providing the most basic human needs" such as plastic sheeting for shelter and high-protein biscuits.

Ms. McAskie noted there were just eight humanitarian personnel on the ground right now — including a surgeon, nutrition specialist, and water and sanitation expert — doing what they could. Despite the evacuations, she and others,

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> "As fighting continues in Bunia, DR of Congo, UN fears humanitarian catastrophe," [http://www.un.org/esa/africa/UNNews\\_Africa/fears.htm](http://www.un.org/esa/africa/UNNews_Africa/fears.htm); "UN rights chief 'gravely concerned' at reports of killings, ethnic violence in DR of Congo," [http://www.un.org/esa/africa/UNNews\\_Africa/ethnic.htm](http://www.un.org/esa/africa/UNNews_Africa/ethnic.htm); "Violence continues in northeast DR of Congo as rebels vie for Bunia — UN," [http://www.un.org/esa/africa/UNNews\\_Africa/continues.htm](http://www.un.org/esa/africa/UNNews_Africa/continues.htm).

<sup>129</sup> "DRC: Red Cross 'deeply shocked' by deaths of two volunteers," Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN) News, 16 May 2003, [http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=34153&SelectRegion=Great\\_Lakes&SelectCountry=DRC](http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=34153&SelectRegion=Great_Lakes&SelectCountry=DRC).

<sup>130</sup> BBC News, "'Savage killing' of UN observers," 19 May 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3039239.stm>.

including the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), were trying to keep a core group in place. Other teams and supplies were on standby, but needed a more secure environment in which to operate. Supplies were being moved up from Goma, but incoming flights tended to be sporadic. The first priority was to find a way to stop the fighting.<sup>131</sup>

The Sub-Committee is deeply troubled by the ongoing violence in the country, especially in the northeastern region around the town of Bunia, where there are very real prospects of ethnic tensions and fighting escalating into genocide.

The Sub-Committee believes that continued tensions, the humanitarian catastrophe and the risk of genocide are in part the product of the failure of the international community to make a serious and sustained effort to resolve the issues behind the current conflicts and to put aside its differences over how to deal with this crisis. Once again, a major crisis in sub-Saharan Africa is being allowed to escalate into a humanitarian catastrophe.

While the international community must clearly deal with other urgent issues, in particular the ongoing crisis in the Middle East, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and their aftermath, and the fight against terrorism, it must give equal attention to resolving the conflicts that have ravaged the DR Congo and other countries in the region and to addressing the urgent humanitarian needs of its civilian population. This cannot be done without a significant military presence in the country to create a more secure environment for the political transition and for humanitarian relief.

The Sub-Committee is encouraged by recent developments that have made a political resolution of at least significant parts of the conflict possible. It commends the government for its role in bringing about the negotiated settlement that has led to the proclamation of a new constitution and the formation of a transitional government in Kinshasa.

## **Recommendations**

**5.2 The Sub-Committee urges the government to seriously consider contributing a significant contingent of troops and police to the new United Nations security force in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where Canada's expertise in peacekeeping and post-conflict rebuilding and our good reputation in the region would allow us to make a substantial contribution to resolving this crisis. The Sub-Committee understands that this may have implications for Canada's involvement in other multilateral**

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<sup>131</sup> "As fighting continues in Bunia, DR of Congo, UN fears humanitarian catastrophe," [http://www.un.org/esa/africa/UNNews\\_Africa/fears.htm](http://www.un.org/esa/africa/UNNews_Africa/fears.htm).



**efforts, but believes that the urgency and magnitude of this humanitarian crisis must make it a priority for the government.**

- 5.3 The Sub-Committee calls on the government to intensify its efforts to reach agreement in the United Nations and through other multilateral channels to act immediately and forcefully to bring an end to the fighting in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, to start a massive humanitarian relief effort and to commit the international community to play its part achieving long-term stability and development in the region.**

### The Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The Sub-Committee is also deeply concerned about the plundering of the natural resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo by several conflict parties and the role of illegal resource exploitation in fuelling the conflict. Members raised these issues repeatedly with witnesses, including the Secretary of State for Africa and government officials. Marc-André Brault, Special Envoy for the Congo and the Great Lakes Region (DFAIT) drew the Sub-Committee's attention to "an excellent report" on the illegal exportation of natural resources in the Congo, which was prepared for the United Nations by a panel of experts and submitted to the UN Security Council on October 16, 2002.<sup>132</sup> The panel included Canadian Dr. Jim Freedman.

*The Final Report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo* (United Nations, 2002), which is available on the UN's Web site,<sup>133</sup> argues that:

12. The regional conflict that drew the armies of seven African States into the Democratic Republic of the Congo has diminished in intensity, but the overlapping microconflicts that it provoked continue. These conflicts are fought over minerals, farm produce, land and even tax revenues. Criminal groups linked to the armies of Rwanda, Uganda and Zimbabwe and the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo have benefited from the microconflicts. Those groups will not disband voluntarily even as the foreign military forces continue their withdrawals. They have built up a self-financing war economy centred on mineral exploitation.

13. Facilitated by South Africa and Angola, the Pretoria and Luanda Agreements have prompted the recent troop withdrawals from the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo. Welcome as they may be, these withdrawals are unlikely to alter the determination of Rwanda and Zimbabwe, and Ugandan individuals, to exercise economic control over portions of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The departure of their forces will do little to reduce economic control, or the means of achieving it, since the use of national armies is only one among many means for

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<sup>132</sup> Evidence, Meeting No. 7, 6 May 2003.

<sup>133</sup> <http://www.natural-resources.org/minerals/law/docs/pdf/N0262179.pdf>.

exercising it. All three countries have anticipated the day when pressure from the international community would make it impossible to maintain large forces in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Governments of Rwanda and Zimbabwe, as well as powerful individuals in Uganda, have adopted other strategies for maintaining the mechanisms for revenue generation, many of which involve criminal activities, once their troops have departed.

...

19. ... local militias and local politicians have supplemented the role that State armies previously played in ensuring access to and control of valuable resources and diverting State revenue. The looting that was previously conducted by the armies themselves has been replaced with organized systems of embezzlement, tax fraud, extortion, the use of stock options as kickbacks and diversion of State funds conducted by groups that closely resemble criminal organizations.

20. Such activities have become increasingly prominent in the techniques of exploitation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Panel has identified three distinct groups engaged in activities in three different areas and refers to them as elite networks. These elite networks have control over a range of commercial activities involving the exploitation of natural resources, diversion of taxes and other revenue generation activities in the three separate areas controlled by the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda and Uganda, respectively.

21. The Panel has identified the following elements that are common to all of the elite networks and that are essential to understanding the nature of the exploitation carried out by these networks in the Democratic Republic of the Congo:

- The networks consist of a small core of political and military elites and business persons and, in the case of the occupied areas, selected rebel leaders and administrators. Some members of the elite networks occupy key positions in their respective Governments or rebel groups.
- Members of these networks cooperate to generate revenue and, in the case of Rwanda, institutional financial gain.
- The elite networks ensure the viability of their economic activities through control over the military and other security forces that they use to intimidate, threaten violence or carry out selected acts of violence.
- The networks monopolize production, commerce and fiscal functions.
- The elite networks maintain the facade of rebel administrations in the occupied areas to generate public revenues that they then divert into the networks, thereby depleting the public treasury.
- The elite networks derive financial benefit through a variety of criminal activities including theft, embezzlement and diversion of “public” funds, undervaluation of goods, smuggling, false invoicing, non-payment of taxes, kickbacks to public officials and bribery.

- The elite networks form business companies or joint ventures that are fronts through which members of the networks carry on their respective commercial activities.
- The elite networks draw support for their economic activities through the networks and “services” (air transport, illegal arms dealing and transactions involving the natural resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo) of organized or transnational criminal groups. (p. 5-7)

The Panel identified transit and end-use countries and a number of groups, individuals and companies that are involved in or benefit from the illegal exploitation of natural resources in the DR Congo. In its conclusion, the Panel argued that:

155. An embargo or a moratorium banning the export of raw materials originating in the Democratic Republic of the Congo does not seem to be a viable means of helping to improve the situation of the country’s Government, citizens or natural environment. Massive technical and financial assistance for the population would be required to offset the humanitarian impact of such restrictive measures....

156. Restrictive measures nevertheless need to be taken vis-à-vis the role of companies and individuals involved in arms supply and resource plundering. The international and multinational dimension of these illegal activities is very important. Ethical and transparent business practices are needed to combat these illegal activities.

157. The establishment of a transitional government in Kinshasa should be accompanied by four elements, namely, the disarmament of all rebel groups in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; phased withdrawal of foreign troops; measures to drastically curb the illegal exploitation and encourage legal exploitation; and the application of serious leverage through multilateral pressures and incentives. (p. 29)

The report includes three annexes: the first lists “Companies on which the Panel recommends the placing of financial restrictions,” the second “Persons for whom the Panel recommends a travel ban and financial restrictions,” and the third “Business enterprises considered by the Panel to be in violation of the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises.” Annex III includes several Canadian companies.

While Marc-André Brault, Special Envoy for the Congo and the Great Lakes Region, stated that this was an “excellent report” in his testimony before the Sub-Committee, he also raised some concerns about Annex III, suggesting that the Panel has drawn some of its conclusion about the involvement of certain companies based on insufficient information and without giving them “a fair chance to defend themselves.”<sup>134</sup> He noted that the panel has been asked to revisit some of these issues and is expected to report to the Security Council later this year.

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<sup>134</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 7, 6 May 2003.

## **Recommendations**

- 5.4 The Sub-Committee commends the UN Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for its work. It urges the Panel to complete its work on corporate complicity in the plundering of the country's natural wealth. The Sub-Committee calls on the government to**
- (i) follow up on any claims made by the Panel that specific Canadian companies have engaged in conduct that violates the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises, by conducting its own investigations and taking action where warranted;**
  - (ii) consider seriously implementing unilaterally — where possible — the recommendations made by the Panel with regard to “Persons for whom the Panel recommends a travel ban and financial restrictions”; and**
  - (iii) help develop multilateral mechanisms, through the OECD and the United Nations, to provide greater incentives for companies to comply with agreed-upon standards of politically, socially and environmentally responsible corporate conduct.**

## PART III — CONCLUSION

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The urgent humanitarian crises in sub-Saharan Africa and the underlying obstacles to their resolution and to development, discussed in this report, can seem overwhelming and may suggest a bleak future for many parts of the continent, with little hope for significant progress towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals. But we should not lose sight of the continent's enormous human capacity and potential, and its natural wealth. As Stephen Lewis noted in his testimony before the Sub-Committee:

The tremendous resilience in Africa is something I hope the committee recognizes. This is a continent where there is tremendous knowledge, resilience, and solidarity at the community and family level, particularly amongst the women ... It should never be depreciated. It's an enormous strength of Africa. ... The resilience and capacity at the community level is something to behold.<sup>135</sup>

Therefore, the questions are: What can be done to resolve the urgent humanitarian crises and address the underlying causes of widespread poverty, weak and undemocratic states, political violence and armed conflict, environmental degradation, and the plundering of the continent's vast resources? And what can Canada do?

While all witnesses stressed that the urgent humanitarian crises in sub-Saharan Africa require immediate action, they also agreed that we must not lose sight of longer term development issues. As one CIDA official noted in his testimony to the Sub-Committee, "when we're talking about humanitarian assistance, we're talking of failed development. If development worked we would not need to have humanitarian assistance. That's an important starting point."<sup>136</sup>

The current crises are an opportunity to tackle some of the longer term problems and change the path of Sub-Saharan Africa towards sustained and sustainable development that benefits the continent's people, precisely because these crises threaten the continent's future as never before. Despite its shortcomings, the New Partnership for Africa's Development, which was designed and is being implemented by African leaders, can be a central vehicle for bringing about real change in sub-Saharan Africa. For this to happen, however, two conditions must be met: African leaders must follow through on their commitment to human rights, democracy and good governance, and pursue development strategies that benefit all; and the international community must do its utmost to support a NEPAD aimed at achieving sustainable development by ensuring that international trade, economic and financial policies do not contradict this strategy, by providing adequate funding, and by putting national interests and differences among rich countries aside, which have in the past encouraged disunity and even conflict in sub-Saharan Africa, and which have proven to be an obstacle to timely and adequate

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<sup>135</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 4, 1 April 2003.

<sup>136</sup> *Evidence*, Meeting No. 5, 8 April 2003.

responses from the international community to urgent humanitarian crises and conflicts in the region.

The Sub-Committee believes that what is needed is a concerted, sufficiently funded effort by the international community — including Canada — and African leaders and regional organizations aimed at addressing both the immediate needs of the continent's people and at overcoming the obstacles to long-term development. This effort must ensure a high degree of coordination between partners and much greater coherence of policies and international policy regimes which affect developing countries in general and sub-Saharan Africa in particular, with the goal of achieving genuine development for all Africans.

The Sub-Committee notes that there is a broad international consensus about the primary development goals — including resolving the health crisis, achieving socially and environmental sustainability, and fostering the development of political systems that are based on the principles of good governance, respect for human rights, and democracy. This consensus is reflected in several international declarations and has been promoted by the UN, the OECD, the NEPAD and La Francophonie.

The Sub-Committee strongly believes that Canada has the knowledge, experience and credibility in Africa and the international community to play a leading role in resolving the urgent humanitarian crises in Sub-Saharan Africa and in overcoming obstacles to long-term development. But to be able to do so, the government must greatly increase its capacity to develop and implement foreign policy. That means the government must make sub-Saharan Africa an even greater priority in its foreign policy; it must put the urgently needed resources into each of the three dimensions of Canadian foreign policy — diplomacy, defence and development; and it must develop an integrated, overall policy towards sub-Saharan Africa and greatly increase the “coherence in Canada's policies that affect our developing partners,” as outlined, for example, in CIDA's policy on aid effectiveness.<sup>137</sup>

The Sub-Committee also notes that several witnesses from CIDA and DFAIT and a number of current and former government representatives have in recent months acknowledged the negative impact of the budget cuts of the 1990s, which disproportionately affected Canada's foreign, defence and development policy, on Canada's capacity in these areas, including on our country's ability to participate in and lead humanitarian interventions.

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<sup>137</sup> CIDA. "Canada Strengthens foreign aid program." News Release 2002-52, September 24, 2002, [http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/cida\\_ind.nsf/852562900065549d85256228006b10c0/3d8bc7f60e32537385256c3e004587b2?OpenDocument](http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/cida_ind.nsf/852562900065549d85256228006b10c0/3d8bc7f60e32537385256c3e004587b2?OpenDocument). CIDA's policy on aid effectiveness was discussed in detail by Minister Whelan and members of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade on 20 March 2003 (*Evidence*, SCFAIT, Meeting No. 24).

## Recommendations

- 6.1** The Sub-Committee urges the government to immediately increase its contributions to ongoing relief efforts in response to the urgent humanitarian crises in sub-Saharan Africa.
- 6.2** Resolving the urgent humanitarian crises in sub-Saharan Africa and overcoming obstacles to long-term development both require a more integrated approach to foreign policy, where diplomacy, defence and development are closely linked. The Sub-Committee calls on the government to intensify its efforts in this area, for example along the lines of current work at CIDA on the security-development nexus.
- 6.3** Such policy changes alone, however, cannot succeed in meeting the needs of sub-Saharan Africa or in allowing Canada to play a much greater role in long-term development without adequate resources. The Sub-Committee calls on the government to further increase and sustain the amount spent on all the major elements of Canadian foreign policy programs, including diplomacy, defence and development assistance. The Sub-Committee notes the concern expressed regarding resources devoted to diplomacy.
- 6.4** The Sub-Committee welcomes both the clearer focus of Canadian development assistance and the government's commitment to double its aid budget by 2010. However, the Sub-Committee notes the estimate of the Canadian Council for International Cooperation that the planned increases will not permit Canada to achieve the UN's target for official development assistance (ODA) of 0.7% of GNP until 2040, 25 years after many of the UN Millennium Development Goals are to be achieved. It therefore supports the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade's 2002 recommendation that Canada should propose a realistic timetable for achieving the UN's ODA target of 0.7%, and should lobby its G8 partners to increase substantially their level of ODA for Africa, with the objective of rapidly raising the overall level of assistance from the G8 members to that of the average of the non-G8 donor countries, currently 0.46% of GNP.

**6.5 Many of the current crises in sub-Saharan Africa are the result of regional rather than national developments. The government should therefore consider adopting a greater regional focus in its development programming in Africa, and integrate a regional focus with development cooperation with its countries of concentration.**



# APPENDIX A LIST OF WITNESSES

Associations and Individuals	Date	Meeting
<p><b>Amnesty International (Canada)</b> Alex Neve, Secretary General</p>	25/03/2003	3
<p><b>Canadian International Development Agency</b> Michel Lemelin, Regional Director Southern Africa Program Africa and Middle East Branch Ernest Loevinsohn, Director General, Program against Hunger, Malnutrition and Disease</p>		
<p><b>CARE Canada</b> A. John Watson, President Nicole Hurtubise, Program Officer for Zimbabwe</p>		
<p><b>Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade</b> John McNee, Assistant Deputy Minister, Africa and Middle East John Schram, Canadian High Commissioner to Zimbabwe</p>		
<p><b>As Individual</b> Stephen Lewis, Special Envoy of the Secretary-General of the United Nations on HIV/AIDS in Africa</p>	01/04/2003	4
<p><b>Canadian International Development Agency</b> John Deyell, Regional Director, East Africa and the Horn, Africa and Middle East Ernest Loevinsohn, Director General, Program against Hunger, Malnutrition and Disease Louise Marchand, Director General, International Humanitarian Assistance Multilateral Programmes Branch Jean-Marc Métivier, Vice-President, Multilateral Programmes Branch</p>	08/04/2003	5
<p><b>Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade</b> David Angell, Deputy to the Personal Representative of the Prime Minister for Africa, and Director of the Eastern and Southern Africa Division Anne-Marie Bourcier, Director General of the Africa Bureau Louis-Robert Daigle, Deputy Director, Central and Francophone Africa, West and Central Africa Division</p>		
<p><b>Alternatives Canada</b> Charles Mugiraneza, Director of Overseas Programs</p>	29/04/2003	6
<p><b>Partnership Africa Canada</b> Bernard Taylor, Executive Director</p>		

Associations and Individuals	Date	Meeting
<b>Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade</b>	06/05/2003	7
Honourable Denis Paradis, Secretary of State (Latin America and Africa) (Francophonie)		
Marc-André Brault, Special Envoy for the Congo and the Great Lakes Region		
Robert Peck, Director General a.i., Africa		

## **REQUEST FOR GOVERNMENT RESPONSE**

Pursuant to Standing Order 109, the Committee requests that the Government table a comprehensive response to this Report.

A copy of the relevant Minutes of Proceedings of the Committee (*Meeting No. 38*, including this report) is tabled.

Respectfully submitted,

Bernard Patry, M.P.  
*Chair*



## **Canadian Alliance: Dissenting Opinion to The SCFAIT Report on HIV/AIDS and the Urgent Humanitarian Crises in sub-Saharan Africa**

The Canadian Alliance concurs with most, but not all, of the recommendations of The Report of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade concerning the HIV/AIDS and the Urgent Humanitarian Crises in Sub-Saharan Africa. In general, the Report espouses views consistent with Canadian Alliance policy; however, it fails to provide realistic, practical and responsible recommendations as to the financing of increased aid to sub-Saharan Africa.

First let there be no doubt as to the extent of the challenge.

Even though far more people in sub-Saharan Africa die of tuberculosis and malaria, it is HIV/AIDS that has focused recent attention on the region. As of the end of 2000, an estimated 36.1 million people worldwide — 34.7 million adults and 1.4 million children younger than 15 years — were living with HIV/AIDS.<sup>1</sup> More than 70 per cent of these people (25.3 million) live in sub-Saharan Africa; another 16 per cent (5.8 million) live in South and Southeast Asia. Worldwide, approximately one in every 100 adults aged 15 to 49 is HIV-infected. In sub-Saharan Africa, about 8.8 per cent of all adults in this age group are HIV-infected. In 16 African countries, the prevalence of HIV infection among adults aged 15 to 49 exceeds 10 per cent. An estimated 5.3 million new HIV infections occurred worldwide in 2000, about 15,000 infections each day. More than 95 per cent of these new infections occurred in developing countries.

In all of North America and Western Europe, it is estimated that there are 1.5 million children and adults infected with HIV–AIDS and that they are living longer since the introduction of anti-retroviral therapies.<sup>2</sup> In the United States, mortality from HIV infection, which dropped more than 70 per cent in 1996–98 continued this trend in 1999 by decreasing by nearly 4 per cent.<sup>3</sup> HIV–AIDS is no longer ranked among the leading causes of death there: HIV–AIDS mortality declined by 26 per cent in 1996, by 48 per cent in 1997 and by 21 per cent in 1998. Death rates across Europe among patients infected with HIV-1 have been falling since September 1995, and at the beginning of 1998 they were less than one-fifth of their previous level. New treatments or combinations of treatments can explain much of the reduction in mortality.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> National Institutes of Health at <http://www.niaid.nih.gov/factsheets/aidsstat.htm>

<sup>2</sup> See the Avert Organization at <http://www.avert.org/worldstats.htm>

<sup>3</sup> US Department of Health and Human Services at <http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/releases/01news/declindea.htm>

<sup>4</sup> A. Morcroft et al., 'Changing Patterns of Mortality across Europe in Patients Infected with HIV-1', *Lancet*, Vol. 352, No. 9142 (November 1998), pp. 1725-1730.

The contrast between sub-Saharan Africa and the developed world while stark is not absolute. The WHO estimates that the number of people with access to essential drugs has doubled in the past 20 years, though half the population in Africa does have complete access.<sup>5</sup> Amir Attaran and Lee Gillespie-White make a strong case that patent protection is not the most significant issue in the sub-Saharan HIV–AIDS crisis.<sup>6</sup> They point instead to a lack of donor financing of treatment programs.

If the above provides a measure of the magnitude of the challenge, Canada should provide a generous response to requests for funding from the United Nations Global Fund to Fight Aids, Tuberculosis and Malaria and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).

Where the Canadian Alliance differs from the Committee's recommendations is on the source of the new funding.

The Prime Minister at the Kananaskis Summit in June 2002 announced that Canada would provide \$6 billion over five years as part of G-8 African Action Plan. That amount consisted of \$500 million in immediate assistance over three years, continuation of CIDA's current level of spending in Africa of \$700 million a year and an additional \$75 million a year in new money for Africa. The latter would represent roughly half of the proposed annual increase in funding necessary to meet the government's goal of doubling development aid between 2000 and 2010.

### **Recommendations:**

1. *The Canadian Alliance proposes that the Government of Canada make Africa its highest aid priority within the existing development envelope.*
2. *Canada should keep relatively constant its level of development spending and fulfill the pledge of \$75 million a year in new money for Africa.*
3. *In order to achieve the increase in funding to Africa, the Government will have to reduce spending in other areas.*
4. *Even without an increase in funding to Africa, the Government should do so immediately.*

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<sup>5</sup> World Health Organization, "The Impact of Essential Drugs" found at <http://www.who.int/medicines/strategy/whozip16e/ch04.htm>

<sup>6</sup> Amir Attaran and Lee Gillespie-White, 'Do Patents for Antiretroviral Drugs Constrain Access to AIDS Treatment in Africa', Special Communication, *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Vol. 286, No. 15, pp. 1886-1892, October 17, 2001. See also, Amir Attaran and Jeffrey Sachs, "Defining and Refining International Donor Support for Combating the AIDS Pandemic", *The Lancet*, vol. 357, Issue 9249, January 6, 2001 p. 57.

For too long, the spending priorities of the Government and CIDA have reflected a political agenda of dispersed spending rather than a development agenda of focused spending. Funding has been spread out over 120 countries with more regard to providing press releases for the ambassador rather than the effectiveness of the aid, itself. Canada's scattershot dispersal of aid has already drawn the disapproval of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee in its 2002 review.<sup>7</sup>

There is simply no justification for ongoing aid to graduating countries (countries with sustained economic growth) engaged in aggressive military spending.

Another even more obvious source of funding is the billions of dollars of barely accounted for business subsidies for Canadian companies operating abroad. Private capital markets can easily accommodate legitimate purposes such as purchase credits. Indeed, major banks and insurers have perennially complained about being shut out of those opportunities by federal government agencies.

A strong message could be that Canada should focus its development agenda on development and development only. CIDA should drop all of its de facto export promotion and political support activities. Canada should take all infrastructure projects out of the development portfolio. CIDA should focus on effective aid rather than public diplomacy. The potential for conflicts of interest would be reduced. Aid money could focus on aid purposes rather than be diluted by purposes that could be funded either by the private sector or other areas of government.

Canada can meet the challenge of providing increased assistance to sub-Saharan Africa in its fight against HIV/AIDS within its existing development spending budget. A Canadian Alliance government would ensure that result.

Finally prudent fiscal management in re-allocating development aid towards the priority region sub-Saharan Africa leaves open fiscal flexibility should a new crisis arise.

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<sup>7</sup> Available at [www.oecd.org/dac/peerreviews](http://www.oecd.org/dac/peerreviews)





# MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Tuesday, June 3, 2003  
(Meeting No. 38)

The Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade met at 9:08 a.m. this day, in Room 371, West Block, the Chair, Bernard Patry, presiding.

*Members of the Committee present:* Aileen Carroll, John Duncan, Hon. Art Eggleton, Mark Eyking, John Harvard, André Harvey, Francine Lalonde, Hon. Diane Marleau, Keith Martin, Alexa McDonough, Bernard Patry, Karen Redman.

*Acting Members present:* Karen Kraft Sloan for Murray Calder and Yves Rocheleau for Stéphane Bergeron.

*In attendance: From the Parliamentary Research Branch, Library of Parliament:* James Lee and Marcus Pistor, Research Officers.

*Witnesses: From the Canadian Council for International Co-operation:* Gerry Barr, President. *From the Development and Peace:* Mary Durrán, Researcher. *From the Canadian Labour Congress:* Pierre Laliberté, Principal Economist. *From the Canadian Foodgrains Bank:* Stuart Clark, Senior Policy Advisor. *From Doctors Without Borders:* Carol Devine, Access to Essential Medicines Liaison. *From Oxfam Canada:* Mark Fried, Communications and Advocacy Coordinator.

Pursuant to Standing Order 108(2), the Committee commenced consideration of issues relating to the 5th Ministerial Meeting of the World Trade Organization (*See Minutes of Proceedings of April 10, 2003, Meeting No. 31*).

Gerry Barr, Mary Durrán, Pierre Laliberté and Stuart Clarke made statements and with the other witnesses answered questions.

At 10:28 a.m., the sitting was suspended.

At 10:37 a.m., the sitting resumed.

The Committee resumed consideration of the motion of Irwin Cotler (*See Minutes of Proceedings of May 29, 2003*) on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which is as follows:

## The Committee

- in view of the worsening crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and of compelling evidence presented recently to it calls upon the Government of Canada to intensify its efforts to reach agreement in the United Nations and through other multilateral channels, to act immediately and forcefully to bring an end to the fighting in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, to start a massive humanitarian relief effort and to engage the commitment of the international community to play its part in achieving long-term stability and development in the region;
- further urges the Government to seriously consider contributing a significant Canadian Forces and civilian police contingent to a new United Nations security force in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where Canada's expertise in peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction and credibility in the region allow the possibility of a substantial contribution toward resolving this crisis;
- notes the implications for Canada's involvement in other multilateral efforts but believes that the urgency and magnitude of this humanitarian crisis must make it a priority for the Government.

After debate, the question was put on the motion and it was agreed to.

It was agreed, — That the resolution on the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo be adopted as a Report of the Committee to the House.

It was agreed, — That the Chair or his designate present the Report to the House.

By unanimous consent at 11:09 a.m. the Committee proceeded to sit *in camera*, the Vice-Chair, The Honourable Diane Marleau presiding.

Pursuant to Standing Order 108(2) and the Orders of October 28, 2002 and February 18, 2003, the Committee considered the draft report of the Sub-Committee on Human Rights and International Development on the humanitarian catastrophe in African states.

It was agreed,

— That the Committee adopt the report of the Sub-Committee on Human Rights and International Development, HIV/AIDS and the Humanitarian Catastrophe in sub-Saharan Africa, as amended, as a Report of the Committee to the House;

— That, pursuant to Standing Order 109, the Committee request that the Government table a comprehensive response to this report;

— That the Chair be authorized to make such typographical and editorial changes as may be necessary without changing the substance of the report;

— That, pursuant to Standing Order 108(1)(a), the Committee authorize the printing of brief dissenting and/or supplementary opinions as appendices to this report immediately after the signature of the Chair, that the opinions be sent to the Clerk of the Committee by electronic mail in both official languages on/before Friday June 6, 2003 at 12 noon.

— That the Chair or his designate be authorized to present the Report to the House.

At 11:58 a.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

Stephen Knowles  
*Clerk of the Committee*