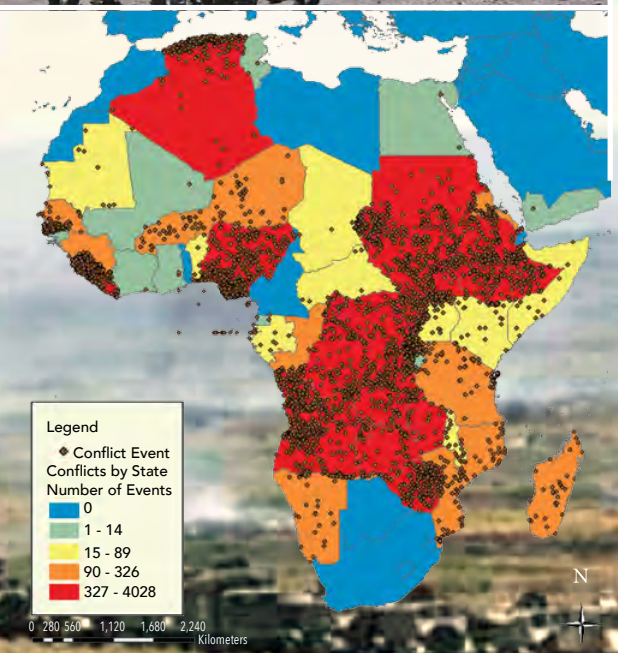






A Comprehensive Review of African Conflicts and Regional Interventions [CRACRI] 2016

Edited by Colonel Festus B. Aboagye (Retired)

An African Union Commission project supported by the African Peace Support Trainers Association

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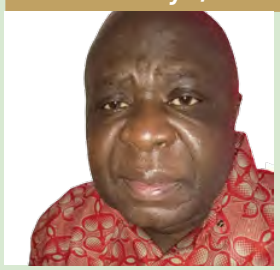
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Foreword

Conflicts are not peculiar to the African continent. In Africa, however, with its fragile political, economic and social systems, violent armed conflicts and the absence of peace, security and stability are not only costing lives, but are also limiting the continent's economic prospects.

The resolution and management of conflicts on the continent is therefore a primary objective of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). Since the transformation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) into the African Union (AU), the Organs of the AU, especially the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council (PSC), have spared no efforts at intervening in conflict-ridden countries to create conditions for peace. This has been increasingly characterised by the transfer of African-led Peace Support Operations (PSOs) to the United Nations, which remains primarily responsible for the maintenance of global peace and security.

Besides these interventions, the AU has also sought to establish and operationalise the African Standby Force (ASF), with a rapid deployment capability, with the building blocks of capacities from the Regional Economic Communities and Mechanisms (RECs/RMs), and Member States, for effective interventions.

Resolving conflicts requires understanding and analysis of the nature of conflicts, their causes, dynamics, actors and players so as to more effectively resolve and manage them.

The relevance and significance of the Comprehensive Review of African Conflicts and Regional Interventions (CRACRI) does not lie in the prospect of profoundly new thinking on African conflicts and success or otherwise of the subsequent interventions. Rather, the relevance and significance of the CRACRI simply lie in the idea of being the first attempt to document, in one volume, research findings on some of the conflicts that have proved costly to peace, security and stability within the continent, and the strenuous efforts by the AU and some of its RECs/RMs to contain and resolve them.

The CRACRI is also significant because African practitioners and scholars who authored the chapters have sought to reflect African perspectives.

In this first edition, the CRACRI provides:

- A synopsis of the complexity of conflicts, particularly those in the hotspots on the continent, caused by mundane political, economic and social factors that are themselves not new or peculiar.
- Varied peace processes that reflect evolving complementary approaches by the AU, RECs/RMs and, inevitably, their external partners.
- A concise synopsis of the analyses of the evolution, trends, significant successes and major challenges of African PSOs, including their strategic aims and exit strategies

One of the innovative aspects of this publication is that some of the authors are officials of the AU and RECs/RMs, who have contributed chapters without necessarily articulating their respective institutional positions. Rather, they have provided independent analysis based on their research credentials. As a result, the publication remains academically rigorous and editorially independent. It serves as support by the African Peace Support Trainers Association's (APSTA) to the efforts of the Peace Support Operations Division (PSOD) and the Peace and Security Department (PSD) of the AU. Indeed, I consider that the contribution from such a diverse mix of authors, including officials of the AU and RECs/RMs adds to the empirical richness of the publication.

I am confident that this publication, which is also available online, will be a useful addition to the AU and APSTA libraries, especially for education and learning to enhance effective conflict resolution and management within Africa.

On this note, on behalf of the Staff of the PSD, I would like to recommend the use of CRACRI towards enhanced learning and education on conflict resolution and management within Africa.

H.E. Ambassador Smail Chergui
Commissioner, Peace and Security

Preface and Acknowledgements

The first edition of the Comprehensive Review of African Conflicts and Regional Interventions (CRACRI) takes place at a time when the AU finds itself at the crossroads. The continental organisation at this juncture, can either deepen its achievements in the realm of conflict resolution and management, or not be able to effectively build upon achievements made, and consequently find itself overwhelmed by the attendant challenges and risks in conflict resolution and management.

There is empirical evidence that the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), notably the Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the AU, has improved on the record of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the Central Organ, in the mandating and deployment of substantive peace support operations. However, there have also been challenges, and sometimes setbacks, in these efforts.

The CRACRI was put together to provide a volume that documents and analyses the nature, causes, dynamics and actors and players, as a basis for broad recommendations in enhancing the efforts of the AU in stemming the tide and impact of violent armed conflicts on the continent.

Following advice from Mark Malan and Dr Alhaji Bah, the concept of the CRACRI evolved to include a synopsis of the complexity of conflicts, evolving approaches to conflict resolution and management, and a synopsis of the analysis of the nature, successes and major challenges of African Peace Support Operations.

The CRACRI is editorially independent, but produced with the support of the AU Peace Support Operations Division of the Peace and Security Department.

The APSTA Secretariat is grateful to the AU Commission, notably Mr Sivuyile Bam, Head of the Peace Support Operations Division of the Peace and Security Department, for the support towards the project, including funding. We are indeed indebted to Ambassador Smail Chergui, AU Commissioner for Peace and Security, for authoring the Foreword for this first edition; to Mark Malan for useful pieces of advice on the concept and scope of the publication; and to Dr Alhaji Bah, for useful suggestions on the publication.

Without the chapters, the publication would not have been possible in the first place. We are therefore particularly grateful to all the authors who accepted the invitation to contribute the chapters. They took up the challenge and assiduously worked on the various revisions of the manuscripts.

The chapters to the first edition were authored by the following 17 practitioners and academics: Mr. Abubakar Yusuf, Dr Andrews Attah-Asamoah, Christian C. M. Ichite Colonel Festus B Aboagye (Retired), Danjuma Aku, Gustavo de Carvalho, Dr Issaka K. Souaré, Dr Istifanus S. Zabadi, Dr Jide Martyns Okeke, Dr Kwaku Asante-Darko, Professor Anthoni van Nieuwkerk, Dr Solomon Ayele-Dersso, Dr Sylvester Bongani Maphosa, Dr Thomas Jaye, Professor Tim Murithi, Ugwumba Egbuta, and Ms Yvonne Akpasom.

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List of Acronyms

AAFC	Allied Armed Forces of the Community
ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
ACIRC	African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises
ACOTA	African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance
ADF	Allied Democratic Forces
ADF/NALU	Democratic Forces/National Army for the Liberation of Uganda
AFISMA	African-led International Support Mission for Mali
AOR	Area of Operations
APC	All People's Congress
APCLS	Alliance of Patriots for a Free and Sovereign Congo
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
APSTA	African Peace Support Trainers Association
AQIM	Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb
ASC	African Standby Capacity
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
AUHIP	Panel on the Sudan and South Sudan
AUPD	High Level Panel on Darfur
BATNA	Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement
BBTG	Broad-Based Transitional Government
BMATT	British Military Advisory and Training Teams
CADSP	Common African Defence and Security Policy
CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CEMAC	Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa
CEWS	Continental Early Warning System (AU)
CIMIC	Civil-Military Coordination
CLB	Continental Logistics Base
CMA	Coordination of the movements of Azawad
CMCOORD	Civil-Military Coordination
CMD	Conflict Management Division
CMD	Conflict Management Directorate
CMT/CMTF	Crisis Management Team/ Conflict Management Task Force
CNDD-FDD	National Council for the Defense of Democracy–Forces for the Defense of Democracy
CNRDRE	National Council for the Recovery of Democracy and the Restoration of State Authority
CNT	National Transitional Council
COE	Contingent Owned Equipment
CONOPs	Concept of Operations
COPAX	Council on Peace and Security
COS	Chief of Staff
CPX	Command Post Exercise
CVR	Community Violence Reduction
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DUF	Directives on Use of Force
EASBRIG	Eastern Africa Standby Brigade
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOMICI	ECOWAS Mission in Côte d'Ivoire
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Monitoring Group
ECOWARN	ECOWAS Warning and Response Network
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ESF ECOWAS	Standby Force

FACA	Central African Armed Forces
FAR	Forces Armees Rwandaises
FARDC	Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo
FDLR	Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda
FIB	Force Intervention Brigade
FNL	National Liberation Forces
FOC	Full Operating Capability
FOMAC	Central African Multinational Force
FOMUC	Multinational Force in the Central African Republic (ECCAS)
FPI	Ivorian Patriotic Front (Front Populaire Ivorien)
FPU	Formed Police Unit
FRODEBU	Front for Democracy in Burundi
FTX	Field Training Exercise
GLR	Great Lakes Region
HoA	Horn of Africa
HOM	Head of Mission
ICG-L	International Contact Group for Libya
ICGLR	International Conference of the Great Lakes Region
ICPs	International cooperating partners
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IGASOM	IGAD Peace Support Mission to Somalia
IHL	International humanitarian law
IMIS	Integrated Management Information System
IMPP	Integrated Mission Planning Process
IMPT	Integrated Mission Planning Team
IMTF	Integrated Mission Task Force
IOC	Initial Operating Capability
IOR	Immediate Operating Requirements
IOT	Integrated Operational Team
ISF	Integrated Strategic Framework
ISO	International Organisation for Standardisation
ISPT	Integrated Strategy and Planning Team
ITF	Integrated Task Force
ITS	Information Technology Service
JEM	Justice and Equality Movement
JIOC	Joint Information and Operations Centre
JLOC	Joint Logistics Operations Cell/ Centre
JMAC	Joint Mission Analysis Cell/ Centre
JMCC	Joint Movement Control Cell
JMTC	Joint Mission Training Cell (AMISOM)
JOC	Joint Operations Centre
JPMC	Joint Political Military Commission
LCBC	Lake Chad Basin Commission
LEOs	Law Enforcement Officials
LO	Liaison Office/Officer
LURD	Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy
MAC	Mission Analysis Cell
MAES	African Union Electoral and Security Assistance Mission
MANPADS	Man-portable air-defense systems
MAPEX	Map Exercise
MARAC	Central African Early Warning System
MCPMR	Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution
MFUA	Unified Movements and Fronts of Azawad

MHQ	Mission HQ
MICEMA	ECOWAS Mission in Mali
MICOPAX	Mission for the Consolidation of Peace in the Central African Republic)
MINUCI	UN Mission in Côte d'Ivoire
MINUSCA	Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in the Central African Republic (UN)
MINUSMA	Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in Mali (UN)
MIP	Mission Implementation Plan
MISAB	Inter-African Mission to Monitor Implementation of Bangui Agreements
MISCA	African-led International Support Mission in the Central African Republic (AU)
MLD	Military Logistic Depot
MLT	Mission Leadership Team
MNJTF	Multinational Joint Task Force
MNLA	National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad
MNRD	National Revolutionary Movement for Development
MODEL	Movement for Democracy in Liberia
MONUC	United Nations Organisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MONUSCO	United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
MPA	Popular Movement of Azawad
MPCI	Mouvement Patriotique de la Côte d'Ivoire
MPCI	Patriotic movement of Côte d'Ivoire – (delete long hypen)
MPIGO	Ivorian Popular Movement of the Great West (Mouvement Populaire du Grand Ouest)
MPJ	Movement for Peace and Justice (Mouvement pour la Justice et la Paix)
MRU	Mano River Union
MSC	Military Staff Committee
MSU	Mediation Support Unit
MUJAO	Movement for the Oneness and Jihad in West Africa
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCDHR	National Commission for Democracy and Human Rights
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NPRAG	National Patriotic and Reconstruction Assembly Government
NTM	Notice to Move
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OCHA	UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OIC	Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
OIF	International Organisation of La Francophonie
OMC	Observation and Monitoring Centre
ONUB	UN Operation in Burundi
OPDSC	Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation
PAE	Pacific Architects and Engineers
PALIPEHUTU-FNL	National Forces of Liberation formerly Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People
PARECO	Coalition of Congolese Patriotic Resistance
PCC	Police Contributing Country
PCRD	Post-conflict reconstruction and development
PDV	Pre-Deployment Verification
PLANELM	Planning Element
PMAD	Protocol on Mutual Assistance on Defence
PMCA	Pre-Mandate Commitment Authority
PoW	Panel of the Wise (AU)
PSC	Peace and Security Council (AU)
PSO	Peace Support Operation
PSOD	Peace Support Operations Division (AU)
PSSG	Police Strategic Support Group

RCI-LRA	Regional Cooperation Initiative for the Elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army
RDC	Rapid Deployment Capability
REC/RM	Regional Economic Community/ Regional Mechanism
RECAMP	Renforcement des capacites africaines de maintien de la paix
RENAMO	Mozambican National Resistance
RIC	Regional Cooperation Initiative
RLD	Regional Logistics Depot
ROE	Rules of Engagement
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
RPF CDR	Coalition pour la Defense de la Republique
RUF/SL	Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SAR	Southern African Region
SEA	Sexual Exploitation and Abuse
SECCP	Secure, Empowered, Connected Communities Program
SHQ	Sector HQ
SLA	Sudan Liberation Army
SOFA	Status of Force Agreement
SOMA	Status of Mission Agreement
SOP	Standard Operating Procedure(s)
SRCC	Special Representative of the Chairperson of the AU Commission
SSR	Security Sector Reform
TAM	Technical Assessment Mission
TCC	Troop Contributing Country
TWP	True Whig Party
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	Peace missions in Darfur
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNDG	UN Development Group
UNDPKO	UN Department for Peacekeeping Operations
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNITAF	Unified Task Force
UNOMSIL	UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leone
UNOMUR	United Nations Observer Mission for Uganda and Rwanda
UPRONA	Union for National Progress
WANEP	West African Network of Peacebuilding

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A Strategic Overview

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1 Learning Lessons from Africa's Responses to Conflict: the building blocks of learning on African regional conflicts

Prof Anthoni van Nieuwkerk

Abstract

This chapter offers a macro-perspective on African peace and security dynamics. It argues that the theme can be framed by four macro-trends. These are: four conflict zones that display a permanent state of complex emergency; the regional and internationalised character of the conflicts; the preference for stabilisation activities to the detriment of conflict prevention and mediation approaches; and the political economy of peace operations and the persistence of dependence on Western donor support. The chapter summarises the key lessons drawn from the case studies and concludes with a set of recommendations for African peace and security analysts and practitioners. These include a call to social scientists to document the continent's experiences with mediation; deeper analysis and theory building relating to the 'four conflict zones' model; a deeper exploration of the regional and international dimensions of conflict; academic and practitioner collaboration in formulating an integrative conflict management model for Africa; attention to both civilian and military training for planning and participation in peace operations; and innovative thinking to break through the donor dependency cycle.

Introduction

The analysis of conflicts and regional interventions in Africa, suggests four macro-trends. These are summarised below and then elaborated to offer the reader a contextual perspective as they move to individual chapters. In summary:

1. Africa's peace and security experiences need to be understood from an historical perspective, especially because many conflicts are enduring and intractable. In particular, four conflict zones can be identified, namely, the Mano River Region, the Great Lakes Region, the Horn of Africa, and the Sahel/Maghreb Region, with each displaying a permanent state of complex emergency.
2. The four conflict zones increasingly display a regional and internationalised character, where socio-economic, political, identity and criminal drivers and agents of conflict and violence intersect and hence need to be addressed from a regional, continental and global perspective.
3. Africa grapples with the formulation of an integrative conflict management model in response to these permanent states of complex emergencies. Interventions tend to prioritise 'stabilisation' activities to the detriment of conflict prevention and mediation approaches meant to address deep-seated causes of conflict, as well as peace (and state) building.
4. Africa is being called upon to provide robust conflict management skills and expertise. However, its capacity to do so remains limited and beholden to Western

donors who continue to influence the continent's conflict management agenda. This raises the question of the political economy of peace support operations and the mode of its financing.

These macro-trends require policy responses as well as an interrogation of their implications for peace-making and peacekeeping research, training and education.

Historical Trend analysis

Historically Africa has suffered and continues to suffer egregious violence. Africa has been the site of one-third of all the armed inter- and intra-state conflicts that have taken place since 1946.[1] Since 1989, Africa has experienced 75% of the world's conflicts between non-state groups.[2] Given the state of international (in)security, few outsiders feel compelled to rush over to offer comprehensive assistance. As argued by Crocker, Hampson and Aall[3], it appears as if global order is breaking apart, national sovereignty is changing, boundary lines are becoming more fluid, new norms are forming, old norms are withering away: "There is…a systemic transformation occurring in which some regions are on the rise, some in decline, and some in open revolt".[4] As they note, in this diffusion of agency, authority, and action, it seems that the world has slipped its moorings and is drifting.

If the centre cannot hold, what are the implications for Africa? This central question and the manner in which Africa has taken – or ought to take – control of its peace and security agenda is explored below.

The first macro-trend suggests that the peace and security dynamics of the continent can be viewed through the lens of four main conflict zones: the Mano River Region, the Great Lakes Region, the Horn of Africa, and the Sahel/Maghreb Region (the Indian Ocean Islands Region constitutes an embryonic fifth conflict zone). The idea of conflict zones is analytically useful because by 'thinking regionally' their common challenges can be better understood.

First, the complexity of the conflicts and the depth of grievances affect the success of regional initiatives. Second, parties in a peace process often put forward purported grievances while their real motivation may be issues of material interests that are not spoken about. Third, unhealthy rivalry between potential peacemakers, including at regional level, is not uncommon. This can be explained partly by the overlapping memberships in organisations of various African countries and can lead to 'forum shopping', when conflict parties play potential mediators off against each other based on narrow interests. Finally, most regional organisations and mechanisms in Africa, including the African Union (AU), are disproportionately dependent on non-African external funding, a situation that is neither sustainable nor healthy. This includes financing of peace processes and their equally important post-conflict reconstruction and development (PCRD) processes. The implementation of the report of the Obasanjo Panel on Alternative Sources of Funding for the AU is likely to reduce the level of the continental body's reliance on external partners.

The logic of 'permanent states of complex emergency'[5] is underwritten by the assumption that any conflict analysis must proceed from the sobering perspective of history. This in itself is not an easy task, although remarkably, some historians such as Basil Davidson have been able to offer – in the space of a single publication – an outline of African growth and change over many centuries. Indeed, modern scholarship increasingly reveals the long-range historical explanation of Africans and their development. In Davidson's view, a rigid dividing of Africa into historical regions can be useful for purposes of detailed study (as this publication offers), but "…it will no longer satisfy a balanced view of the past…; regions really belong together, and that which is particular to each of them is general to them all in their foundation and emergence"[6].

In support of the idea of 'permanent states of complex emergency' is the historical perspective of the destruction of African society, which bloomed from as early as the Iron Age Such destruction has been an on-going process, starting with the European raids of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and arguably leading to the unresolved crisis of today. In Davidson's view, "By 1945 the whole complex structure of Iron Age society, so greatly out of step as it was with the world from which the conquerors came, had suffered a collapse so fatal that it could never be put together again".[7] Even the powerful nationalist response that brought 'liberation' from the 1960s onward, struggled in the task of reconstructing society, partly as it was compromised by the corrosive influence of the Cold War which saw 'solutions from the East' in competition with 'solutions from the West'. Under these conditions and experiments, the crisis of structure continued to deepen. By 1990, as political freedom was wrestled from the apartheid regime in South Africa, militarists and militarism, and the profits of supplying these, had become a source and guarantee of ruin in many African states. Coupled with these contradictions should be added continuous impoverishment of populations, a decline in the terms of trade, foreign indebtedness, ethnic strife, and a resurgence of militias and rebel groups.

Can Africa reach a turning point? Two trends stand out: One is the widening critique of the post-colonial state and exploration of various forms of democracy with a bias towards 'people's participation.' The other is the attempt to revive pan-Africanism inspired by the 'African Renaissance' as popularised by Thabo Mbeki. To what extent this optimism will overcome the ravages of the unresolved crisis of African society as seen in violent state conflicts, socio-economic degeneration and a marginal position in the international political economy, remains to be seen.

The second macro-trend speaks to the need to understand (and practice) conflict management from an integrated and holistic perspective. The question of the 'level of analysis' and 'level of response', whether international, continental, regional or national is one that underlies much of the literature on African peace and security. Increasingly, research and analysis demonstrates the value of understanding peace and security from a multi-disciplinary perspective and in this sense, the 1980s mantra of 'wider security' rather than 'narrow' security understandings stands vindicated.[8] The question is whether African responses to insecurity and threat are sensitive to this insight and if their response mechanisms are calibrated to take account of this complexity.

The reform of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) into the African Union (AU) in 2001–2002 was based on the idea of pursuing a closer continental political and economic union, complemented by an overall framework to manage Africa's peace and security needs. As argued elsewhere,[9] for the framework to be comprehensive and workable, three key issues needed to be resolved: one, the relationship between the key conflict management organs of the AU – the African Commission and the Peace and Security Council (PSC) – and the United Nations (UN) System; second, the relationship between the PSC and regional economic communities (RECs); and thirdly, the question of the provision of adequate resources (human and financial). This triple challenge is of an evolving nature, but raises the concern whether responses to it are able to arrest the decline in states and people's insecurities.

As far as the UN is concerned, its Security Council continues to be used as a political instrument in the hands of the P5 (the US, UK, France, Russia and China). Calls for its reform and restructuring particularly to give it an African voice remain unanswered. In fact as argued by Jones[10] in an assessment of the relevance of the Council's crisis management, three factors will contribute to its continued engagement in civil conflicts for the foreseeable future: several missions are still in the wind-down phase (also known as the challenge of 'development under the shadow of violence'), there is a continued risk of relapse in places where the Council thought its peacekeeping work was done, and there are missions currently on the UN docket that are likely to be long-running crises, cresting in and out of violence, and not transitioning smoothly to a stable peace. Without a permanent African voice on the Council, the P5 will continue to quibble over urgent crises

elsewhere – the Middle East comes to mind – instead of giving meaningful attention to the tragedy of a continent in crisis.

The AU can be said to have made progress with the construction of the institutional peace and security architecture. This refers primarily to the adoption and implementation of a range of policy frameworks regulating security sector cooperation among the AU member states, between the AU and its regional economic communities, and between the AU and external organisations. In practice, however, the implementation of the AU's peace and security architecture (APSA) is found wanting, particularly relating to its capacity to prevent, make or keep the peace. The AU–UN peace missions in Darfur (UNAMID), Somalia (AMISOM) and possibly Burundi are cases in point. In spite of progress made by the AU, resources to implement the APSA continue to be drawn from external benefactors such as the EU and other international cooperating partners (ICPs).

In addition, despite the existence of the grand design of the African Standby Force (ASF) and related mechanisms (for example an elaborate early warning system), it appears that AU relations with the RECs in terms of peace and security are fraught with difficulty. Questions are asked about the overlapping membership structure of RECs and its impact on conflict management practices, as well as about the relative autonomy of regional peace and security architectural designs relative to the AU's APSA. SADC's institutionalisation of its Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation (OPDSC) and the associated SADC Standby Force (previously known as the SADC Standby Brigade) is a case in point.

Over and above these technical questions, political questions relating to leadership and commitment to democratic governance also linger. Despite the best intentions of dedicated senior staff, the seeming inability or reluctance of the AU's political leaders to take strong action regarding the turmoil in several theaters of conflict such as Mali, Libya, Burundi does not inspire confidence in the continental body's ability to lead in times of crisis.

As the third macro-trend suggests, in light of these dynamics, it is necessary to refine the African Peace and Security Architecture. On the one hand, the development of a collective security mechanism by African regional institutions suggests a 'normalisation' of political commitments and technical capabilities to respond to crises, made possible by the AU's innovative Constitutive Act. In response to the crisis in Mali, AU member states established the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises (ACIRC). This is seen as a transitional instrument pending the full operationalization of the African Standby Force and its Rapid Deployment Capacity. However the ACIRC faces an uphill struggle to become useful in addressing conflict. ACIRC suffers from perceptions of external manipulation. As the recent decision by the AU Summit in early 2016 shows, any rapid military intervention in the affairs of a troubled member state (in this case Burundi) is not yet 'accepted practice'. On the other hand, rather than thinking of rapid intervention as a function of either the AU or a coalition of the willing, Africa might benefit from the development of a 'toolbox' or spectrum of activities to undertake rapid intervention.

Three options might be useful to consider. Firstly, the possibility of a unilateral intervention with or without the consent of the host state, but preferably with the authorisation of AU PSC. An example of a unilateral intervention is the Tanzanian intervention to remove Idi Amin from Uganda. Secondly, is the idea of a lead nation concept within the framework of RECs / RMs. An example of a lead nation is Nigeria's role in Liberia and Sierra Leone, or South Africa in the eastern DRC to confront the M23 rebel movement, or intervention to stabilise Lesotho. Thirdly, the establishment of medium to long-term security cooperation between affected states given the nature of contemporary security threats. An example of long-term security cooperation is the Multinational Joint Taskforce against Boko Haram.

Macro-trend four suggests that one of the most difficult issues to resolve relates to Africa's dependence on outsiders in support of its conflict management initiatives. The most obvious 'outsider' in this context remains the United Nations, which has developed a

multi-layered response to crisis in Africa, from (critically necessary but often controversial) Security Council resolutions to address violent conflict and authorise peace missions, to efforts to assist with development, human rights, and people's human insecurities.[11] The second category of 'outsider' relates to big powers – historically the Europeans (with the UK, France, Germany and the EU playing a prominent contemporary role) but also the United States. There are also newcomers such as China and India. Solomon[12] points to yet another key outside influence – the so-called Afro-Arab security nexus.

The Realist theoretical postulates and its take on diplomacy would suggest that the behaviour of many of these 'outsiders' whilst appearing to be well-meaning supporters of peace processes, are actually motivated by national interests – particularly economic but also increasingly driven by perceived national security threats such as refugee flows or radicalism. At the same time, the question arises as to whether Africa and its partners are not able to enlarge the cluster of common security interests, requiring a deepening of state and non-state security cooperation? To do that would require institutional proficiency – an area in which APSA does not yet excel. Several analysts have noted the wide gap between the capacity required and the capacity available. Koerner and Gebrehiwot point out that building institutional capacity does not only entail recruiting more staff and providing more funding: "It also requires increasing the efficiency and impact of extant organisational arrangements through organisational improvement".[13]

Whilst this is true, and working with overloaded or under-skilled peace and security bureaucracies might be frustrating, the urge to bypass decision-makers and implementers in favour of other outsiders, partners, or private interests, invite the threat of designing solutions with little or no credibility. Projects supported by well-meaning partners but with no local ownership means little progress over the longer term. Worse, if not addressed, this approach threatens the establishment (or recovery) of capacity to build (or restore) governance in fragile or post-conflict societies.

Lessons learned

Several insights and lessons arise from individual case studies. These are presented below using the conflict zone approach.

The Mano River Region

Over the last two decades, the Mano River Basin became the epicentre of the conflict system in West Africa. It began with the outbreak of the Liberian civil war in late 1989. Sierra Leone followed in 1992. The chapter on Liberia and Sierra Leone (chapter 7) argues that both wars attracted attention of ECOWAS, which intervened by putting together an ad-hoc body called ECOMOG. After a protracted period of conflict and peace negotiations by ECOWAS and external bodies, both wars were brought to an end without clear military victory on any one side.

Discussing these interventions, the chapter suggests that the issues of sovereignty (legality and legitimacy of interventions), strategy (relating means to an end) and security outcomes (alleviating human suffering and addressing root causes) should be factored into future planning processes for interventions in intra-state conflicts. The chapter additionally warns that intervening forces should avoid meddling in local politics; avoid over-reliance on external support and instead build its own logistical capacity including air lift; and undertake research on how to sustain post-conflict peace and stability (perhaps strengthening the analytical capacity of the AU's Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development Unit).

Chapter 8 on the Ivory Coast argues that in response to the conflict that began in 2002 in that country, ECOWAS, through a combination of political and military intervention, established and monitored peace agreements. It underscores that the ECOWAS response was swift in deploying troops to stop the escalation of hostilities. More troops were sent in 2003

to enforce peace agreements brokered by itself and France. It concludes that ECOWAS has troops capable of operating alongside modern, well-equipped and well-trained armed forces, and in fact, by this analysis, ECOWAS mission in Cote d'Ivoire (ECOMICI) and LICORNE forces complemented one another to achieve success in a hybrid operation.

The claim that ECOWAS through ECOMICI was able to 'successfully demonstrate an ability to put an end to conflict and to prevent an escalation of conflicts …that could destabilise the entire West Africa…' remains to be verified. From another perspective, ECOMICI became a captive and willing agent in the hands of the experienced and calculating French forces on the ground.

The Great Lakes Region

The chapter on Burundi (chapter 12) suggests value in the AU/UN coordination to promote peace in complex conflict situations. Coordination allows for weak regimes to exercise flexibility to adapt to difficult changes (although the South African contributions to the two 'protection forces' played a key role in taking aspects of the peace process forward). If this benefit is true in the case of the Burundi players, it truth in the Sudan and Somalia scenarios still needs to be established. The division of labour between the UN and the AU of peacekeeping in Africa requires further institutionalisation and clarity regarding deployment needs, challenges and opportunities.

Chapter 13 on the Central African Republic (CAR) argues that despite a series of external (regional and international) peace-making and peacekeeping interventions, the crisis has continued apace, suggesting a flawed response approach. The authors conclude that the crisis in the CAR has been both protracted and intractable, linked to several multiple causes – as a result, the country has been in a state of permanent emergency since its independence in 1960. Also, this crisis has led to successive regional engagements, often with the contribution of external actors. However the effectiveness of these responses is questionable due to various shortcomings and external dependency.

Other lessons from the CAR case include:

- The fact that regional responses to the crisis represent an evolving and increasingly prominent role of regional organisations – and especially ECCAS and the AU in the promotion of regional security in central Africa and in particular CAR
- The practice of regional deployments led to significant capacity building of African states, especially their uniformed personnel. This has contributed to the process of enhancing the security sector reform of those TCC, given the required training, equipment as well as international exposure in these regional deployments
- The understanding that regional deployments often start on a bilateral footing, growing into UN peacekeeping missions. This often creates problems of ensuring effective command and control between dual or multiple forces operating in a similar Area of Operation
- Lastly, that the deployment of African personnel without the basic minimum requirements to ensure the delivery of its mandate remains a drawback for regional deployments. African states need to commit finance and specialised expertise. At the same time, the internationalisation of conflict implies that Africa will need to continue to forge partnerships with international actors in addressing these complex emergencies on the continent

The chapter on the intervention in the eastern DRC (chapter 11) posits that African countries will increasingly have to bear the burden of intervention in crisis situations across the continent. The author suggests that it can be done by deploying a rapid response team or force and that the experience of the Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) in the eastern DRC might serve as a model for developing a framework for implementation.

However the idea is not without its problems. The operationalisation of the FIB is a precursor for the ACIRC. This arrangement was encouraged by external donors to strengthen the continent's ability to respond to its multiple security challenges. There are several problems with ACIRC: it will face the same challenges that have been faced in operationalizing the ASF; its establishment has diverted attention (and resources) away from the establishment of the ASF; and finally, the common element running through the FIB initiative and ACIRC is the central role of South Africa. Some analysts find this disturbing (the idea of a regional hegemon exercising power and influence to advance its national interests), but others argue that regional peace-making and peacekeeping efforts benefit from the role of a regional powerhouse instead of relying on French, American or other outside interests.

The chapter on the Rwanda crisis (chapter 10) addresses the question of why the peace process failed to address civil war and genocide and suggests that this tragic failure led to the transformation of the OAU into the AU. The authors offer four lessons for Africa: first, is that, Africa can no longer rely on external assistance to resolve its conflicts; second, Africans repeatedly neglect early warnings – to their collective detriment; third, power relations determine the outcomes of Africa-brokered peace processes and accords; and fourth, capacity to deal with criminal justice remains absent from the continent.

On peace support, the model for the AU peace support operations and monitoring and verification missions 'will increasingly become an intensive offensive stabilisation and peace enforcement'. Such a model needs to have political, civilian, stabilisation, and humanitarian objectives. In Africa, there is an emerging norm that implies that the AU restores stability, and the UN keeps the peace. African management of conflict will be successful under conditions of subsidiarity, and an understanding of local peace and security challenges (causes, triggers, accelerators and solutions).

The Horn of Africa

Somalia is known as one of the world's most emblematic failed states (on par with Syria and Iraq). Perceived as a dangerous theatre of conflict, most states have avoided the risk of military intervention in Somalia. The country's no-go status and international neglect provided a conducive atmosphere within which various armed clans wrestled territories from each other and opposed the outcomes of the more than dozen attempts to negotiate peace in various African capitals for nearly two decades.

However, Africa chose to intervene in Somalia to bring stability and peace. Overall, the AMISOM intervention has been successful in terms of adapting significantly to the changing nature and complexity of the Somali conflict; it demonstrates African political will in the face of troop losses; and it enjoys massive international support both politically and logistically.

Nevertheless, the mission also faces numerous – if not overwhelming – challenges. The most important ones include internal AMISOM issues at the structural and operational levels, manifested through high donor dependence, high fatalities and the lack of requisite force enablers and multipliers (and of late, it has to deal with allegations of sexual abuse and exploitation by its forces). The changing nature of the conflict is a major challenge. This has been at the level of the pace with which Al Shabaab is morphing both ideologically and operationally.

The growing regionalisation of the conflict is a further concern. Africa has witnessed the Al Shabaab 'blow-back' on Kenya, Uganda and Djibouti. Additionally, as noted earlier, the deployment of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda has turned Somalia into a turf battle for regional geo-strategic interests. This in turn has inspired Al Shabaab to play the 'fight the crusaders' card, and it is recruiting jihadists from across the world into Somalia, thereby changing the nature of the crisis AMISOM has to deal with. Finally, the AMISOM' cause is not helped by a perennially weak and internally divided Somali government.

Whether, or to what extent, the AMISOM's achievements are convincing enough for the international community through the UN to re-hat the mission so that it benefits from the UN's full financial and military capabilities, remains an open question.

The Sahel and Maghreb Regions

The chapter on peace-making and peacekeeping efforts in Mali (chapter 9) reaches several conclusions. First, is a re-emphasis of the roots of the crisis, which is in need of resolution: political governance (particularly the issue of managing ethnic diversity), economic governance, and state weakness. To this, the chapter adds the criminal and terrorist dimension, and the need for regional cooperation as a strategy in overcoming Mali's limitations.

Second, the Mali experience has lessons for effective regional interventions in conflict resolution in Africa. These are the need for role clarity and a division of labour between the AU and its RECs, and the importance of African financial autonomy for peacekeeping operations. AFISMA's shortcomings relating to funding and logistics proved that the slogan 'African solutions to African problems' was found wanting. In fact it is unclear whether political will exists for full African control and ownership, given poverty levels in the continent, and the fact that the UN exists to secure international peace and security. Dependence on the UN and its 'rich' backers is not a realistic option, given that the world's attention is increasingly focused elsewhere. Until Africa finds a way to economic independence, the continent might have to continue to work with countries that have resources and political will to deploy: Nigeria and South Africa, amongst others.

Cross-cutting issues and other cases studies

The Regional Cooperation Initiative for the Elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army (RCI-LRA) is a regional mechanism of the AU authorised in 2011 and launched in 2012 in Juba. It is unclear what lessons can be learnt from this AU-US driven intervention. First, though, a military response seems viable, this approach has over time failed to harvest peace-building dividends. Second, since the LRA is known to retaliate on soft targets when under pressure, protection of civilians (POC) must be the primary goal of the AU's RCI-LRA. Third, all military action against the LRA must be in compliance with human rights and refugee protocols, including the provision of child protection personnel within the RCI-LRA command centres. Finally, there appears to be conceptual or doctrinal confusion – is the primary mission to achieve military victory? Or is the mission to advance human security?

Africa houses close to 3 million refugees and almost 7 million internally displaced persons and has the largest number of child soldiers of any region. Children were actively involved in armed conflicts in 11 countries from 2000 to date: Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, and Uganda. There are further dimensions to child protection. In the era of social media, increased attention is given to the conduct of military and peacekeepers, and of the impact of armed conflict and natural disasters on children and other vulnerable groups.

Yet, child rights and child protection training is rarely prioritised, often afforded an hour or two within induction or pre-deployment training programs at best. Often inexperienced and unqualified trainers are tasked with conducting the training, without the skills and experience to go into depth or answer questions about key issues.

As the chapter on child protection (chapter 6) argues, it is not simply a matter of having a standardised child rights and child protection training package, but rather, that there is a need for greater commitment to fully institutionalise child rights and child protection training into (at least) basic induction training for all rank and file personnel, as well as civilian and police contingents of military and peacekeeping missions. This commitment should come from the highest levels and be fully implemented.

Such a commitment would entail allocation of resources for the training of skilled and qualified dedicated trainers, who would be committed to conducting all child rights and

child protection trainings. An appropriate amount of time for the training would also be allocated. It is possible to start off with a short orientation level training, progressing to more in-depth trainings as personnel progress through their missions and ranks.

Critically, standardised training materials would result in peacekeeping personnel from different troop-contributing countries arriving on-mission with the same understanding and competencies related to child rights and child protection, reducing any disparities between UN and AU mission peacekeeping personnel and strengthening all personnel's ability to fulfil their mission's mandates, particularly the protection of civilian responsibilities.

The chapter on Comoros (chapter 16) arrives at interesting 'teaching and learning' lessons. PSO training ought to be context-specific and reflective of mission-specific objectives. This approach will assist in determining the extent to which the following factors needs attention in training and preparation: timing, doctrine, levels of professional training of TCC troops/police/civilians, as well as an understanding of local conditions, morale, etc. Contrary to assumptions normally made, training (with different content, form and method) is also required for decision-makers, TCC and senior mission leadership.

According to the chapter on APSA (chapter 3) reconsidered: the 'toolbox' of African rapid intervention strategy the development of a collective security mechanism by African regional institutions suggests a 'normalisation' of political commitments and technical capabilities to respond to crises. In response to the crisis in Mali, AU member states established the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises (ACIRC). This is seen as a transitional instrument pending the full operationalization of the African Standby Force and its Rapid Deployment Capacity (now assumed to be achieved in late 2015). The tendency by some African leaders to prioritise state and regime security over human security might bedevil the implementation of any rapid intervention. In addition ACIRC suffers from perceptions of external manipulation.

The chapter notes that the continent has seen two competing schools of interpretation relating to the principles informing rapid intervention: voluntarism and individual capacities, versus collective involvement and regional capacities. The chapter accepts that there is space for both to co-exist, but rather than focusing only on the two options, it proposes the development of a 'toolbox' of options to undertake rapid intervention.

Three options are identified: one, unilateral intervention with or without the consent of the host state but preferably with the authorisation of AU PSC; two, the lead nation concept within the framework of RECs / RMs; and the establishment of medium to long-term security cooperation between affected states given the nature of contemporary security threats.

An example of a unilateral intervention is the Tanzanian intervention to remove Idi Amin from Uganda. An example of a lead nation is Nigeria's role in Liberia and Sierra Leone, or South Africa in the eastern DRC to confront the M23 rebel movement, or intervention in Lesotho. An example of long-term security cooperation is the Multinational Joint Taskforce against Boko Haram.

Recommendations for Africa's peace and security research and training agenda

These key findings of this study, summarised into four African peacemaking and peacekeeping macro-trends, have implications for research and training, as well as for policy and practice. In this section six broad themes as recommended areas for on-going research and training are identified:

1. Social scientists, particularly African historians, need to write up – for the benefit of Africa's peace and security students and practitioners – the continent's peace and security and mediation experiences from an historical perspective. Research teams should incorporate hitherto neglected gender and youth perspectives, and promote multi-disciplinary approaches.

2. The further evolution of the conflict zone model is encouraged, including detailed analysis of its assumptions relating to the display of permanent states of complex emergency.
3. In addition, the regional and internationalised character of these zones needs further description and examination, where socio-economic, political, identity and criminal drivers and agents of conflict and violence intersect.
4. Researchers and policy analysts from academia, civil society and the state need to collaboratively respond to Africa's conundrum with the formulation of an integrative conflict management model in response to these permanent states of complex emergencies. The central research question relates to why interventions prioritise 'stabilisation' activities to the detriment of conflict prevention and mediation approaches that are meant to address deep-seated causes of conflict, as well as peace (and state) building. A sub-question would ask how this trend can be reversed.
5. Africa is being called upon to provide robust conflict intervention skills and expertise. Appropriate PSO training at the operational and tactical level arguably happens at colleges and training centres at the AU, various RECs / RMs and at national level. However, civilian training lags behind military training. Also, the capacity to train – especially training skills at the strategic management level – remains limited and needs capacity enlargement.
6. Western donors continue to influence the continent's conflict management agenda, especially by making funds available for peace-making, peacekeeping and peace-building. This raises the question of the political economy of peace support operations and the mode of its financing. The 'peace and security' community of analysts should team up with economists and public finance specialists to generate a much needed baseline study for decision-making.

Enduring triangular partnerships between (1) APSA and AGA decision-makers, (2) African specialist NGOs and universities, and (3) international institutions will enhance and strengthen Africa's capacity to undertake these research and training assignments.

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2 The APSA, Ten Years On: mapping the evolution of regional mechanisms for conflict management and resolution

Solomon Ayele Dersso, PhD

Abstract

Following the transformation of the OAU to the AU, Africa witnessed a sea of change not only in the norms and institutions relating to peace and security, but also in the role of the AU and regional organisations in the maintenance of peace and security in Africa. Although it remains uneven, commendable progress has been registered towards the operationalization of both the norms and institutions making up the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). Similarly, an encouraging practice is emerging in the ability, willingness and expanding capacity of the AU and its member states to assume increasing responsibility towards the maintenance of Africa's peace and security. Apart from outlining and analysing these twin developments of the past decade, it is also the submission of this chapter that the experience of AU's engagement during the past decade in putting in place and operating with the policy and institutional infrastructure on conflict prevention, management and resolution as well as in responding to the various peace and security issues that emerged on the continent have also brought to light a number of existing and new issues. Among these are: the effective implementation of key structures of the APSA, the development and application of a consistent practice, the achievement of policy and operational coordination within the AU and between the AU and regional mechanisms and the generation and supply of the necessary resources as well as the timely mobilization of firm political consensus and provision of effective leadership. The magnitude and fast evolving character of peace and security issues not only continues to test existing frameworks, approaches and tools, but also demands constant adaptation, improvement and agility of responses and the tools used. How effectively these various issues are dealt with is sure to determine both the evolution of the APSA and the progress that Africa may make towards various AU targets including the silencing of the gun.

Introduction

In the post-Cold War period, Africa has been one of the regions that witnessed the most transformation in terms of peace and security arrangements. This is particularly reflected in the context of the transformation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU). In this regard, there have been two developments that reconfigured the peace and security landscape of Africa. The first is the establishment of the African Peace and Security Architecture. Secondly, the AU and sub-regional organisations have come to take increasing roles in responding to the various peace and security challenges that have emerged on the continent in the past decade.

This chapter reviews and examines the process of operationalisation of the APSA and AU's one decade of rising, albeit uneven, key role in conflict prevention, management and resolution in Africa. The chapter is organised into three sections. The first section discusses the major historical and political factors that led to the birth of the APSA. The second section introduces and examines the normative and institutional dimensions of the APSA, and the efforts made at operationalising the various elements of the APSA. The third section reviews the past one-decade of the AU's experience in responding to the various peace and security challenges on the continent,

The Birth of the APSA

Although the ambition for a continental peace and security instrument has a long history in the political history of Africa, the immediate origins of the APSA are linked to two related developments. The first one is the end of the cold war and the emergence of a new global order in which Africa 'lost' its geo-strategic value and was called upon to deal by itself with the mess that the legacies of colonialism and the Cold War as well as years of bad governance left. [1] The second one is the change in the nature of conflicts, which led to the recognition that Africa needs to develop its own means for overcoming the challenges of peace and security facing it.

The demise of the Cold War has had a profound impact on the political landscape of the continent. This is directly related to the nature of what Thabo Mbeki calls the 'Architecture of Cold War Africa'. This was the dominant global framework in which Africa became a major battleground in the ideological and geo-strategic struggle between two camps, the capitalist camp led by the United States of America (US) and the Socialist camp led by the Soviet Union. As Mbeki explains, what led to this unfortunate turn of events was the fear of countries of the West that independent Africa was ideologically susceptible to join the socialist camp. Consequently, the West was determined to 'intervene decisively in order to strategically ''keep Africa within their sphere of influence'' and as much as possible, deny the Soviet Union any possibility to place Africa ''within its own sphere of influence''.[2]

Whereas Africa was a victim of violent enslavement and subjugation under colonialism, the Cold War turned her into an object of manipulation, a theatre in which countries in the West executed their ideological and geo-strategic battles against the Soviet Union. To state the obvious, this did not bode well with the process of independence that began with the forcible removal of colonial powers. It played a major part in obstructing the object of realising the fruits of Kwame Nkrumah's 'political kingdom'.[3] Mbeki summed up the disaster that the Cold War spelled on Africa thus:

> …this resulted in such negative developments as the corruption of the African independence project through the establishment of the system of neo-colonialism, the overthrow of governments which resisted this, support for the white minority and colonial regimes in Southern Africa, seen as dependable anti-communist and anti-Soviet allies, the assassination of such leaders as Patrice Lumumba, Thomas Sankara and Eduardo Mondlane, sponsorship of such instrumentalities as National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) in Angola and the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO) in Mozambique, support for predatory and client regimes such as those of Mobutu Sese Seko in the then Zaire, and of Houphouët-Boigny in Côte d'Ivoire…[4]

As the Cold War fuelled some of the longest conflicts in Africa and supported corrupt and authoritarian governments, the hope of a self-determining Africa that the end of direct

European colonial rule brought was turned into a nightmare. As it made the fragility of the newly independent states and the various challenges facing them to serve the purposes of the super power struggle, the Cold War frustrated the ability of Africans to independently shape the course of political developments in their countries and in the continent.

While on the one hand, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 epitomising the end of the Cold War marked the closure of the destructive super power interventions and support for corrupt authoritarian system in Africa, it also simultaneously left Africa in 'the cold'. With the sudden withdrawal of western countries, Africa became treated like a toy that is used and thrown. Steven A. Holmes portrays this state of affairs thus: 'Having been carved up and colonised by European powers and turned into pawns, knights and rooks on a cold war chessboard by the superpowers, Africa now faces a devastating new problem: indifference.'[5]

Africa was left on its own to deal with all the distortions and mess that the Cold War rivalry left behind. As former Secretary General of the UN, Kofi Annan puts it, 'Across Africa, undemocratic and oppressive regimes were supported and sustained by the competing super-Powers in the name of their broader goals, but when the Cold War ended, Africa was suddenly left to fend for itself.'[6]

Two major UN peacekeeping failures in the early 1990s underscore the disengagement of the West from Africa. The first was Somalia.[7] The other and most disappointing was the failure of the UN mission to halt the 1994 genocide in Rwanda.[8]

Apart from leaving Africa on its own to pick the pieces, the coincidence of the disengagement from and the neglect of Africa with the deepening of the globalisation process carried the danger of further marginalisation of the continent. Adekeye Adebajo observes that, '[w]here Africa had once feared intervention during the cold war, marginalisation had now become a greater concern in the post-apartheid era. Attention, aid, and investment shifted to the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe, and resources were later diverted from African conflicts to reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq by 2003.'[9]

The experience vividly portrays two important points regarding the relationship between Africa and Western hegemonic powers. First, in the global power calculus of the time, Africa was far less significant than other parts of the globe such as the Middle East and Asia. While former colonial powers, particularly France, were driven by the desire to maintain their hegemony over their former colonial territories, the major motivation for US incursion into Africa was the threat of Soviet expansion.[10] The part of Africa that was of some significant geo-strategic importance for western powers was the Horn of Africa. This was due to its proximity to the commercial sea routes of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden and to the Middle East.[11] Secondly, African countries individually remained weak both politically and economically. Their capacity to defend themselves and protect their interests in dealing with global hegemonic powers was recognisably limited. This made them vulnerable to easy external intervention. Thus, it seemed that Western powers understood that they could easily intervene in Africa whenever they needed to, and that they did not necessarily need to maintain presence in Africa.

All of these made it unequivocally clear for Africa that it needs to stand up for itself. The time was ripe for Africa to heed the prophetic message of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana on the urgency of African unity: 'Divided we are weak; United, Africa could become one of the greatest forces for good in the world.'[12] Indeed, as early as 1990, member states of the OAU started to express the need to rededicate themselves to pursuing the objective of African unity more vigorously. Accordingly, in the 1990 OAU declaration on the political

and socio-economic situation in Africa and the fundamental changes taking place in the world, the heads of states and governments of OAU member states stated:

> We reaffirm our commitment to revive the ideals of Pan-Africanism and commit ourselves, individually and collectively, on behalf of our governments and peoples to maintain and strengthen our unity and solidarity and to pool our resources and wisdom in order to face the challenges of the decade of the 1990s and beyond, change the bleak socio-economic prospects of our continent and guarantee a better life for all peoples and future generations yet unborn. These objectives are well within our capabilities. We, therefore, pledge to apply ourselves fully to the achievement of these objectives.[13]

This agenda was powerfully pursued through the complementary initiatives and leadership of African leaders, in particular, South Africa's Presidents Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki and Nigeria's President Olusegun Obasanjo.[14] Eventually, this culminated in the launching of the subsequent phase of pan-Africanism in the form of the African Union.

The change in the nature of conflicts

For Africa, the end of the Cold War did not mark the onset of a peaceful and stable era. The end of the super power rivalry, which marked the dawn of a new world order famously characterised by Francis Fukuyama as the end of history and the triumph of liberalism,[15] dramatically changed the peace and security dynamics both of Africa and the world. Unlike the Cold War period in which States were the most dominant actors, and as such, defined international relations in terms of threats arising from state actions, the post-Cold War period saw the rise to prominence of new actors, and of insecurity arising from new threats other than inter-state aggression. As the Commission on Global Governance observed, people in many areas of the world feel insecure more than ever, in most cases not due to external aggression, but rather, in spite of its decrease.[16] The sources of such insecurity identified by the Commission include 'extreme economic deprivation, the proliferation of conventional small arms, the terrorising of civilian populations by domestic factions, and gross violations of human rights.'[17] Other factors that have been of particular concern in the African context also include ethnic strife, civil wars, and the collapse or failure of states.

The major forms of conflicts in this period have been those fought within the boundaries of states, intra-state conflicts. These are conflicts that pit one section of the population of a state against another or against the state itself. Much of the conflicts that Africa witnessed during this period have accordingly been conflicts of this kind. One of the characteristics of these conflicts is that they are undertaken by non-state actors and hence do not fall within the framework of international armed conflicts which are traditionally recognised as major sources of threat to international security. [18] A further characteristic of these new conflicts 'is the collapse of state institutions, especially the police and judiciary, with resulting paralysis of governance, a breakdown of law and order, and general banditry and chaos. In terms of their impact, these conflicts have tended to be more brutal to human beings than most conflicts between states due to 'modern technology and communications' and 'the proliferation of cheap, highly destructive weapons which find their way into the hands, among others, of child soldiers.'[19]

The immediate post-cold war period became one of the darkest, bloodiest and bleakest of times for Africa. Outside of the colonial era, at no other time have violence been more horrific and tragic than during this period. It was as though Africa had gone 'from the frying pan into the fire'.[20] A number of examples can be seen across the continent. The fall of Siad Barre in 1990, for example, resulted in the collapse of the Somalia state. This was

accompanied by internecine violence between rival armed factions that destroyed the infrastructure and livelihood of most part of the country leaving hundreds of thousands to death and starvation.[21] Similarly, after years of authoritarian rule under Mobutu, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), formerly Zaire, descended into one of Africa's brutal civil wars in which millions of people perished.[22] In Liberia, the civil war that ensued following the rebellion that Charles Taylor waged against Samuel Doe's government led to the implosion of Liberia and the descent of its people into the abys of horror.[23] The multiple civil wars fought in the country from 1989 to 2003 were full of violence in which every act of brutality was committed.[24] Likewise, Sierra Leone's civil war unleashed as much horror on the people of the country as in Liberia. In its recent finding against Charles Taylor, the Special Tribunal of Sierra Leone observed that the operational strategy of the armed groups involved in the civil war:

> "Was characterised by a campaign of crimes against the Sierra Leonean civilian population, including murders, rapes, sexual slavery, looting, abductions, forced labor, conscription of child soldiers, amputations and other forms of physical violence and acts of terror. These crimes were inextricably linked to how the RUF and AFRC achieved their political and military objectives. In particular, under the leadership of Sam Bockarie, the RUF and AFRC pursued a policy of committing crimes in order to achieve military gains at any civilian cost, and also politically in order to attract the attention of the international community and to heighten their negotiating stance with the Sierra Leonean government. That their operations were given titles such as "Operation No Living Thing", and "Operation Spare No Soul" made explicit the intent of the RUF and AFRC to wage a campaign of terror against civilians as part of their war strategy."[25]

With the international community failing to act, it was ECOWAS member states that assumed the responsibility of stopping the violence in Liberia and Sierra Leone.[26] In Somalia, although the UN deployed peacekeeping forces, it left Somalia in conditions that were no better than when it intervened.[27]

However, it was the 1994 Rwandan genocide that shocked Africa to its core. In a period of one hundred days, close to 800,000 Rwandese, almost one tenth of the population of the country, were mercilessly massacred.[28] The plan to annihilate members of the Tutsi ethnic group specifically targeted women and children 'with ghoulish zeal and unimaginable cruelty'.[29] The horrors of Rwanda stood out due to the massive involvement of ordinary people in the commission of the crimes and the nature of the weapons used to perpetrate the massacre.

The deep sense of agony and helplessness many in Africa felt was made worse by the failure of the international community to avoid what the OAU's International Panel of Eminent Personalities called the 'preventable genocide'.[30] None of those who had scrambled for the domination of countries of the continent during colonization were there at the continent's time of need. The failure of the UN, the body tasked with the responsibility of maintaining international peace and security, underscored the level of Africa's marginality to the international system. In its report, the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the United Nations During the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda held that, 'the international community did not prevent the genocide, nor did it stop the killing once it had begun.'[31] This was made the more disappointing by the fact that the slaughter took place in the presence of a UN Mission in Rwanda.[32]

It became clear that Africa need not expect others to come to its rescue and that it should stand for itself more than ever before. At the OAU summit in July 1994 in Tunis, President Nelson Mandela of South Africa expressed the disappointment of the people of the

continent in the international community and urged member states to build an African means for responding to the peace and security challenges of the continent. He pointed out that:

> Rwanda stands out as a stern and severe rebuke to all of us for having failed to address Africa's security problems. As a result of that, a terrible slaughter of the innocent has taken place and is taking place in front of our very eyes. We know it is a matter of fact that we must have it in ourselves as Africans to change all this. We must, in action assert our will to do so.[33]

Consensus was reached on two interrelated fundamental views. The first was the widespread belief that the international community lacked the required will and commitment to address the peace and security challenges of the continent.[34] The other was the view that member states of the OAU should bring together their efforts and assume responsibility to be able to act against similar kinds of violence on the continent. Ambassador Said Djinnit, the AU's first Commissioner for Peace and Security put this profoundly as follows:

No more, never again. Africans cannot watch the tragedies developing in the continent and say it is the UN's responsibility or somebody else's responsibility. We have moved from the concept of non-interference to non-indifference. We cannot as Africans remain indifferent to the tragedy of our people.[35]

The imperative of reviving the objectives of pan-Africanism and pursuing a high level of regional integration became more urgent than ever before. Africa responded by resorting to putting in place an ambitious but comprehensive peace and security architecture in the form of the APSA. As it can be clearly gathered from the preamble of both the Constitutive Act of the AU and the Protocol Establishing the Peace and Security Council (PSC) Protocol, the emergence of the APSA is attributable less to the changes in Africa's international relations that the end of the Cold war brought about than the recognition of the impacts of the scourge of conflicts and of the need to 'promote peace, security and stability as a prerequisite for the implementation of' Africa's development and integration agenda.

The Establishment of the APSA and efforts toward its Operationalisation

The APSA is the policy and institutional framework that the AU established as 'an operational structure for the effective implementation of the decisions taken in the areas of conflict prevention, peace-making, peace support operations and intervention, as well as peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction.'[36] The APSA has two components, the normative and policy component. It also has an institutional dimension.

Normative dimension of the APSA

At the normative level, the ideal of 'African solutions to African problems' is anchored on two related frameworks: The first involves the redefinition of the principle of state sovereignty. The second and related framework is the commitment to an interventionist peace and security regime.

Sovereignty redefined

The principle of the sovereignty of states is the corner stone of the Westphalian international order and the principal foundation of Africa's post-colonial regional relations and continental organisation under the OAU. Sovereignty is a legal status by virtue of which the possession by a society of an independent political authority as a

state is recognised internationally. Seen in this light sovereignty has two aspects. First, sovereignty defines the legal identity of states within the international system as equal entities possessing the same legal capacities. Second, sovereignty signifies independent political authority over the people and territory within the jurisdiction of a state. This is associated with 'the capacity to make authoritative decisions with regard to the people and resources within the territory of a state'.[37] In international law, this is given institutional guarantee through the principle of non-intervention, which prohibits members of the international community from intervening in the internal affairs of a state.

Sovereignty and its corollary the principle of non-intervention are the most important principles on which the OAU was founded. Of the seven basic principles outlined under Article 3 of the OAU Charter, four were about the sovereignty and territorial integrity of African states.[38] In the practice of the OAU, these principles were regarded as precluding the OAU or any member state from scrutinising the African state's domestic activities and were scrupulously observed. The OAU operated within the framework of and in strict adherence to its state centric principles of sovereignty of states and non-intervention.[39]

Under the Constitutive Act of the AU, the AU made a complete break from the OAU by redefining sovereignty. Unlike the OAU Charter in which sovereignty was sacrosanct and almost absolute, within the framework of the AU sovereignty is limited. This is provided for in the ground-breaking principle of the right of the AU to intervention.[40] The Act stipulates in Article 4(h) that the AU has the right to intervene in a member state 'pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity'. This not only creates the legal basis for intervention, but also imposes an obligation on the AU to intervene to prevent or stop the perpetration of such heinous international crimes anywhere on the continent.

This provision together with the emphasis on ending conflicts and promoting peace and security reverses the primacy that the OAU accorded to the state and its state-centric principles over people and the rights and interests of citizens. Most notably, it revises the understanding and scope of application of the principles of state sovereignty and non-interference. By narrowing down the scope of application of state sovereignty and non-interference, this provision removed some of the issues these principles had hitherto left exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the state, and made them matters of continental concern. It settled the controversy around the limits of these principles in cases of grave danger to the lives of citizens of a state. This represents a paradigmatic shift from the OAU's exclusive focus on state security to the security and wellbeing of individuals and peoples encapsulated by the concept of human security. Unlike the OAU Charter, the Constitutive Act has a strong human rights content. Indeed, one of its objectives is to 'promote and protect human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments'.[41]

As such, sovereignty and non-interference would no longer shield states from external scrutiny and even military intervention, not only where they endanger the lives of people on a massive scale, but also where they are unable to protect their citizens from such grave threats.[42] Nor can these principles justify inaction on the part of the AU in the face of such threats. In this, the AU Act became a pioneer in leading what has come to be characterised as a 'systemic shift in international law, namely, a growing tendency to recognise that the principle of state sovereignty finds its limits in the protection of "human security"'.[43]

Sovereignty is additionally redefined in another way as well. This is the shared responsibility that African states assumed for the peace and security of each African state. This is

expressed through the affirmation by AU member states of 'the fact that the defence and security of one African country is directly linked to that of other African countries'.[44]

Interventionist peace and security regime

The peace and security regime to which AU member states subscribed is not based on traditional security paradigm that exclusively focuses on violent conflicts. It is rather a regime that is premised on the new security paradigm that focuses on broader human security issues. The new normative concept of human security, which underpins the AU's peace and security regime, is more explicitly stated in the AU's Solemn Declaration on the Common African Defence and Security Policy (CADSP). The Policy makes as its point of departure, a definition of security 'which encompasses both traditional, state-centric, notion of the survival of the state and its protection by military means from external aggression, as well as the non-military notion which is informed by the new international environment and the high incidence of intra-state conflicts.'[45] More than anything else, it is the rise in intra-state conflicts witnessed on the continent during the post-cold war period that prompted African states to embrace the new normative concept of human security as the basis for AU's peace and security regime.[46]

AU's peace and security regime is thus one in which not only violent conflicts but also issues of democracy, human rights and governance feature prominently. Article 3 (g) states that one of the objectives of the AU is the promotion and protection of human and people's rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) and other relevant human rights instruments.[47] Additionally, the promotion of democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance is made to form part of the objectives of the AU.[48]

Out of the 16 fundamental principles by which the AU is to be guided, at least six could be said to embody human rights provisions, and one of them is concerned with human rights issues in the context of violent conflicts. Most notably, Article 4 (m) stipulates that respect for democratic principles, human rights, the rule of law and good governance is one of the fundamental principles of the AU. Under Article 30, the Constitutive Act stipulates that governments which come to power 'through unconstitutional means shall not be allowed to participate in the activities of the Union'.

Accordingly, apart from violent conflicts, conditions that the CADSP defines as threats to peace and security in Africa include:

- Lack of respect for sanctity of human life, impunity, political assassination, acts of terrorism and subversion
- Coups d'état and unconstitutional change of government, as well as situations which prevent and undermine the promotion of democratic institutions and structures, including the absence of rule of law, equitable social order, population participation and electoral processes
- Improper conduct of electoral processes
- Absence of the promotion and protection of human and peoples' rights, individual and collective freedoms, equitable opportunity for all, including women, children and ethnic minorities
- Poverty and inequitable distribution of natural resources, and
- Corruption

These furnish the normative foundation that makes it possible for AU member states to pursue the ideal of 'African solutions to African problems'. The AU peace and security regime additionally provides for institutions charged with the mandate of taking

decisions on matters of peace and security and implementing policy actions in the maintenance of peace and security on the continent. These constitute the institutional dimension of the APSA.

In terms of the translation of these normative articulations in to practice in the conduct and operations of the AU, the record of the first decade of the APSA has been a mixed one at best. Certainly, it has now become generally accepted that various forms of political crises and conflict situations that arise in AU member states are matters of continental concern warranting AU's involvement and action.

Despite this positive development, the pursuit of AU's principle of non-indifference reveals a number of limitations and gaps. AU's response to diverse crisis situations reveals a lack of consistency. The application of some of the norms such as human rights and democratic governance has been ad hoc at best and largely lacking at worst. While there has been no instance in which the AU expressly invoked article 4 (h) of the Constitutive Act, its pursuit of the objectives of the principle in this article is characterised by reluctance and discomfort with tendencies that are accommodative of the government in question.

Institutional dimension of the APSA – The PSC

This is the most commonly discussed component of the APSA that is established under the PSC Protocol. Article 2 of the PSC Protocol defines the components of the APSA that support the works of the PSC, which is the core of the APSA. These are the AU Commission, a Panel of the Wise, a Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), an African Standby Force (ASF) and a Peace Fund. The regional mechanisms for conflict prevention, management and resolution are also tied with the APSA.

The PSC

The APSA is anchored on the PSC. According to the PSC Protocol, the PSC is a standing decision-making authority that serves as "a collective security and early-warning arrangement to facilitate timely and efficient response to conflict and crisis situations in Africa."[49] The powers of the PSC are defined under Article 7 of the PSC Protocol and cover wide range of issues from conflict prevention to intervention.

Like the UN Security Council, the PSC is composed of 15 members of which 10 are elected for two year term and the remaining five for three year terms. In accordance with the AU principle of regional representation, it is the five regions of Africa that elect the 15 members of the PSC. The PSC decisions are generally guided by the principle of consensus. However, unlike the OAU Mechanism, in case of failure to reach a consensus, decision on procedural matters are by a simple majority and substantive matters by a two-thirds majority of members eligible to vote.[50] In a situation where the PSC deliberates on a crisis in one of its member states, the affected country does not participate in the PSC's deliberations on the matter. The provisional agenda of the PSC is determined by the Chairperson of the Council in consultation with the AU Commission and other PSC members. The inclusion of any item in the provisional agenda may not be opposed by a Member State.[51] The practice however shows that the Commission has assumed a de facto role of deciding the agenda of the PSC with member states playing little or no role.

In terms of its operationalisation, the PSC is the component that has achieved the most, consistent with the power conferred on it, the PSC has during the course of the past decade established itself to be an entity, willing and, increasingly, albeit inconsistently, able to exercise its authority to address the plethora of peace and security issues on the continent. The fact that the AU has been at the forefront of many mediation efforts and undertook several important peace support operations is in many ways attributable to the good use to which PSC has put its rather extensive authority.

Another manifestation of the high level of operationalisation of the PSC is the number of meetings it held and decisions it has so far taken. Since its launch in 2004, the PSC has so far held close to over 450 meetings at various levels. The regularity of its meetings has increased by more than threefold from 2004 to 2014.[52] As the decisions taken by the PSC show, the PSC has addressed a variety of issues ranging from violent armed conflicts in Sudan and Somalia to unconstitutional changes of government in various African countries and, electoral violence. Its decisions led to the deployment of peace support operations in Sudan, Somalia, Mali, CAR and in the Central African region against the Lord Resistance Army. It also facilitated the return of constitutional order in countries affected by coups or other forms of unconstitutional changes of government including Guinea, Niger, Togo, Mauritania, Madagascar, Mali and Guinea Bissau. Increasingly, the PSC has also addressed thematic issues such as terrorism, unconstitutional changes of government, conflict prevention, protection of civilians in armed conflict, unconstitutional changes of government and popular uprisings, small arms and light weapons and children and women in armed conflict.

It must however be admitted that much of the actions of the PSC has been reactionary. The PSC has mainly focused on conflict management and resolution almost to the exclusion of conflict prevention, post-conflict reconstruction and peace building. This has been so due to the frequent outbreaks of disruptive crises and violent conflicts, which consumed the agenda of the PSC from the time of its launch. Compelled by these circumstances, the PSC response has come to be characterised by what may be considered to be a fire fighting approach. As a result, the PSC has not as yet been engaged in any systematic process to tackle the root causes of conflicts in Africa.

Continental Early Warning System

The CEWS was established pursuant to Article 12 of the PSC Protocol as one of the components of the APSA '[i]n order to facilitate the anticipation and prevention of conflicts'.[53] According to the Protocol, the CEWS shall consist of 'an observation and monitoring centre, to be known as the Situation Room, located at the Conflict Management Directorate (CMD) of the Union, and responsible for data collection and analysis'.[54]

The CEWS is tasked with the responsibility of collecting, analysing, and predicting emerging threats to peace and security in Africa. Accordingly, the purpose of the CEWS is the provision of timely advice (early warning) by availing information and analysis to the Chairperson of the AU Commission on potential conflicts and threats to peace and security to enable him/her draw the attention of the PSC and its conflict prevention bodies (Panel of the Wise) and ultimately develop appropriate and timey response to prevent, manage or resolve conflicts or crisis situations in Africa.

The Protocol provides that the CEWS undertakes its functions in collecting, analysing and transmitting data on potential conflicts or crisis situations pursuant to the system of 'an early warning module based on clearly defined and accepted political, economic, social, military and humanitarian indicators.'[55] Structurally, the CEWS is linked, through appropriate communication channel, to the observation and monitoring units of the regional mechanisms, which feed the data they collect and process to the Situation Room.[56]

Although significant progress has been made towards the operationalisation of the CEWS, it also faces major challenges as well. In this regard issues that require further attention include developing or recruiting the necessary technical expertise; the deployment

of the necessary tools or indicators for data collection and analysis and revising them periodically; institutionalising a standardised early warning system at the RECs level and establishing the necessary system for linking them to the CEWS at the AU HQ as well as the legal and political framework for institutionalised relations with the RECs/RMs. The early warning systems of the different regions are at different levels of development, and some use information based on intelligence, while other do not. In addition to such technical and institutional challenges, another difficulty relates to the question of how independent the system is from political influence.

The Panel of the Wise

Another important organ of the APSA is the Panel of the Wise.[57] The Panel was established pursuant to Article 11 of the PSC Protocol as a key body to support the efforts of the PSC and the Chairperson of the AU Commission in the areas of conflict prevention.[58]

The Panel is composed of five prominent personalities of Africa who have made outstanding contribution to peace, security and development on the African continent.[59] According to the Modalities for the Functioning of the Panel, the members may not hold an active political office while serving on the panel. Panel members are selected by the Chairperson of the AU Commission after consultation with member states on the basis of regional representation, to serve for a renewable period of a three year term.[60] The AU Assembly appointed the five personalities from the five regions of Africa upon the recommendation of the AU Chairperson only in January 2007.[61] With the expiry of the term of office of the first members of the Panel, the AU Assembly appointed the second members of the Panel during its 15th Ordinary Session Held in Kampala, Uganda in July 2010. Out of the first members of the Panel, the Assembly reappointed Ahmed Ben Bella and Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim for a further and final mandate of three years from December 2010. The Assembly also appointed as new members to the panel former Zambian president, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, Mrs. Marie Madeleine Kalala-Ngoy and Mary Chinery Hesse, for a mandate of three years from December 2010.

The PSC Protocol assigned the Chairperson of the AU Commission the responsibility of drafting the modalities for the functioning of the Panel while the PSC has the power to approve the draft. Following the appointment of the members of the Panel, the PSC adopted, at its 100th meeting held on 12 November 2007, the modalities for the functioning of the Panel based on a draft submitted by the Chairperson of the AU Commission. The Panel was inaugurated on 18 December 2007 and held its first meeting on 20 February 2008.

The Panel is vested with both peacemaking and advisory functions. Specifically, the Panel has the mandate to 'advise the PSC and the Chairperson of the AU Commission on all issues pertaining to the promotion, and maintenance of peace, security and stability in Africa'.[62] In addition, 'at its own initiative, the Panel of the Wise shall undertake such action deemed appropriate to support the efforts of the PSC and those of the Chairperson of the Commission for the prevention of conflict'.[63]

The African Union Commission

The African Union Commission is the administrative branch of the continental body, it represents the Union in international fora, coordinates the policies of member states on identified subjects and implements the decisions of the AU Assembly, the highest decision making body of the AU.

The Commission implements AU policies, prepares its strategic plans and coordinates the body's activities and meetings. In the area of peace and security, the AU Commission, particularly the Chair Person, also has a more substantive role. Article 10, paragraph 1, of the *Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union* states that, 'the Chairperson of the Commission shall, under the authority of the Peace and Security Council, and in consultation with all parties involved in a conflict, deploy efforts and take all initiatives deemed appropriate to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts.' The Chairperson of the AUC is therefore responsible for the ensuring the implementation and follow-up of the decisions of the PSC, including mounting and deploying peace support missions authorised by the Council. The Chairperson of the Commission, working through the Commission for Peace and Security, is obligated to keep the PSC informed of developments relating to these peace support missions. In particular, the Chairperson can issue periodic and comprehensive reports as well as other relevant documents in order to enable the PSC and its subsidiary bodies to perform their functions effectively.

According to the PSC Protocol, the Chairperson of the Commission also has the prerogative to bring to the attention of the Council issues, which may threaten peace, security and stability in the continent. The Chairperson of the Commission, however, can play and does play an active role particularly in conflict prevention, mediation and peacemaking through the use of his or her good offices in collaboration with the Council. The AU Commission particularly the Chairperson has for example been active in the mediation efforts in Madagascar, Mauritania, and Guinea, among others.

The involvement of the AU Commission in peace and security matters thus far shows that the Commission is much more active in some ways but not others, which are just as important to peace and security. The Practice also shows that since it controls both the purse and the administrative machinery necessary for the functioning of other actors including most notably the PSC, the Commission has become dominant. Some have argued that the Commission has become so dominant such that it has come to usurp the powers assigned to other actors.[64]

The African Standby Force (ASF)

Within the framework of the APSA, the ASF comes into play in cases where violent conflicts are about to erupt, or have already erupted after peacemaking efforts have failed, or when intervention is required in cases of grave circumstances, as determined in article 13 of the PSC Protocol:

> In order to enable the Peace and Security Council to perform its responsibilities with respect to the deployment of peace support missions and intervention pursuant to article 4(h) and (j) of the Constitutive Act, an African Standby Force shall be established.

The ASF is designed to enable the PSC: (a) to prevent and manage conflicts by containing their spread or escalation, (b) to support its peace processes, (c) to enforce its decisions in cases of grave circumstances, (d) to support peace-building activities, and (e) to undertake humanitarian action and disaster management. Its mandate thus addresses almost the full range of Africa's conflict dynamics and security challenges, covering the complete spectrum of the conflict continuum, from prevention to peace-building and reconstruction.

There are certain requirements that need to be fulfilled for the successful operationalisation of the ASF.[65] Given that ASF brigades are constituted of multidimensional contingents based in their countries of origin, this multinational character gives rise to cultural, material, know-how and doctrinal diversity, which affect operations. This necessitates that continuous and standardised training is institutionalised at different levels.

The deployment and maintenance of effective peace support operations also depends on the availability of the necessary infrastructure, both for the deployment of brigades and the effective and successful execution of their mandates. If the ASF is to be an effective mechanism for responding to conflicts and other crises, it is imperative for it to have at its disposal all the necessary equipment, air and sea-lift capabilities, ground transportation, information systems, etc.[66] Inadequate infrastructure not only prevents a mission from implementing its mandate effectively, but also undermines its ability to respond to crises.

The maintainance of an effective strategic-level management system at the AU Headquarters and at the RECs/RMs level is also critical. As the expected role of the PSOD expands and its staff size increases correspondingly, there is a need to provide for suitable office accommodation, an operations room and IT communications equipment.

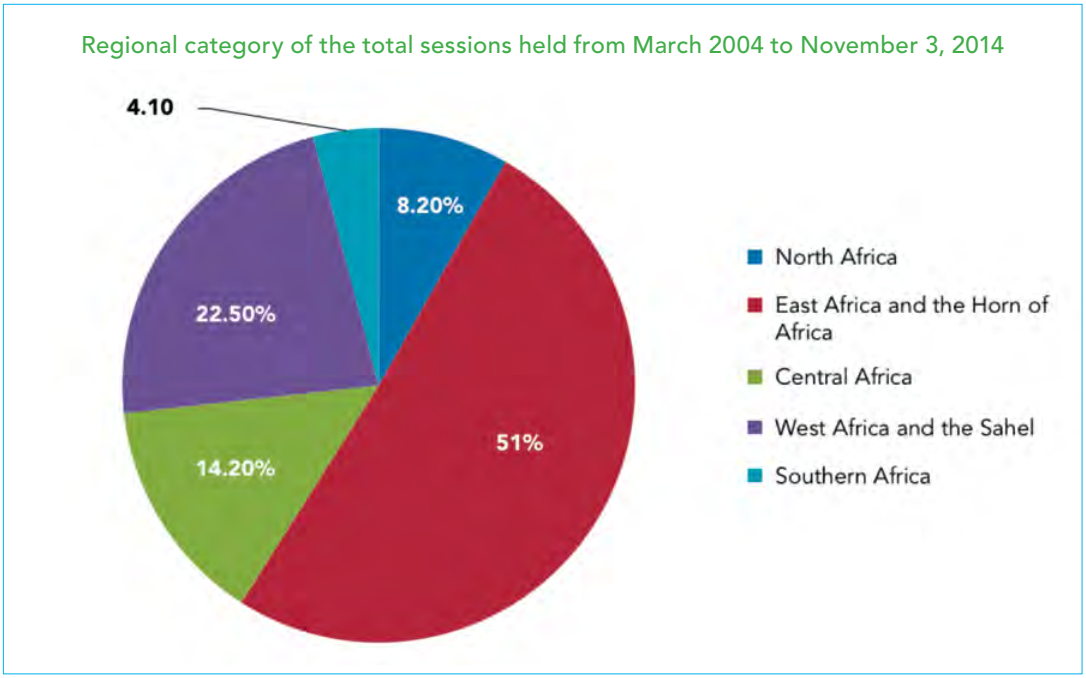
Record of AU PSC in Responding to Crises in Africa

During the past ten years, the AU has increasingly been responding to the peace and security challenges facing the continent as crisis situations from all regions of Africa attracts involvement of the AU.

Regional distribution of AU's responses

As the chart below shows, East Africa is the region that dominated the agenda of the PSC, accounting for just below 50 per cent of its agenda. This largely corresponds to the level of peace and security challenges that the region has experienced. This high level of engagement in East Africa has been due in particular to the various conflicts in Sudan and Somalia. Although there has been an overall large share of the region on the PSC agenda during the past ten years, there were years when two other regions also demanded more or just as much attention as East Africa. In 2012, one third of all the meetings of the PSC were devoted to West Africa, due mainly to the crisis in Mali.[67] In 2013, the PSC dedicated as much time to situations in Central African region as it did in East Africa. The crisis in the CAR was the main factor in this. Figure 1 demonstrates this distribution.

Figure 1: *Regional Sessions March 2004 – November 2014*



Source: Author's data and analysis

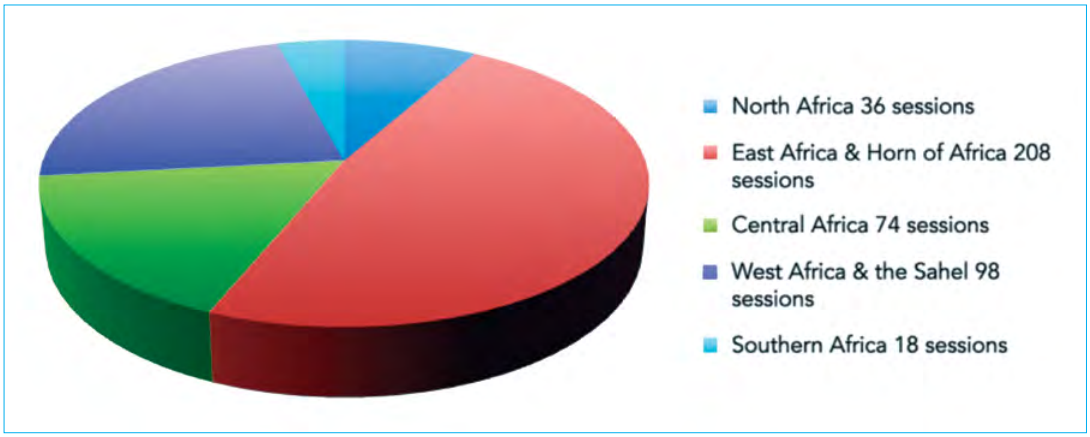
After East Africa, West Africa featured most regularly on the agenda of the PSC, accounting for more than 22 percent of the meetings. Central Africa was third, accounting for about 15 per cent of PSC meetings. Once again, the level of PSC activities in these two regions largely mirrors the poor security conditions.

Table 1: *Regional Distribution of PSC Sessions during the First Decade*

Region	North Africa	East Africa & Horn of Africa	Central Africa	West Africa & the Sahel	Southern Africa
Sessions	36 sessions	208 sessions	74 sessions	98 sessions	18 sessions
Percentage	8.2%	47.8 %	17%	22.5%	4.1%

Source: *Author*

Figure 2: *Regional Percentages of PSC Sessions During the First Decade*



Source: *Editor's portrayal*

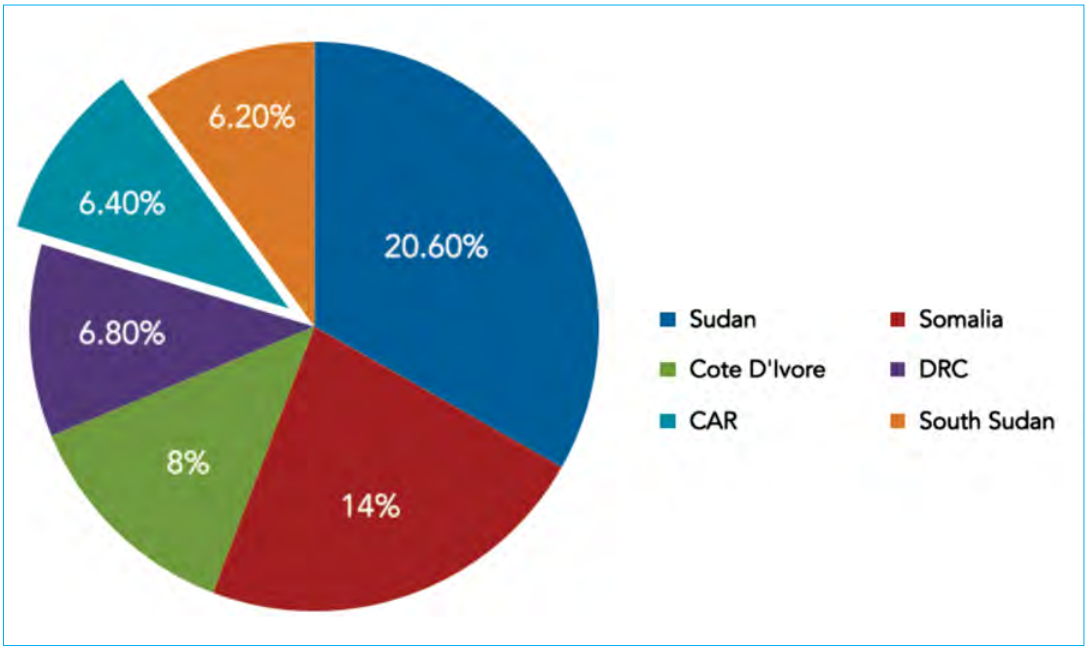
Southern Africa and North Africa feature the least on the agenda of the PSC, which reflects the relatively lower level of instability that has characterised the regions for much of the past decade. Until the 2011 popular uprisings, Mauritania was the only country from North Africa that the PSC dealt with. Southern Africa accounted for only 4.1% of the agenda of the PSC during the past decade. This largely corresponds with the conclusion that Southern Africa is 'the most stable region'[68] on the continent.

The above statistics show that much of the instability and peace and security challenges in Africa are concentrated in the central belt of Africa covering West Africa, Central Africa and East Africa. However, statistics of the PSC also indicate that instability is much more spread in some regions than in others. In East Africa, Somalia and the Sudans account for more than two thirds of the activities of the PSC in the region, but comparatively, more countries in West Africa were on the agenda of the PSC more regularly.

However, it is also to be noted that there are other variables that determine the content of the PSC's agenda. These include geopolitics and the willingness of the regional hegemon to permit the discussion of an issue in the region. In Southern Africa, for instance, the issues in Madagascar, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, etc., may not have been discussed not necessarily because they did not happen, but because in some of these cases, SADC member states would argue that they were up to the task of handling them. In addition to this, disaggregation of data on Southern Africa, for instance, once again shows high records of protests, which are also indicative of some level of structural challenges in some of the countries in the region, but whose levels of crisis the AU PSC does not have to deal.

Going down to the country level, Sudan and Somalia have been the most frequent agenda items in PSC meetings. Côte d'Ivoire and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) are a distant third and fourth in terms of the number of times they featured. Figure 3 demonstrates this:

Figure 3: *Countries most featured on the agenda of the PSC, 1 March 2004 – 3 November 2014*



Source: Author's data and analysis

That Somalia and Sudan accounted for a substantial percentage of the work of the PSC during the past decade is no surprise. As the recent paper on 'Africa's current and future conflict burden' pointed out,[69] these are among the countries in Africa with the most conflict burden.

The regional distribution of insecurity, while important, does not alone explain the regional distribution of PSC's first decade of addressing security challenges in Africa. Other factors that explain the distribution of PSC's engagement in the different regions include the disengagement of the PSC from dealing with situations in some regions and the inconsistency in its response to situations of similar gravity. A study on the work of the PSC in 2012 points out that '[W]hile the PSC was completely disengaged on situations in Southern Africa, its response (in 2012) to some of the situations raised questions as to whether the PSC treats all cases with the urgency they deserve and the kind of action they require'.[70] More specifically, the study notes that '[c]ompared to the peace and security challenges facing it, the region that received inadequate attention (from the PSC in 2012) was Central Africa'.[71]

Two conclusions can be made from the above. First, the regional distribution of PSC's first decade of engagement is not merely a reflection of the spatial spread of conflicts in Africa. The role and interest of regional actors in PSC's consideration of a situation in a country (as the absence of Madagascar from the PSC agenda in 2012 exemplified) also plays a major part. Second, not all crisis situations in all parts of Africa attracted the intervention of the PSC or received the level of attention from the PSC accorded to similar situations.

Conflict management and resolution versus conflict prevention and peacebuilding

During the course of the past ten years, the AU displayed increasing willingness to deal with the plethora of peace and security challenges that Africa encountered. Much of the effort and time of the AU have however been dedicated to responding to crises after they have broken out. In other words, the AU has predominantly operated as a form of 'fire-brigade' that is deployed for putting out 'fires'.

As the nature of the responses deployed by the PSC show, in the past decade, conflict management and conflict resolution approaches have been predominant. One manifestation of this predominance is the increasing resort of the AU to undertake peace enforcement and peace support operations. Since 2003, the AU deployed such operations in Burundi (2003), Darfur (2004), Somalia (2007), the Comoros (2008), the Central African region against the Lord's Resistance Army (2011), Mali (2013) and in the CAR (2013). The use of sanctions in the context of unconstitutional changes of government and the launch of mediation or peace-making processes are further proof of the predominance of conflict management and resolution approaches in the work of the PSC.

Since its establishment, the AU suspended the membership of its member states or otherwise imposed sanctions for unconstitutional changes of government. Article 30 of the AU Constitutive Act prohibits such unconstitutional changes of government. Consequently, between 2003 and 2014, the AU adopted such measures against Central African Republic (2003 & 2013), Mauritania (2005 & 2008), Togo (2005), Guinea (2008), Madagascar (2009), Niger (2010), Guinea Bissau (2012), Mali (2012) and Egypt (2013). Additionally, in response to the unilateral secessionist rebellion of Anjouan Island of Comoros, the AU imposed sanctions. The AU also imposed sanctions on Côte d'Ivoire following the refusal of its incumbent president Laurent Gbagbo to relinquish power after his defeat at the 2010 elections.

During the past ten years, the AU also launched mediation or peace-making processes either on its own or in concert with regional mechanisms or the UN. These include the mediation or peace-making processes in many of the crises situations including Darfur, Sudan-South Sudan, Somalia, Comoros, Guinea, Madagascar, Kenya, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Libya, Egypt, DRC and CAR. These processes have taken different forms such as ad hoc panels (the high level ad hoc panels for Côte d'Ivoire and Libya), high level panels (the AU high level panels for Sudan and Egypt), chief mediators of the AU or special representatives of the Chairperson of the AU Commission (in Darfur, Comoros, Madagascar, Somalia, Mali and CAR). Increasingly, these mediation or peace-making frameworks are combined with and were supplemented by a country specific International Contact Group.

As much of the measures that the PSC adopted in dealing with the various peace and security challenges in Africa show, the approach of the PSC is predominantly characterised by 'fire-fighting' approaches, with very limited conflict prevention initiatives. There is accordingly a clear and increasing need for shifting from the current 'fire-fighting' approach that dominates the PSC's responses to conflict prevention.

There are a number of factors that account for the lack of proper implementation of the conflict prevention mandate of the PSC. The most important elements of the APSA that are best placed to facilitate the full and proper implementation of the conflict prevention mandate of the PSC are the CEWS and the PoW. Unfortunately, the required critical interface between these two that is necessary to pursue any meaningful conflict prevention role has largely been lacking. Despite the progress made towards operationalisation of the CEWS, the mechanism for accessing, duly considering and deciding on the analysis and policy options that CEWS avail is not adequately developed. Accordingly, the PSC in

the conclusions of its retreat in Djibouti in February 2013 called on the AU Commission 'to establish an appropriate mechanism through which information gathered is transmitted in a timely manner to the PSC, on potential conflicts, threats to peace and security, including potential humanitarian crises in Africa and recommendations on the best course of action.'[72] Similarly, in spite of the fact that the PoW has been operational since 2007, its role in conflict prevention has not been and is not tied with early warning. Significantly, as the APSA assessment report pointed out in 2010, the 'Panel's conflict prevention role is problematic as its role in this realm is not properly defined, at least in conceptual terms'.[73]

The lack of attention to conflict prevention on the part of the PSC is also a manifestation of the inadequate implementation of the human rights and governance mandate of the PSC.[74] This is in part attributable to the disconnect between peace and security and the political/governance focused activities of the AU. Despite the fact that Article 19 of the PSC Protocol provided for close working relationship between the PSC and the human rights bodies of the AU, no adequate mechanism for operationalising this provision has been developed.[75]

The role of regional mechanisms for conflict prevention, management and resolution

One of the unique features of the peace and security landscape of Africa is that both the AU and the regional mechanisms for conflict prevention, management and resolution (regional mechanisms) are simultaneously mandated to maintain peace and security. Accordingly, apart from the AU, many African regional organisations such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and the International Conference of the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR), have in the past few years showed increasing willingness and interest to manage and resolve conflicts in their own regions.

While this increasing role of African regional mechanisms is a welcome development, it raises substantive issues of coordination, synergy and policy coherence vis-à-vis the role of the AU. As the role of regions increases and the capacity of the AU expands, the two have experienced increasing interaction punctuated by tension over the leadership of, and division of responsibility in, the management of various crises.

Because of tendencies of mistrust and rivalry, there have been instances in which regional mechanisms have shown a reluctance to have the full involvement of the AU in some conflict situations. Determined to deal with the situation on its own, ECOWAS, for example, for a while displayed little interest for an active role by the AU with respect to the situation in Mali.[76] In the same vein, concerns by SADC members about possible 'outside' interference meant that Madagascar did not feature on the agenda of the PSC in 2012.[77] On the situation in the Central African Republic (CAR), ECCAS in early 2013 refused the participation of the AU in the peace process held in Libreville on the crisis in CAR.

The AU and ECOWAS also adopted divergent policy positions over the question of the suspension of sanctions imposed on Mali and Guinea Bissau for unconstitutional changes of government. ECCAS also defied the decision that the AU PSC took by imposing sanctions on the Seleka for unconstitutional changes of government prompting the AU PSC to remind states of the obligations they pledged under the Protocol establishing the PSC.[78]

Such defiance clearly indicates that despite its increasing importance and role, the authority of the PSC particularly a vis-à-vis regional mechanism is not yet firmly

established. Indeed, it additionally expresses the lack of a shared recognition across the different regional mechanisms of the authority and role of the AU with respect to peace and security in Africa.[79] Both ECOWAS and ECCAS acted with respect to Mali and CAR respectively on the belief that they have a lead role for peace and security issues within their region and viewed the AU as usurping their role. On the part of the AU, this challenges the role of the PSC as the principal site of decision-making on peace and security issues on the continent. For the AU, such lack of commitment to its leadership is not in tune with the provisions of the Protocol establishing the PSC.

The issues that the role of regional mechanisms raises have not been limited to problems of policy coordination and coherence between them and the AU. Equally, as threats to peace and security assume a trans-regional character, challenges arise on coordinating and integrating the perspectives and interests of all affected regions in the process of developing responses to crises. Other problems arise due to multiplicity of regional mechanisms and the resultant confusion of mandate and coordination. For example, from recent crises in Mali and the conflict in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, the concerned regional mechanism was not limited to one region. With respect to Mali, the AU chairperson noted that 'the geographical position of Mali in the Sahel-Sahara region, at the crossroads of the western, northern and central regions of Africa, and the deployment of units belonging to two different RECs/RMs initially presented challenges in terms of coordination'.[80]

It clearly emerges from the foregoing that the level of coordination and harmonisation between the regional mechanisms and the AU is fraught with various challenges.[81] If not addressed, it would create a number of problems. Notably, it would continue to frustrate effective and unified response, creating vacuum and allowing crises to fester. Additionally, as the situation in CAR and the conflict in South Sudan illustrate, the lack of institutionalised working relationship between the AU and the regions creates the perils of regionalisation whereby regional efforts are used to orchestrate partisan positions adding further complication to the crises. The recurrence of instances in which regional mechanisms disagree with or defy the policy decision of the PSC also entails the risk of undermining the credibility of the AU and perhaps disintegrating or fragmenting the APSA.

Conclusion

Though the peace and security framework of the AU anchored on the PSC is still young, as the foregoing discussion shows, it has come a long way both in terms of institutionalisation of structures and processes and initiating efforts for maintaining peace and security on the continent.

As the PSC marks its first decade of existence, increasing number of questions are emerging on the effectiveness of the work of the PSC and the way it conducts its business, including the adequacy of some of its tools. The issue of ownership has increasingly been on the spotlight as the quest for increasing financial mobilisation from within the continent increases. Indeed, one of the most known limitations of the APSA remains to be that of its excessive dependency for its financing on the support of partners. The European Union's African Peace Facility, UN's logistics support package and support from individual countries such as the US, the UK, France and China account for over 90% of the finances of AU's peace support operations.

Apart from problems of predictable and reliable funding, capacity constraints involving inadequate expertise and logistics, availability of specialised supplies, and transport

and reconnaissance capabilities pose further challenges to the planning, mounting and running of peace support operations by the AU.

The relapse of countries in transition back to conflict and the eruption of new conflicts and crises in recent years have put a spotlight on the effectiveness of the prevention and peacebuilding mandate of the APSA. The changes in the nature of conflicts and the challenges arising from emerging security threats call for response mechanisms that are prompt, agile and robust. These raise major questions on a) the military/security instruments that best fits in the response to changing security challenges, b) the adequacy of the political and institutional frameworks as well as tools of the AU and c) the provision of leadership and resources by member states.

There are also emerging issues in the relationship between the PSC and regional mechanisms on conflict prevention, management and resolution. Despite its place as the principal decision-making body in Africa, PSC's decisions have not always received the support of RECs/RMs. Indeed, there have been various instances where policy positions of RECs diverged with decisions made by the PSC. While the Council continues to cooperate with a wide range of partners, most notably the UN and the EU, no agreed upon model of partnership has as yet been established particularly with the UN. As a result, collaboration largely remains ad hoc and on a case by case basis rather than systematic and strategic.

Addressing these major issues requires an array of measures including changes and reforms in policy, institutional mechanisms, the PSC's practice and member states' contribution as well as the establishment of effective peacekeeping partnership.

Endnotes

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48 Art. 3(h).

49 Article 2, AU PSC Protocol (supra note 44).

50 Article 8 (13) PSC Protocol; Rule 28 of the Rules of Procedure of the Peace and Security Council on the African Union.

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60 Art. 11 (2) PSC Protocol.

61 The five members of the Panel are Ahmed Ben Bella (former President of Algeria) representing North Africa, Salim Ahmed Salim (Former Secretary General of the OAU) representing East Africa, Brigalia Bam (Chairperson of the Independent Electoral Commission of South Africa) representing Southern Africa, Elizabeth Pagnon (former president of the Constitutional Court of Benin) representing west Africa, and Muguel Trovoda (former Prime Minister and President of Sao Tome & Principe) representing the Central Africa Region).

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3 African Conflict Hot and Warm Spots in the 21st Century: a general overview

Issaka K. Souaré, PhD

Abstract

Since regaining independence, many African countries have experienced various forms of insecurity. This is valid even since the beginning of the 21st century. This insecurity has manifested itself in the form of armed conflicts, both inter-state and intra-state, military coups d'état and election-induced or related political crises among others. While many of these forms of insecurity take place within the confines of individual states, some show clear regional dimensions. Several countries have also been engulfed in one or many forms of insecurity at more or less the same time with clear links between them. This has led to the creation of conflict systems or dynamics in different regions. This chapter identifies five such regional conflict systems/dynamics and analyses their chief causal factors, while looking at some of the main regional peace initiatives and efforts, their impact, successes and challenges. It concludes with some lessons learned from the various regions and formulates some policy recommendations for future engagement.

Introduction

Armed conflicts are a form of security challenge in Africa. In the 21st century, those challenges are many and have ranged from governance-related issues to climate change and trans-national criminality, including terrorism. Armed conflicts have been both inter-state and intra-state, with varying degrees of intensity. Of the 90 successful military coups d'état registered on the continent from July 1952 to December 2015, 12 have occurred since the dawn of the new millennium. Added to this are the numerous protracted insurgent conflicts and election-induced or related political crises. Apart from the Algerian situation of the 1990s, North Africa was relatively quieter until the "Arab Spring" that started in late 2010, turning Libya, which was hitherto a beacon of stability, into a highly unstable country, exporting its instability to the whole Maghreb and Sahel regions.

As can be easily surmised from its title, this chapter provides a general overview of conflict 'hot' and 'warm' spots in Africa in the 21st century. To do so, it identifies five main conflict zones, namely the Mano River Region, the Great Lakes Region, the Horn of Africa region, the Sahel & Maghreb and Southern African regions. Each section begins with a demarcation of the region, and then provides a general overview of conflict systems and dynamics, including an analysis of causes of conflicts. It then looks at some of the main regional peace initiatives and efforts, their impact, successes and challenges. As this is a general overview, specific country cases are dealt with only as examples. The concluding section takes stock of the lessons that could be learned from the various regions, summarises key findings and formulates some policy recommendations for future engagement.

Defining 'conflict system'

Before starting with the regional studies, a brief discussion about the concept of "conflict system" or "conflict dynamic" is in order.

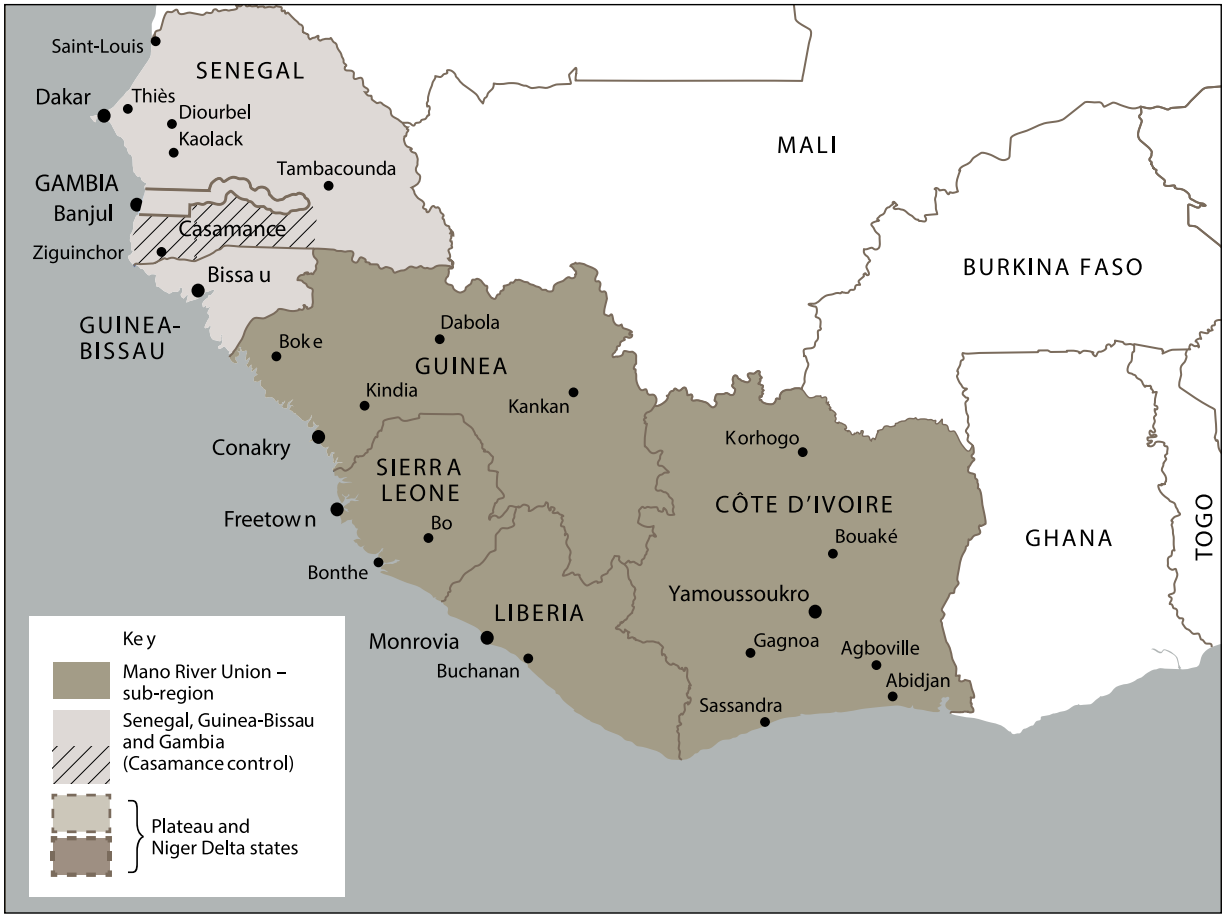
There is no consensus on the definition of what constitutes a "system". There are however a number of definitions which, together, help to shed some light on the concept. One of those definitions is that offered by Meadows that sees a system as "an interconnected set of elements that is coherently organised in a way that achieves something"[1]. To Williams, while there is no single, concise, and generally agreed-upon definition for a system, there is general agreement that a system consists of elements or parts, the links and interrelationships between the parts that hold them together, and a boundary, or the limit that defines what is inside or outside the system.[2] Perhaps one of the closest definitions to the way that the idea of a system is used in this chapter is that of Senge et al. who define a system as "a perceived whole whose elements 'hang together' because they continually affect each other over time and operate toward a common purpose"[3]. Another related definition is that of Eoyang, who thinks of systems as complex and adaptive. To him, a system is a "collection of semi-independent agents that have the freedom to act in unpredictable ways, and whose actions are interconnected such that they generate system-wide patterns".[4]

With an explicit attention to systems in the context of conflicts, albeit personal conflicts, and in the framework of systems theory, Hocker and Wilmot posit that systems operate as an interdependent unit with patterns of interaction between their members, which show circular causality: each element of the system is affected by all the others, and affects all others in turn. The system is thus sustained by the cooperation of its members, meaning that any one member of the system can change the cycle with a change in their own behaviour.[5]

From the foregoing, when it is argued here that there is a conflict system in the Mano River region, how does one get to decide which countries are part of this system? Also, when did the conflicts in various countries of the region create a system? Gieorgio Gallo provides a simple answer to these questions. He begins by noting that conflict is in itself a special kind of system whose complexity stems from many and sometimes unrelated elements. This includes the parties involved in the conflict with intricate relations among them, their multiple and diverse objectives, some of which may be hidden and not explicit for all, many of which evolve over time. He quotes Midgley on the notion of 'system's boundaries'. To him, systems are not a reality, but rather, they are social and logical conceptual constructions, in that it is us who define the system and its boundaries, that is, variables and factors that are taken into account to include or not to include a specific element in the system.[6] This is why it is argued here that most of the regions identified are conceived as geostrategic rather than geographic ones. But even in geographic ones, there is a construction element, which allows, for example, for modification of state, regional or provincial boundaries and the creation of new identities along these lines in Nigeria, the DRC or South Africa over time. As we will see in the Mano River region for example, one could argue that there were linkages among various actors in that region in the 1990s – Liberia's Charles Taylor was helped by Sierra Leone's Foday Sankoh during his rebellion, while he too helps when the latter launches a rebellion in his own country, and so on). We shall see this system in more details in the various regional studies.

The Mano River Region and Areas in Proximity

Figure 4: *Countries of the Mano River Union*



Source: Conciliation Resources - http://www.c-r.org/downloads/MRU_bordercommunitysecurity_ConciliationResources.pdf

The Mano River region (see Figure 4), as it is known today, is not a geographic but a geopolitical one. While the name stems from that of the Mano River that separates Liberia and Sierra Leone, it is the political and economic structure, Mano River Union (MRU), formed in October 1973 by the two countries, which popularised and sustained the name of the region. Guinea joined the MRU in October 1980. Many delimit the region to these three countries, but Côte d'Ivoire also joined this economic and customs union in May 2008. Thus, for the purpose of this chapter, the term 'Mano River Region' should be understood to cover these four countries, which can be said to have more or less been 'united' in a 'conflict system' in the 1990s and the first decade of the 21st century.[7] Evidently, the security situation in this zone is impacted by the dynamics in the wider West African region, which 'has acquired the unenviable notoriety as a veritable theatre of violent conflicts, political instability and state implosions,' and was among the world's most unstable regions in the 1990s.[8]

Conflict systems and dynamics in the Mano River Region

Since 1990, various countries of the region have faced serious security challenges, ranging from military coups to full-blown civil wars. Liberia experienced two countrywide civil wars from December 1989 to mid-1996 and again from 1999 to mid-2003. Sierra Leone was engulfed in a bloody civil war with links to that of Liberia from 1991 to 2002. Côte d'Ivoire that had been considered until recently as a beacon of stability in the region

caught the fire of a fratricidal civil war from 2002 to 2007. The country also witnessed one of the most serious and terrific post-election violence and conflicts in West Africa from December 2010 to April 2011. Guinea has so far been the one spared the experience of a nationwide civil war, but it has had its share of political instability and localised but deadly inter-communal clashes, particularly in its southern 'forest' region, as recently as 2013. In the same period, a total of five (5) successful military coups were registered in three of the four countries (except Liberia), with Sierra Leone accounting for three.

In an article of mid-2004, Christina Solomon argues that armed conflicts experienced in the various countries of the Mano River Region are intertwined and have shown a ready potential to spill over and destabilise neighbouring countries. To illustrate this, she contends that the first Liberian civil war that started in 1989 was related to the war in Sierra Leone, which began two years later, and also to the fighting that broke out in Guinea in 2000.[9] According to the former Liberian interim president, Amos Sawyer, writing in the same year, 'the region has become a conflict zone, in which state failure and violence in Liberia has spread to Sierra Leone and the forest region of Guinea.' To him, this state of affairs turned the region, in the first five years of the 21st century, into 'a single conflict system, orchestrated especially through the entrepreneurial abilities and ambitions of Charles Taylor'.[10]

Indeed, many studies have shown that countries in the West Africa sub-region and beyond supported, in one way or the other, Charles Taylor's rebellion in Liberia. These countries include Blaise Compaoré's Burkina Faso, Houphouët-Boigny's Côte d'Ivoire and Muammar Qaddafi's Libya. [11] Houphouët-Boigny and Qaddafi both had a personal grudge against Samuel Doe, the former Liberian leader whom Taylor sought to topple. With their influence on Compaoré, as well as prospects of economic gains for the latter, the Burkinabe leader lent his support to the Liberian warlord.[12]

Taylor, a disgruntled former Liberian civil servant who had fled the country several years earlier, launched attacks on his country from late December 1989. He called his rebel movement National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) and expressed his ambition to topple the regime of Samuel Doe, who had come to power through a military coup in April 1980. Perhaps the first indicator of the formation of a conflict system in the Mano River region stemmed from the regional supports that Taylor and his NPFL rebels received from a number of countries, particularly Côte d'Ivoire, and the support he subsequently lent to the rebellion in Sierra Leone.[13] Taylor did so because members of Foday Sankoh's rebel movement assisted him in the initial stages of his rebellion in Liberia, on the promise that he would support Sankoh in his own adventure in Sierra Leone.

In Sierra Leone, a renegade army officer called Foday Sankoh launched his rebellion in early 1991, calling his group the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone (RUF/SL). According to many studies, the RUF consisted initially of about 300 fighters comprising chiefly of conscripted Sierra Leonean youths, members of Taylor's NPFL rebels in Liberia – in return of RUF support to NPFL in Liberia – and mercenaries from Burkina Faso who had helped Taylor in his invasion of Liberia in 1989.[14] According to Solomon and others, during the first Liberian civil war, Taylor's NPFL provided significant military and logistical support to the RUF, which continued even after Taylor became Liberia's president in 1997.[15]

Guinea was drawn into the Liberian quagmire first as a Troop Contributing Country (TCC) to the regional peacekeeping force, the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), deployed in Liberia in late 1990. But its role, particularly in contributing to the region's conflict system, came in the late 1990s when its then president Lansana Conté more or less openly provided financial and military support to the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) rebels that were fighting against Taylor's regime from 1999.

Widely held views in Guinea that Taylor was trying to destabilise the country largely account for this action. In retaliation to this, or as a continuation of his destabilising role according to the Guinean authorities, combined forces of Liberian government troops, some RUF fighters and Guinean dissidents launched cross-border raids into south-western Guinea from September 2000 to April 2001. Guinean government forces, at times backed by LURD fighters, countered the raids and stabilised the situation, while increasing diplomatic pressure on Taylor, leading to his forced departure from power in August 2003. There was of course similar if not more important diplomatic pressure on Taylor from both the US and the British governments that had become hostile to the Liberian leader.

In Côte d'Ivoire, the conflict started in September 2002. It was first an insurrection by some army officers allegedly unhappy with their proposed demobilisation from the army. The insurrection begun while the Head of State, Laurent Gbagbo, was on a state visit to Italy and the Vatican. Soon, the insurgents changed their first claim to that of protest against what they called discriminatory policies that the government was allegedly applying or maintaining against some groups of the population identified as those from the North. They then formed themselves into what they called the *Mouvement patriotique de Côte d'Ivoire* (Patriotic movement of Côte d'Ivoire – MPCI). Two other movements later joined this main rebel group: *Mouvement populaire ivoirien du Grand-Ouest* (the Ivorian popular movement of the greater West – MPIGO) and the *Mouvement pour la justice et la paix* (Movement for justice and peace – MJP). All three became known as the 'new forces' after the Marcoussis peace talks in January 2003. The relevant point is that Charles Taylor was again accused of involvement in the creation of the latter two rebel groups, while Burkina Faso's Compaoré was accused of being behind the first group. Thus, President Gbagbo in turn allegedly armed another Liberian dissident group, Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL), thus assisting in the creation of another anti-Taylor insurgency.[16]

In short, the conflict systems and dynamics in the Mano River Region are illustrated by the implications of actors and the effect of conflicts on the populations in the different countries of the region. This is facilitated by the complex relationship between the populations and leaders of these countries, with deep cross-border linkages, based on ethnicity and other factors. This explains the tendency of actors in the different countries to rise in support of their 'kith and kin in distress' across borders. At times, governments use dissident groups in neighbouring countries to their own domestic political and security advantages, in both offensive and defensive situations.

Obviously, this conflict system has had serious negative human, political, economic, psychological, social and cultural as well as environmental effects on the countries and people of the region.[17]

Regional peace initiatives and efforts: their impact, successes and challenges

As noted above, there is a sub-regional organisation called the Mano River Union (MRU), which comprises four countries. The MRU has not been active in political and peace-making domains, and indeed has arguably been inactive in all domains until very recently. All the four countries located in West Africa, are members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which has been the main regional organisation engaged in efforts of peace-making and conflict resolution. It is through the efforts of the ECOWAS, therefore, that one can appraise the institutional response initiatives to conflicts in the Mano River Region. It is possible to categorise the involvement of the ECOWAS in conflict resolution efforts in two different ways: (i) efforts of early warning and conflict prevention and resolution; and (ii) the deployment of peace enforcement and peacekeeping operations.

With regard to regional efforts in conflict prevention, ECOWAS leaders adopted in 1999, a Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security. Based on the provisions of Chapter IV of this Protocol, an Observation and Monitoring Centre (OMC), located at the ECOWAS Commission in Abuja, together with four observation and monitoring zones were established within the sub-region. Three of the four countries of the Mano River region (other than Côte d'Ivoire) are located in zone III of this system, whose zonal bureau is situated in Monrovia, Liberia. The various components of this system, which became operational in 2009, are responsible for data collection and analysis and preparation of periodic reports for the attention of the relevant bodies and authorities of the Commission. A review of the ECOWAS early warning system in February 2013 revealed some shortcomings but stressed its great contributions and potential for conflict prevention in the region.

The integration of governance indicators into the early warning system provides a good mechanism for structural and long-term conflict prevention. This is because shortcomings in the realm of governance, both political and economic, are at the core of most conflict and crisis situations in the region. This approach was institutionalised through the Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance, which was adopted in 2001 as a supplement to the 1999 protocol.

In the case of the deployment of peace enforcement and peacekeeping operations, ECOWAS was arguably the first regional organisation in Africa to have deployed a force in a member state. This began in Liberia when it deployed its first ever cease-fire monitoring group called ECOMOG in August 1990[18]. While this force operated in difficult conditions, their experience improved over time, and was employed in Sierra Leone (1991-2000) and briefly in Côte d'Ivoire in 2002.[19] All such operations have been preceded and accompanied by extensive political and diplomatic efforts to find a peaceful solution to the crisis, while peacekeeping forces are deployed only to support such political processes.

These initiatives were generally successful, although not perfect or without hitches. The interventions in Liberia, both diplomatic and military, faced a lot of challenges, not least of which was inexperience, as it was the first ever such a mission by the ECOWAS. Military operations relied on very modest military capabilities, logistics and structure. Because of this, as Ero argues, ECOMOG encountered many problems in aspects of control, command, organisation and co-ordination.[20] Further, contradictions among member states, particularly those that sympathised with or supported Taylor, had a negative impact on the efforts of the regional organisation. It took a lot of effort to 'mend the fences' among member states before important progress could be made in Liberia. The same is true in Sierra Leone, although to a lesser extent. Two important issues that are often invoked by critics of ECOWAS interventions in Liberia and Sierra Leone is, first, the sequence or value given to diplomatic efforts vis-à-vis military ones, and whether the latter was rushed without having exhausted the diplomatic channels. The other issue is the purported Nigerian dominance and 'instrumentalisation' of regional mechanisms for own interests.

All this notwithstanding, there can be no denying the fact that ECOWAS' political and military interventions in both countries significantly reduced the suffering of people and brought about an end to the conflict. It is true that the UN came later in both countries and that the British assisted greatly in Sierra Leone, but the bulk of work was done by ECOWAS. It intervened diplomatically in both countries from the start of the conflicts. It was also first in deploying military troops. In Sierra Leone, for example, ECOWAS deployed troops from as early as August 1997, whereas it was not until late October 1999 that the UN Security Council adopted a resolution establishing the UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL). Likewise, it was not until May 2000 that the British deployed their 'Operation Palliser'. Yet, while these forces deserve all the praise, heavy fighting had been generally

completed by this time, and ECOWAS troops are the ones that had forcefully restored the democratically elected government of Ahmed Tejan Kabbah in February 1998, which had been overthrown in mid-1997.

In Côte d'Ivoire, ECOWAS' intervention was quite limited, compared to the first two countries. This is partly because the country is bigger and more difficult to handle than the relatively smaller Sierra Leone and Liberia. Most importantly, because of the strategic importance of Côte d'Ivoire to France, Paris did not want to see the crisis in the country resolved without her involvement. This became a big challenge both for ECOWAS, and for some African countries outside of the region, not least of which was South Africa whose then leader, Thabo Mbeki, became the AU mediator in the country from 2004 to 2006. Given this situation and the French determination, aided by its stronger resource capability as compared to African countries with limited resources, the role of ECOWAS in Côte d'Ivoire was less visible, until in the post-election violence of early 2011, in which its political stance and that of the AU proved important, even for the subsequent French intervention.[21]

The Great Lakes Region

Figure 5: *The Great Lakes Region*



Source: United Nations - http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/glr.pdf

The Great Lakes Region (GLR) straddles countries in eastern and central Africa (see Figure 5). Mpangala presents five approaches (conceptions) to defining the region. The broadest

of these conceptions is one that takes the region to be all the countries bordering Lakes Victoria, Tanganyika and Nyasa, the three water sources considered as the Great Lakes of Africa. In this regard, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda, are thought to be the 'core countries' of the region, in addition to Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia.[22] Other definitions are more restrictive, but all seem to agree that the name of the region was derived from the fresh water lakes and river basins in central and eastern Africa. It is the geopolitical considerations, based on the conflict dynamics touching the countries concerned that helped in popularising the concept.[23] A regional mechanism that seeks to provide a collective institutional representation of all the countries of the region, the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR), provides an even broader definition. Its eleven member states span states in central (like Burundi and the Central African Republic), eastern (like Rwanda, Sudan) and southern Africa (such as Angola and Zambia).

Conflict systems and dynamics in the GLR

Since the Rwandan genocide of 1994 and the so-called 'Africa's World War' in the DRC in the late 1990s, the GLR has been known for instability and intractable conflicts, which are often localised within a country with clear regional ramifications, either as effects or sources of influence.

In Rwanda in 1990, a Tutsi-dominated rebel group called the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) began seriously challenging the two-decade regime of the then Rwandan Hutu leader, Juvénal Habyarimana. The RPF had been formed in 1988 in refugee camps in neighbouring Uganda, from where a good number of its fighters came. Their incursions into Rwanda marked the beginning of a bitter civil war that later turned into a genocide following the death of Habyarimana in a plane crash on 6 April 1994. He was on his way from peace talks in Arusha, Tanzania. The Rwanda genocide occurred at the same time as the Burundian civil war and shortly before that of the DRC then called Zaire. At the same time, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) was engaged in terror campaigns in northern Uganda; the security outlook of the GLR could not have been gloomier. Far from being a passing storm, the conflict dynamic that was created has proven durable and largely obdurate to regional and international peace initiatives.

Perhaps this is what explains the picture painted by Nelson Alusala at a seminar in July 2012. Alusala discussed the conflict system in the region and tried to explain it in terms of 'ethnic survival and expansionist agendas; geopolitics in the interconnectedness of the countries with trans-boundary ethnicities; historical conflict; and migration patterns, as well as the absence of a hegemonic state in the region to steer efforts towards collective sustainable peace.' He rightly argued that the DRC has borne the brunt of this regionalisation of insecurity.[24] Indeed, the conflict in the DRC has, since mid-1998, attracted the involvement and interest of many countries in the region, prompting some to describe it as 'Africa's World War'. According to Baregu, the war that began in the DRC around August 1998 'did not only attract Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, Angola, Chad, Namibia and Zimbabwe very directly but also, at some points, other countries including the Central African Republic, Sudan, Tanzania, South Africa and Zambia have been involved in one way or another'.[25]

In his attempt to explain this situation, Christopher Williams borrows from the realist theory in International Relations to argue that the web created by this 'Second Congo War' can be explained by the realist concept of 'security dilemma' and the logic that 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend'. In other words, it was – and largely is still – a game of alliance making among states and non-state actors who seek to ensure their own security, survival and interests.[26] According to Williams, Rwanda intervened in the DRC mainly to eliminate

the bases of the Interahamwe forces and ex-elements of the Rwandan army (FAR) who had sought refuge in eastern DRC after the genocide; Burundi followed a similar logic to cut the ground from under the feet of the Forces for Defence and Democracy (FDD), a Burundian Hutu rebel group that was using the DRC as a sanctuary; and Uganda sought to break the bases of the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), a Ugandan rebel movement that was launching audacious cross-border attacks from Congolese territory. All three acted against the Kabila government in Kinshasa. Although he acknowledges other motivations such as economic and hegemonic interests, in all this, he claims that Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia intervened on the side of Kabila for a mixture of ideological and, particularly for Zimbabwe, mercantile considerations, though Angola sought also to eliminate the threat of its then main rebel movement, UNITA.[27] Whatever motivations the various actors may have had, it is clear that the conflict dynamics in the GLR are very much influenced by such alliances. Even presently, groups described as 'negative forces', particularly the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), the Allied Democratic Forces/ National Army for the Liberation of Uganda (ADF/NALU), the LRA and the National Liberation Forces (FNL) of Burundi, were still active in the DRC and the region.

Regional peace initiatives and efforts

Given the broad geographic span, regional organisations and mechanisms that have had interest and cause to undertake peace-making initiatives in the GLR are many. The most active ones have been, in the last few years, the ICGLR, the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), as well as the African Union (AU). Of significance is the fact that the DRC, which has been at the centre of the conflict systems in the region, is a member of all these regional bodies. It thus provides a good example for analysis of efforts aimed at finding a solution to the crises in the DRC, particularly in its eastern regions.

Perhaps the most important regional initiative in this regard is the 'Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Region', a Framework Agreement that was negotiated by the AU, the secretariat of the ICGLR and SADC – with active support from the UN. It was signed at the AU Commission in Addis Ababa on 24 February 2013. It should be noted that prior to this, the ICGLR had entrusted Uganda with the task of mediating between the government of the DRC and the then M23 rebel movement.[28] It is also worth noting that it was at the behest of the countries of the ICGLR and SADC, supported by the AU, that the UN agreed to establish an Intervention Brigade within its peacekeeping mission in the DRC (MONUSCO), with a view of engaging offensive attacks against the negative forces.[29] Indeed, the credit of defeating the M23 movement goes largely to this force, staffed mainly by military personnel from Malawi, South Africa and Tanzania.

The Framework Agreement identifies a number of commitments to be taken by the government of the DRC, states of the region and the wider international community. With regard to the DRC government, for example, it is expected 'to continue and deepen security sector reform, particularly with respect to the Army and Police' and to consolidate state authority, particularly in eastern DRC, 'including, to prevent armed groups from destabilising neighbouring countries.' DRC committed 'not to interfere in the internal affairs of neighbouring countries' and 'to neither tolerate nor provide assistance or support of any kind to armed groups'.

One important aspect of this agreement is its establishment of an 11+ 4 mechanism to ensure its implementation. In this equation, the number 11 refers to the number of signatory countries of the region, including the DRC, Rwanda, Angola, Congo, Uganda, Burundi and South Africa, while the number 4 refers to the AU, UN, SADC and ICGLR,

which are the institutional guarantors of the agreement. These four guarantors held their first review meeting in Addis Ababa on 1st December 2014. By the time this chapter was finalised, the Framework Agreement was considered to still hold and fulfil its objectives.[30]

The Broader Horn of Africa Region

Figure 6: *The Horn of Africa*



Source: *Nautical Log - http://nauticallog.blogspot.co.ke/2011_04_01_archive.html*

The Horn of Africa (HoA) is a geostrategic region covering some countries in eastern Africa, particularly Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan (see Figure 6). Some use the term of 'Greater' or 'Broader' Horn of Africa, extending the region to countries such as Kenya and Uganda and even beyond. In this chapter, we adopt this latter definition of the region, justified in this by the linkages between the conflict dynamics across demarcation lines among these countries. Subsequently, the broader HoA will be used in this chapter to include the seven member states of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), namely Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda, in addition to South Sudan.

Conflict systems and dynamics in the broader Horn of Africa

In a paper on what he described as 'webs of conflict' in the HoA, Paul Williams argues that the region is one of the world's most conflicted zones by any criteria. He goes on to identify eight 'clusters' of distinct but interrelated conflict systems in the region, as at October 2011. Theses clusters include: (i) the conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia; (ii) the cluster of conflicts centred on Somalia; (iii) tensions between the Sudan and South Sudan; (iv) conflicts within South Sudan; (v) conflicts within Sudan; (vi) intra-Ethiopian conflicts; (vii) the destabilisation effect of the activities of the LRA in northern Uganda and elsewhere in the region; and (viii) the low-intensity conflicts concerning armed cattle-raiding in the border areas between Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and Sudan.[31] Apart from the intra-Ethiopian conflicts and the inter-Sudanese disputes, it can be argued that all the rest were still active in early 2015.

The conflict between the two Sudans seems to have subsided giving way to intra-South Sudanese conflicts since late 2013, the exception being the situation over Abyei. These conflicts have seen fighting between forces loyal to the South Sudanese President Salva Kiir and those supporting his former deputy Riek Machar. This situation apparently stems from the persistence of unresolved disputes within the ruling party and the army, linked to disagreements over leadership in Juba. The conflict has also taken an ethnic dimension between the Nuer groups and the Dinka.[32]

In Somalia, the country has been in turmoil since the fall of the Siad Barre regime in early 1991, which followed several years of instability and infighting between the Barre regime and various armed groups from the late 1980s. As the Barre regime collapsed and the myriad of armed groups that were fighting against it did not find a common ground on which to collectively rule the country, Somalia became a truly Hobbesian anarchical state where warlords carved the country into enclaves and fiefdoms. Through several failed attempts at stabilising the country and reviving its erstwhile central authority, including a failed UN peacekeeping operation in the early 1990s, the pre-1991 form of the Somali state was dealt a big blow when Somaliland decided to part ways with the federal project. The situation is also often put to test by Puntland's regular disagreements with the Federal Somali authorities. Militia groups have emerged along mainly clan and regional lines. Somalia has become a textbook case of a 'failed state', and almost the only country in contemporary history to have existed without a central authority for more than two decades.[33] The intervention of some countries of the region in support of one party or the other, particularly Ethiopia and Djibouti, brought a regional dynamic to the conflict.

The most promising prospects of stability in the country came from the adoption of a Transitional Charter in 2004 and the successful completion, on 20 August 2012, of the third transitional arrangement since the first one ushered in by the Arta Declaration of 2000.[34] Mention should be made here of the important role that the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) has played in the stabilisation of the country since its deployment in 2007, with troops from Burundi, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Sierra Leone and Uganda and police forces from Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, Sierra Leone and Uganda. These factors have allowed for a gradual revival of a viable Somali state. Presently, the Al-Shabaab movement and its terrorist activities aimed at the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS), civilians and representatives of regional and international organisations, constituted the main threat to stability in the country.

In the Sudan, it should be recalled that the government and the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) signed a landmark Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005, after more than two decades of a fratricidal civil war (1983-2005), which had resulted into thousands of victims in the country. Fought against the background of discontent

of southerners due to real or perceived marginalisation and discrimination, the CPA established a system of power and wealth-sharing between the ruling government in Khartoum and the leadership of the SPLA, leading to the peaceful and consensual independence of South Sudan following a mid-2011 referendum. Like in the case of Somalia and perhaps due to Sudan's geographic position and the ethnic alliances across borders as well as the cultural and religious underpinnings of the conflict, it drew other actors in the region and from further afield in support of one or the other party. Arguably, this conflict and that of Somalia have so far been the main catalysts of a regional conflict system in the broader HoA.

Link the case of Somalia, the conflict in the Sudan brought a clear regional dimension in that some countries of the region supported the Government in Khartoum while others aided the SPLA This situation continued until the independence referendum of South Sudan in January 2011.

As the government in Khartoum was busy negotiating the CPA with the SPLA in the South, armed rebellions broke out in early 2003 in the three Western regions that constitute Darfur. The armed rebellions were spearheaded by the Darfur Liberation Front (renamed in early 2003 as the Sudan Liberation Army – SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM). The two movements seemed to differ in their political philosophies, but both purported that their struggle was aimed at ending what they considered as the economic and political marginalisation of the people of Darfur.[35]

Still engaged with the SPLA in the South and rather surprised by the coherent and fierce nature of rebel attacks, the central government in Khartoum 'sub-contracted' the counter-insurgency war to local Arab militias called *Janjaweed* or 'outlaws on camelback', as Alhagi Marong rightly translates it.[36] The ensuing war between government forces and these two rebel movements has had serious effects on the civilian populations of Darfur, with many horrendous crimes committed against them, including mass killings, rape, destruction of their property and livelihood and the displacement of hundreds of thousands of them. This massive suffering of civilian populations led in late 2003 and early 2004 to claims of genocide and ethnic cleansing allegedly perpetrated by the Sudanese government and their allied militias.[37] It is these accusations that brought the International Criminal Court (ICC) on board the Darfuri conflict. The then ICC Prosecutor eventually indicting the Sudanese leader, Omar Hassan Al-Bashir, in July 2008, for alleged war crimes and crimes against humanity, and later of genocide. At the time this chapter was completed, there was some relative calm in the country albeit conflict still persisted, particularly in the South Kordofan and Blue Nile states.

With regard to recent inter-state conflicts, the conflict that took place between Ethiopia and Eritrea from 1998 to 2000 is noteworthy. The conflict ended following the signing of the Algiers Agreement of December 2000, which was mediated by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). However, the border dispute between the two countries seems to persist despite a ruling of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in April 2002. It seems that this now latent conflict between Ethiopia and its small Eritrean neighbour has had an impact on a similar but less grave conflict between Eritrea and Djibouti, which stemmed from border disputes going back to 1994 and particularly since 1999 amid the Ethiopian-Eritrean conflict.[38]

Regional peace initiatives and efforts

Most regional peace initiatives and efforts in the broader HoA have been spearheaded by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the AU. On the Sudan, the OAU and later AU assisted IGAD in its efforts in the negotiation of the CPA that

the Government of Sudan and the SPLM signed in 2005. On the Darfur crisis, the AU established, in March 2009, a High Level Panel on Darfur (AUPD), led by former South African president, Thabo Mbeki, and including former Nigerian president, Abdulsalami Abubaker, and former Burundian president Pierre Buyoya. Assisted by a team of experts, members of the AUPD held extensive discussions with Sudanese stakeholders, exploring ways in which peace, justice and reconciliation for Darfur can be achieved in a complementary manner. While the situation has not yet been totally resolved in Darfur, seemingly, the work of this Panel made an important contribution to the relative stability that prevails in that region as at the time of writing this chapter.[39]

Likewise, the AU High-Level Implementation Panel on the Sudan and South Sudan (AUHIP) has played an important role in facilitating negotiations between the two Sudan on post-secession relations and outstanding issues in the CPA, and in assisting the normalisation of relations between the two States. The Panel also facilitated the signing, in September 2012, of a Cooperation Agreement and agreements on eight other issues, covering security arrangements, oil and transitional financial arrangements, the status of nationals of one country resident in the other, post-service benefits, trade, banking, border issues and certain other economic matters.[40]

Similar efforts have been put in the resolution of intra-South Sudanese conflict between president Salva Kiir and his former deputy, Machar. Mediated by IGAD since 2014, this regional initiative has produced significant results in reducing the tension in this fratricidal conflict within the newest country of Africa.[41] In fact, on 23 February 2015, began what the Chairperson of IGAD's Special Envoys for South Sudan hoped to be the final session of these negotiations expected to lead to the formation, by mid-July 2015, of a Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU) in South Sudan.[42] This TGNU was eventually formed in April 2016, in which Kiir retains the post of President and Machar holds that of first vice-president and both appointed cabinet members.

The efforts of the AU and individual countries within the HoA, in Somalia, are well noted through the deployment of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). This is more extensively dealt with elsewhere in this book (chapter 15).

The AU-led Regional Cooperation Initiative for the Elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army (RCI-LRA) is another example of regional efforts. This initiative was authorised by the PSC in November 2011 and became operational in March 2012. It aims at strengthening the operational capability of the countries affected by atrocities of the LRA, creating an environment conducive to the stabilisation of the affected areas, and facilitating the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the affected areas. It can be argued that the establishment of the RCI-LRA has facilitated greater commitment from the countries of the region and galvanised the international partners in the fight against the LRA.

The Sahel and Maghreb Regions

The Maghreb region is composed of the countries of North Africa. Some include Egypt in the Maghreb while others exclude it. In this study, Egypt is considered as part of the Maghreb. In the case of the Sahel, the chapter adopts the definition used by the AU in its Strategy for the Sahel Region. According to this Strategy adopted by the Peace and Security Council of the AU in August 2014, the Sahel is composed of all the countries located on the two banks of the Sahara, separating Sub-Saharan and North Africa. These includes countries such as Algeria, Mauritania and Libya in North Africa; Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger in West Africa; Chad in Central Africa; and the Sudan in eastern Africa.

Conflict systems and dynamics in the Sahel and Maghreb Regions

With regard to conflict systems, it should be noted that prior to the 2010/2011 'Arab Spring' that started in Tunisia in late 2010, Algeria was the only North African country to have experienced generalised instability. The Algerian civil war was as vicious as those of Liberia and Sierra Leone, in terms of atrocities committed and the number of victims claimed. This war began in 1992, following the annulment, in December 1991, of the results of the first round of legislative elections won by the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) party. For almost a decade, the Algerian security forces battled with various armed groups, some of which engaged in various criminal and terrorist activities, claiming thousands of lives.[43]

The Arab Spring brought Libya, which until then seemed very stable, to a conflict system that has had serious negative effects on the Sahel region. Frustrated by the combined effects of political oppression, grand corruption of senior government officials, huge gaps between those close to power and ordinary people, and growing levels of poverty and unemployment among the majority of the populations, particularly the educated youths, hundreds of thousands of Tunisian and Egyptian populations revolted against their leaders, Zine el-Abedine Ben Ali and Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, culminating in their downfall on 14 January and 11 February 2011 respectively.

In Libya, protests began in mid-February 2011 against the four-decade-old rule of Col. Muammar Qaddafi. The 'protesters' attacked a number of military barracks and soon after, whole military contingents joined them with their arsenal. This set the Libyan uprising apart from the Tunisian and Egyptian ones, as it took the shape of an armed rebellion. The uncompromising discourse and the ruthless crushing of the protest by the Qaddafi regime led to the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) severely condemning the attacks (23 February 2011) and the UN Security Council referring the situation in Libya to the ICC in the Hague while also imposing a no-fly zone of the country, through Resolutions 1970 (2011) of 26 February 2011 and Resolution 1973 (2011) of 17 March 2011. Based on these resolutions, a coalition of mainly Western countries, spearhead by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), engaged controversial military operations, which consisted mainly of bombing Qaddafi's military positions and giving air cover to the rebels that the 'protesters' had become. In the end, Qaddafi was assassinated in August 2011, putting an end to his rule, but exposing his country to instability and lawlessness, with the whole Sahel region bearing the brunt of this chaos[44]. In the region, Mali became the main victim of this regional instability, a case we have extensively dealt with in another chapter of this book (chapter 9).

Last but not least, the security landscape in the Sahel has been greatly marked by the activities of Boko Haram and the Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). The latter having been dealt with in the aforementioned chapter on Mali, the focus here is on Boko Haram. There are a number of narratives about the origins of this group. Some contend that it was initially a social protest movement against perceived underdevelopment in the north-eastern Nigerian regions where it is active; others see their roots in pure criminality and political violence that has gone out of control; Still other analysts argue that the group has been rooted in a religious extremist ideological war from the start. Whatever the case, Boko Haram came to prominence in 2009 when the Nigerian security forces, under the orders of the then President Musa Umar Yar'Adua, launched ruthless attacks against the group, killing its declared leader.[45] It has since engaged in all sorts of criminal activities aimed both at terrorising the people and financing its operations, which have mainly been concentrated in the three north-eastern Nigerian states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa, bordering Cameroon and Chad.

Perhaps one unique characteristic of the security environment in this region – compared to other regions of the continent – over the last few years has been the

increasing number and constant occurrences of political violence and even criminal activities with religious instrumentalisation, particularly Islam. The region has therefore featured very prominently in the global discourse of 'war against terrorism', a situation that is made more pronounced with the activities of Boko Haram, the AQIM and the likes.

It is worth noting that describing such groups as "Islamists" or "Jihadists" favour them in their exploitation and instrumentalisation of religion. This is because the first term "Islamist" is etymologically directly taken from Islam, whereas the second one "Jihad" stems from an Islamic notion, but which has various meanings. Some insist on using them because these groups claim they represent Islam and are fighting for it. But this is a baseless argument for an analyst, as the same claims by other groups pretending to represent other religions, like the Lord Resistance Army (LRA) in northern Uganda,[46] have not led, and rightly so, to the coining of similar epithets from their religion. Efforts by some analysts to make a distinction between "Muslim" and "Islamist" have proven futile, as debates are always rife about Islam and its purported relationship with violence whenever an atrocity is committed by groups considered as "Islamists".

The conceptual hollowness of the term "jihadist" in referring to terrorist and criminal groups is clearer when one understands the literary meaning of this term, that is, "struggle". For example, a ministry in Algeria is called Ministry of Mujahideen, meaning the ministry of independence war veterans. Also, it is evident and Muslim scholars have proven that there is nothing holy in the atrocities committed by these groups if one were to take the term to mean 'holy war'. Such descriptions only help to obscure the many other – political, criminal, personal or even psychological – factors that lead groups or individuals to undertake acts that are often indiscriminately wrapped in religious blanket, even when the religious consideration is little or non-existent, as proven by the Chicago Project on Suicide Terrorism.[47]

Regional peace initiatives and efforts

As can be seen in the geographic demarcation above of the region, it transcends the boundaries of any single Regional Economic Community. It is the ECOWAS and ECCAS that have been active in regional peace initiatives in addition to the AU.

On Libya, the AU appointed Dileita Mohamed Dileita, former Prime Minister of Djibouti as Special Envoy for Libya in June 2014, to coordinate the AUs actions on the ground and engage with the Libyan stakeholders. Through Dileita and its liaison office in the Libyan capital, Tripoli, the AU has been closely monitoring the situation and engaging with both the Libyan and the regional and international stakeholders. Following the PSC meeting held in New York at the margins of the UN General Assembly, on 23 September 2014, an International Contact Group for Libya (ICG-L) was established to facilitate a coordinated and harmonised international engagement in Libya. The Group convened its inaugural meeting in Addis Ababa on 3 December 2014, and its second one at the margin of the 24th Summit of the AU Heads of State and Government in Addis Ababa in January 2015.[48] The approach of the AU has rightly been to support a political solution rather than a military one, given the deep polarisation of the Libyan society since the fall of Qaddafi, and the difficulty of choosing sides. The AU has thus supported the efforts of the UN and the neighbouring countries of Libya.

On Mali, the efforts of ECOWAS and AU in the conclusions of the Framework Agreement of April 2012 and the Ouagadougou Preliminary Agreement of June 2013, as well as the deployment of the African-led International Support Mission for Mali (AFISMA) have been noted in the chapter on Mali (chapter 10).

On Boko Haram, there have been sustained and concerted efforts by the countries directly affected by its atrocities, as well as by regional organisations. Countries of the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC) and Benin as well as other members of the AU have been actively involved in efforts aimed at neutralising and removing the threat of Boko Haram. The LCBC countries and Benin have held a number of important meetings since October 2014, including an extraordinary summit of Heads of State and Government, held in Niamey, Niger, on 7 October 2014, and several meetings in Abuja (Nigeria), Yaoundé (Cameroon) and Niamey. At their 5th ministerial meeting held in Niamey on 20 January 2015, Foreign Affairs and Defence ministers of the LCBC countries and Benin agreed to set up a Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) to fight against the group.

On the part of the AU, the PSC has held several meetings that considered strategies of fighting the group, including a meeting at the level of Heads of States and Government during the AU Summit on 29 January 2015. During this meeting, the PSC approved the deployment of the MNJTF, as requested by the LCBC countries and Benin, and supported by other regional organisations, particularly ECOWAS, to which Nigeria and Niger belong, and ECCAS, of which Cameroon and Chad are members.

In the period from 5 to 7 February 2015, experts of four LCBC member states (Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria) and Benin gathered in the Cameroonian capital, Yaoundé, to finalise the operational documents of the MNJTF. Assisted by experts from the AU Commission, they finalised the draft Concept of operation (CONOPS) of the Force, including the Rules of Engagement and elements of mission support. On 3 March 2015, the PSC approved the CONOPS and paved the way for the deployment of the force. The election of Muhammadu Buhari at the presidency in Nigeria in the 28 March 2015 elections gave further impetus to this process, as he more eagerly than his predecessor engaged with countries of the region to take on the insurgent group.

The Southern African Region

The identification of the countries making up the Southern African Region (SAR) can be made based on the membership of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). They comprise Angola, Botswana, DRC, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This demarcation is utilised in this chapter, because it remains the best option available in spite of the shortcomings in including countries such as the DRC and Malawi, which are considered also as members of some of the aforementioned geostrategic regions.

Conflict systems and dynamics in the Southern African Region

Of all the regions discussed, the establishment of a regional conflict system in the SAR is the most difficult in the period under consideration. It is true that, up until the early 1990s, several countries of the region experienced high levels of violence due in large part to exclusive white-minority rule, including Apartheid, and the effects of the Cold War rivalries and involvements in the region. The violence in the case of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa was with regard to minority rule, while that in Angola and Mozambique were in relation to the Cold War rivalries. These latter two countries developed an interesting and perhaps unique form of conflict after their independence: brutal civil wars between two former liberation movements, one in government and other in the bush, conflicts that continued well into the 21st century. Also, in both these two categories of countries, albeit more so in the case of the first batch, the issue of land reform and redistribution remains one with high conflict potential. Both during the Cold War era and since the beginning

of the 21st century, two small countries and a third big one of the region have continued to experience chronic political instability, only short of an open armed conflict. These are Comoros, Lesotho and Madagascar, although with no direct link among their situations of instability.

Until recently and for several years since its independence in 1975, and particularly since the late 1990s, the Comoros has experienced serious and chronic political instability, at times threatening the survival of the union between its three islands.[49] In August 1997, a little over a year after the election of Mohamed Taki Abdoulkarim in the 2nd round of the presidential elections of March 1996 and until then the second ever peaceful transfer of power since the country's independence, leaders in the island of Anjouan declared their secession from the Union, composed also of the islands of Moheli and Grand Comoros. This created a grave political crisis amid serious economic difficulties in the country. Abdoulkarim died in mysterious circumstances on 6 November 1998 and was replaced by Tajidine Ben Saïd Massonde as Interim President. On 30 April 1999, General Azali Assoumani, then Chief of Staff of the army, staged a military coup against president Massonde, adding an institutional crisis – at the level of the federal government – to the secessionist one. At the heart of these crises was the issue of how best to manage relations between the three islands in a way that each would have a meaningful say in the affairs of a united country. But, also the issue of access to power in Moroni was another factor.

The efforts of the OAU and countries of the region, South Africa in particular, helped to keep the unity of the country through a political dialogue process and the adoption of a new constitution in 2001. However, the apparent secessionist propensity of Anjuan continued to create problems in the federal arrangements in the country. In fact, a conflict of competencies between the Union government and the islands led to a serious political crisis in 2007 in the island of Anjouan. The then president of this island, Col. Mohamed Bacar, tried to challenge the union government and stay in power after the end of his term. This crisis necessitated the first military intervention of the AU launched in March 2008 under code name "Democracy in Comoros", which eventually ousted Bacar from power.

The situation in the Kingdom of Lesotho is not much different from that of Comoros in terms of political instability. Writing in 1996 and attributing the situation mainly to what he considered as the failure of the Basotho nation-building as a functional state, Francis Makoa wrote about the instability in the country in these terms: 'There has been little or no political stability in Lesotho since independence. The enclave country has been plagued by violent power struggles, politically motivated assassinations and coups. The restoration of constitutional rule in March 1993 has not brought stability to the kingdom'.[50] Matlosa, writing the following year, concurs with Makoa in some regards, arguing that the chronic instability in this country stems from a key structural issue. According to him, this issue is illustrated by the tendency, if not a preoccupation, of all Basotho political elites with the accumulation of power at the expense of their opponents whom they always strive to undermine. Interestingly, Matlosa ties this to elections that, in his view, have been main catalysts of waves of political instability in the kingdom.[51] Indeed, be it the refusal of a sitting regime to hand over power to the candidate who won the election or attempts of opposition figures to destabilise the sitting Prime minister in parliament or through military intervention, elections have been, somehow, midwives of political instability in Lesotho.

The latest round of instability witnessed in August/September 2014 was also related to inter-party power struggle. True, the most direct trigger of the crisis emanated from the reported attempted assassination on Lieutenant-General Maaparankoe Mahao who had just been appointed as the Chief of the Army by Prime Minister Thomas Thabane. The attempted assassination was blamed on security officers thought to be close to and

under the orders of the discharged army chief, Lieutenant-General Tlali Kamoli, accused of leading a coup attempt against the Prime Minister in late August 2014. This came amid growing tensions between the three parties of the coalition government formed by Thabane after the 2012 general elections that did not produce a majority party able to form a government on its own.[52]

Regional peace initiatives and efforts

On the Comoros, the main regional peace initiatives and efforts have come from the OAU/AU and South Africa. For example, following the 1997 crisis, the OAU worked with the Comorian parties for several months with a view to overcoming this crisis. The OAU eventually succeeded in getting them to sign the agreement best known as the Fomboni Accord of 2000/2001. Amongst other things, this Accord provided for a new constitution that established a system of rotational presidency between the three islands – themselves made largely autonomous – every four years starting from 2001. Thus, in addition to the Union President and a Congress of the Union (parliament), each island was to elect its own President every five years who might become the Union President if his/her term coincided with the turn of his/her island. Each autonomous island also got to elect their own regional parliament. The Fomboni Accord also allowed the establishment of a transitional period. This was kicked off by the resignation of Azali Assoumani in January 2002, in order to fulfil a condition to stand for the presidential election of May of that year, as per the terms of the Accord. Assoumani, who hailed from Grand Comoros, became the first Union President, followed by Ahmed Abdallah Sambi, of Anjouan, who was elected in May 2006. He was succeeded by Ikilouli Dhoinine, elected in December 2010. He hails from the island of Moheli.

When crises emerged in the course of implementation of the Fomboni Accord, the AU, with particular contribution of South Africa as "anchor state", negotiated another accord on 20 December 2003. Perhaps drawing lessons from Fomboni, which remained the main framework, this accord provided for a Follow-up Committee chaired by the AU, but including other regional and international stakeholders to ensure the implementation of the agreement. As noted earlier, it was in defence of this arrangement that the AU used military force against Col. Bacar in 2008.

In Lesotho, SADC and South Africa have naturally been the architects of almost all the peace initiatives. Being surrounded on all sides by South Africa, the Kingdom of Lesotho is almost dependent on the rainbow nation in most of its needs, including security. However, Pretoria strives to share the burden or privilege of peace-making in the mountainous kingdom with SADC. In September 1998, one of the first SADC-sanctioned peacekeeping missions was deployed in the country by South Africa and Botswana code-named Operation BOLEAS. This came following a request made by the Prime Minister Pakalitha Mosilili who was battling an army mutiny and feared for the stability of the country and even his own security. Even though it was openly criticised by some, who saw in it as a "South African invasion", the nearly seven-month operation succeeded in arresting any further anarchy and instability in the country.[53]

In the most recent crisis, it is SADC again, with a singular role of South Africa, as Chair of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation that stepped in to mediate between the members of the coalition government. Following an emergency meeting in Pretoria on 1 September 2014, the joint statement by the SADC Troika and the leaders of Lesotho's coalition government indicated an acknowledgement by the coalition partners that the political and security situation had deteriorated, and needed immediate intervention and support from SADC. This support came through a political agreement based on a recommitment to the Windhoek Declaration (an agreement facilitated by Namibia's

President Pohamba in August 2014), as well as the agreement to hold the anticipated general elections in early 2015. In the meantime, however, support was provided through the deployment, in Maseru, of a contingent of the South Africa Police Service (SAPS) to reinforce public security in the capital, at the request of the prime minister.[54]

It is these arrangements that facilitated the peaceful holding of the February 2015 general elections in the Kingdom. The South African Minister of International Relations and Cooperation best explains the process in her statement as Head of the SADC Electoral Observation Mission during these polls. She says: "As you are aware, the National Assembly Elections were scheduled to take place in 2017, in accordance with the 5-year provision stipulated in Section 83 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Lesotho. However, due to challenges within the Coalition Government, which led to the deterioration of the political and security situation in the country, SADC facilitated a process of finding political and security stability which culminated in political parties agreeing to hold new National Assembly Elections in February 2015."[55]

Conclusion

The analysis of conflict systems and dynamics in this chapter deliberately adopted a regional approach given that the concern was about regional systems and dynamics. The choice of this approach is also justified by the nature of the conflicts. The key findings above lend credence to this approach. It was observed that conflicts broke out within specific countries (like Liberia in the Mano River Region, Somalia in the HoA, DRC in the GLR and Libya in the Sahel) but affected, or were themselves by dynamics across borders.

Regional efforts and initiatives have also abounded, and some of the main ones were noted. These initiatives have registered successes, but have also experienced challenges stemming from a number of factors. First, the complexity of the conflicts and the depth of grievances affect the success of regional initiatives. Secondly, parties have often put forward purported grievances while their real motivation may be issues of material interests that are not spoken about. This means that peace-making initiatives that are only looking at officially expressed concerns will be less efficient since the real motivations of the parties are left out of the peace process. A third factor is unhealthy rivalry between potential peacemakers, including at regional level. This can be explained partly by the overlapping memberships in organisations by various African countries. The DRC is a case in point, as it is a member of ECCAS, of SADC, and of ICGL, all of which believe they have a stake in resolving the crisis affecting their member state. From the side of the parties, this situation also leads to what is commonly known in mediation literature as 'forum shopping', when the parties play potential mediators against each other based on their own interests.

A final but very important factor is resource limitations. Currently, most regional organisations and mechanisms in Africa, including the AU, are disproportionally dependent on non-African external funding, a situation that is neither sustainable nor healthy. Yet, this situation tends to be even more pronounced with regard to the financing of peace processes and their equally important post-conflict reconstruction processes. The argument is often to say that these processes are very costly and that African countries have limited resources to carry such a 'burden'. While it is true that African countries have limited resources compared to wealthy Western countries, there is surely a need for them to do more in this regard, an effort that is fortunately emerging. The implementation of the report of the Obasanjo Panel on alternative sources of funding for the AU is likely to reduce the level of the continental body's reliance on external partners. This, in turn, is likely to allow for early interventions and structural prevention of conflicts.

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4 Evolution of Peace Support Operations: an African Union context

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Abstract

This chapter reviews the evolution of African Peace Support Operations (PSOs), in the context of intra-state conflicts in Africa, since the 1990s. The period is characterised by a phenomenal rise in the number of disruptive intra-state violent conflicts across the continent and evolution in efforts by leaders to address these conflicts. The review was done through content analysis of critical documents of the defunct Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the African Union (AU), as well as a wide range of extant literature on conflict management, resolution and peace support operations in Africa. These documents facilitated the clarification of the concept of PSO in the African context, justification for the devolution of conflict resolution in Africa to Africans, the explanation of a transition from OAU to the AU regime, and an in-depth appraisal of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). Africa accounts for a high number of violent conflicts in the post-Cold War era, with a huge toll on development within the continent. In the meantime, the global community is increasingly becoming reluctant to send troops and resources to resolve conflicts in Africa. There has also been a lack of political will by governments across the continent, in terms of conflict resolution. This is exacerbated by inadequate institutional capacity for conflict management in the continent. Although Africa significantly lost its geo-strategic importance to Western nations after the Cold War, the continent still retains a significant chunk of the world's reserves of natural resources and raw materials much needed by the West and the world at large. Discussion in the chapter include the identification of models of PSOs in the context of African Union including the AU led operations model; the UN-AU hybrid missions; the AU with a lead nation model; the "coalition of the willing" model; and missions by the AU with one or more Regional Economic Community's (REC) model. Other analysis deal with the major challenges confronting the conduct of PSOs in Africa by Africans. These can be categorised into five: coordination, sustainability, subsidiarity, coherence and partnership. Conceptually, there are also challenges. For instance, neither the AU Constitutive Act nor the Peace and Security Council (PSC) Protocol presents an operational definition of what constitutes a war crime, crime against humanity or genocide. The chapter concludes with considerations on the need to reduce cost and enhance efficiency of PSOs in the African context.

Introduction

This chapter reviews African Peace Support Operations (PSOs), from the perspective of its peculiar trajectory of evolution within the context of intra-state conflicts in Africa, particularly over the last 25 years. Within this period, African PSOs emerged and

evolved against the background of a phenomenal rise in the number of disruptive intra-state violent conflicts across the continent. Since the end of the Cold War in 1989, civil wars have occurred in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi, Angola, Zaire, and Central African Republic among others. However, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) initially had its focus more on securing independence for African States, defending their sovereignty and territorial integrity, including managing or resolving conflicts between Member States.

The OAU, in its almost four decades of existence (1963 - 2002), was inherently deficient in addressing the complex security threats, the challenges of human rights abuse, and the absence of good governance that confronted the continent particularly after the cold war[1]. This lack of capacity became obvious beginning from the 1990s, especially with OAU's failure to manage the conflicts in Chad and later Rwanda. Its transformation became inevitable and therefore in 2002, it was replaced with the African Union (AU), and with frameworks aimed at enhancing conflict prevention and resolution, in support of peace and security within the Continent. This transformation significantly leveraged prevailing circumstances, particularly the expanding prominence of regionalism in collective security mechanisms, especially PSOs, supported by the provisions of Chapter VIII of the UN Charter.

Arguably, PSOs in the 21st century are closely linked to the maintenance of international order, peace and security. Indeed, PSOs have become almost a permanent feature of international life, especially since the last decade of the 20th Century. As collective security instruments PSOs abound at regional and sub-regional organisations such as the African Union (AU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), among others. Consequently, PSOs are being mounted almost for each conflict such that this can be described as a "growth industry"![2]

However, the concept and practice of Peace Operations in the UN and AU slightly differ, although in both contexts they have evolved into complex, multidimensional and increasingly integrated mechanisms. They now involve greater coordination and cooperation among military, police and civilian elements. In the AU context, after a long trajectory, the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) was articulated as the continent's response to the ever growing challenge of intra-state violent conflicts. Peace Operations in the African context now take place within this security architecture, and have undergone remarkable evolution, including a long process of planning, targeted at making the concept of an African Standby Force (ASF) operational by the year 2015. The emergence of the ASF concept, approved in 2004, within the AU's APSA framework has confirmed once again that "*ex Africa sempe aliquid novi* (out of Africa, always something new!)"[3].

This chapter therefore presents the complex course of evolution of African PSOs in five sections. The first section clarifies the concept of PSO and its wide spectrum of related activities. The second presents a background to the evolution. The third section deals with the imperative of conflict resolution in Africa by Africans, under the OAU regime. The fourth section recounts the transition to the AU regime of peace support operations. The fifth section assesses the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). The sixth section underscores major challenges confronting the conduct of African PSOs and the variables that will determine the future of this enterprise in Africa. The chapter concludes with considerations on the need to reduce cost and enhance efficiency of PSOs in the African context.

Conceptual Clarification

The concept of Peace Support Operations (PSOs) describes a collective security phenomenon of significant dynamism. Eric Berman and Katie Sams noted that the terms "peace operations" and "peace support operations" are used interchangeably with the

term "peacekeeping operations", to encompass a broad spectrum of conflict management and resolution techniques.[4] Nevertheless, PSOs still retain some peculiar features in its conceptualisation by different scholars or organisations. Contemporary PSOs are also being conditioned by the reality of war on terror and a range of issues that require diverse skills from the military, police and civilian components of missions.

Against this background, *International Alert* has conceived PSO as an operation undertaken to assist in creating an environment that is free from war and strife.[5] It encompasses all dimensions of peacekeeping operations by the international community from the complex multi-dimensional operations to more directly visible observer operations.[6]

Furthermore, Peace Support Operations may be the traditional UN sanctioned peacekeeping with its emphasis on consent, legitimacy and impartiality, but may also involve coercive effort to impose settlement on belligerents, or even humanitarian intervention where military measures are taken to alleviate human suffering in failed or failing states[7]. The UK Ministry of Defence sees PSO as "an operation that impartially makes use of diplomatic, civil and military means, normally in pursuit of United Nations Charter purposes and principles, to restore or maintain peace."[8]

In the African Standby Force PSO doctrine, "PSOs are multifunctional operations in which impartial activities of diplomatic, military and civilian components, including police, rule of law and civilian administration, normally in pursuit of United Nations Charter purposes and principles, work to restore or maintain peace in a mandated area of operation. The term is often used synonymously with the term 'peace missions'."[9]

In the Civilian Dimension of the African Standby Force document of the Peace Support Operations Division of the African Union Commission, three concepts are used for peace operations[10]:

> First, peace operation is used to refer in the broad sense, to all international operations undertaken for the purposes of achieving or maintaining peace. This category excludes war, but includes international or regional operations with a prevention, stabilisation, protection of civilians, peacekeeping and peacebuilding mandate.
>
> Second, the concept of peacekeeping is used more narrowly when referring to United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations and this category would include all UN peacekeeping operations as defined and described in the UN's Capstone Doctrine[11].
>
> Third, Peace Support Operations is used to refer to all the operations that have been undertaken by the AU or that are foreseen in the ASF. PSO is the term used in the ASF doctrine and policy documents and includes all operations undertaken in the support of peace, as provided for in the AU's peace and security protocol.

A Peace Support Operation, irrespective of its manner of conceptualisation, is constituted with the mandate of protecting lives, safeguarding human rights, re-establishing conditions for peace, human security and stability, and increasing people's capacity to deal with crisis and the reconstruction of their societies".[12] It therefore covers a wide spectrum of activities, which are becoming increasingly more and more complex and integrated. The spectrum includes peacemaking, peace enforcement, peacekeeping, peace building and preventive action. These and related concepts are briefly described subsequently.

a. **Peacemaking**: Peacemaking, according to the United Nations, is targeted at bringing on-going conflicts to an end by using the tools of diplomacy, mediation and negotiation.[13] Peacemakers may be envoys of Governments, groups of States,

sub-regional, regional organisations or the United Nations (UN). They may also be unofficial and non-governmental groups or prominent personalities who are working independently.[14]

b. **Peace Enforcement**: Peace enforcement involves operations that are carried out to restore peace between belligerent parties who do not consent to intervention by peacemaking and who may continue to engage in combat activities.[15] It is a procedure duly provided for in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. It involves offensive military actions against obdurate parties, and the UN Security Council does not deploy forces directly for such operations. Therefore, they are usually undertaken as regional security initiatives or entrusted to coalitions of willing States, with the authorisation of the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter.[16]

c. **Peacekeeping**: Peacekeeping, is not explicitly outlined in the UN Charter, but has been in practice for over six decades. It is defined as a third-party intervention that, one, Involves the deployment of military troops and/or military observers and/or civilian police in a target state; two, established for the purpose of separating conflict parties, monitoring ceasefires, maintaining buffer zones, and taking responsibility for the security situation (among other things) between formally, potentially, or presently warning parties; and three, Is neutral towards the conflict parties, but not necessarily impartial towards their behaviour.[17]

d. **Peacebuilding**: According to Michael Small, "peacebuilding is the effort to strengthen the prospects for internal peace and decrease the likelihood of violent conflict. The overarching goal of peacebuilding is to enhance the indigenous capacity of a society to manage conflict without violence.[18] Cedric de Coning posits that Peacebuilding is a complex system that consists of multiple short, medium and long term programmes that simultaneously addresses both the causes and consequences of a conflict. In the short term, peacebuilding programmes assist in stabilising the peace process and preventing a relapse into violent conflict. In the long term, peacebuilding programmes, collectively and cumulatively address the root causes of a conflict and lay the foundations for social-justice and sustainable peace."[19]

e. **Preventive Action:** Preventive Action has been defined as: "actions to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur".[20] Among the most notable components of preventive action are Early warning; Preventive diplomacy, including the use of good offices; Preventive deployment; Preventive disarmament, including arms embargoes; Preventive humanitarian assistance; and Preventive peacebuilding.

f. **Integration.** In the AU context, integration is used generally to refer to multidimensional coordination and cooperation. The AU Integrated Mission Planning Team (IMPT) refers to a mechanism where the military, police and civilian planning functions are combined in one process, as opposed to the UN's Integrated Mission Task Force (IMTF), which refers to the coming together of planners from the UNDPKO and planners from the UN Development Group (UNDG), the UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and other UN agencies.

Integration in the AU and other non-UN contexts means combining certain functions, typically the military, police and civilian (which includes substantive and mission support functions), in multi-dimensional or complex operations.[21] The AU's integrated approach is however, derived largely but not entirely from the UN's concept of integrated approach.

Former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan argued that "an integrated mission is based on a common strategic plan and a shared understanding of the priorities and types of programme interventions that need to be undertaken at various stages of the recovery process".[22] In the same vein, UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon has reaffirmed that the integrated approach remains a guiding principle for all conflict and post-conflict situations where the UN has a country team and a multidimensional peacekeeping operation or a political or peace-building office, regardless of whether these missions are structurally integrated or not.[23]

In summary, the AU endorses the concept of peace support operations in preference to that of peacekeeping as used in the UN context. The Protocol relating to the establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the AU, which came into force on 26 December 2003, embraces an expanded and comprehensive agenda for peace and security that includes conflict prevention, early warning, preventive diplomacy, peace-making, peace-building, the promotion of democratic practices, humanitarian action and disaster management.[24]

Background to the Evolution

The need for Africa to develop the capacity for managing its plethora of conflicts was reinforced by five major factors. First, Africa disproportionately accounts for a high number of violent conflicts in the post-Cold War era, with a huge toll on development within the continent. Second, the global community is increasingly reluctant to send troops and resources to resolve conflicts in Africa. However, the West has taken keen interest in assisting Africa build the capacity to respond to conflicts on the continent. Third, there has been a gross lack of political will by governments across the continent, in terms of conflict resolution. Fourth, there has also been inadequate institutional capacity for conflict management. Fifth, although Africa significantly lost its geo-strategic importance to Western nations after the Cold War, the continent still retains a significant chunk of natural resources and raw materials much needed by the West and the world at large. These factors are further discussed subsequently.

First, conflicts in the continent permeate national, sub-regional and regional spheres. They spread to neighbouring countries, affect sub-regional solidarity and undermine continental progress. Yet, African states are poorly prepared to manage these conflicts. Institutional frameworks for the management of these conflicts, until recently, were either non-existent or grossly inadequate in terms of expertise, required material, resources and logistics. That is why the most pressing problem in Africa today is not conflict *per se* because conflict is an intrinsic fact of life in any society. Rather, it is the absence of a strong culture and commitment to a peaceful resolution of conflicts. However, no matter the intrinsic nature of conflicts, according to Zartman; "there comes a time in every conflict situation when the conflict is ripe for resolution."[25] A conflict may be ripe for resolution when the belligerents perceive or can be made to perceive that it is in their interest to seek a negotiated settlement towards restoring peace and security.

Secondly, the increasing reluctance of the West to commit soldiers in resolving conflicts in Africa may have been influenced by the experience of the United States of America in Somalia – 'Black Hawk Down'. This point was driven home to Africans by the genocide experience of Rwanda in 1994. Further, it has been confirmed by the energised interest in assisting Africa develop its capacity for interventions in conflicts, and for the management of conflicts on the continent, without much recourse to external assistance.

Thirdly, governments and heads of states across the continent have shown a lack of commitment to decisive actions such as, the use of peace support operations in the

resolution of conflicts on the continent. This is demonstrated in the case of interventions in Chad (OAU mission in 1981). This mission was not accorded the necessary political commitment, even by governments that contributed troops. Nigeria was left to provide both leadership and finance. Even the OAU was noted for not having sufficient political will to decisively resolve conflicts. An example of this is the laxity in handling racist and apartheid regimes in the continent. Therefore, the OAU's response to conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Burundi, was inadequate .

Fourth, corollary to the lack of political will is lack of institutional capacity by the OAU to mount PSOs. Although the Cairo Declaration of 1993 was revolutionary within the prevailing OAU context, the institutional arrangement for the new mechanism - Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (MCPMR) – to be implemented was inadequate and suffered lack of attention. Yet the number of crises and conflicts on the continent was on the rise, with increasingly severe consequences. Thus, interventions by the UN became indispensable, thereby making the continent, the largest consumer of peacekeeping.

Fifth, there is still a profound interest in Africa's natural resources. The continent remains a significant store house of natural resources for the world. In this regard, the interests of multinational organisations and companies remain a significant factor in driving or de-escalating violent conflicts in the continent. The neglect of Rwanda during the genocide has been partly explained by the fact that this country had no resources to offer that could sufficiently engage the interest of any member of the P5. However, in the same vein, analysts have wondered why France was insistent on salvaging Habyarimana's government.

These factors were germane to the decision to transform the OAU into the AU. The latter would have an arrangement more robust and decisive for taking political action, as expressed by Article 4(h) of the AU Constitutive Act. This was particularly so for peace support operations, that incorporates African experiences in peacekeeping as was seen in ECOMOG. Although the OAU and AU phases are intermingled, for purposes of discussion, they have been distinguished in this chapter, and discussed in separate sections.

OAU Regime of Conflict Resolution

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU), founded in 1963, became the continent's pre-eminent platform for the management of conflict. It accepted the continents' pre-independence boundaries as sacrosanct and endorsed the principles of sovereign equality of member states, non – interference in the internal affairs of states, respect for the sovereignty and territorial dignity of member states and their inalienable right to independence even during disputes. These principles undoubtedly influenced the conduct of interstate relations, but proved inadequate for the management of both inter and intra – state conflicts.

The OAU's primary mechanism for conflict resolution was its Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration, which was established under Article XIX of the Organisation's Charter. There were indeed other organs whose functions focused on conflict resolution such as: Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the Council of Ministers, the Secretary General and the Defence Commission. Despite the existence of these organs, conflicts on the continent tended to be resolved rather by ad hoc arrangements which centred around the collective or individual actions of member states, and at times, the initiatives of the administrative Secretary General of the organisation. Indeed, in his study

of conflict resolution initiatives in Africa Imobighe observed that 57 percent of initiatives were taken by individual states as against 43 percent taken by OAU organs.[26]

The OAU recorded many failures in its conflict management and resolution attempts before the 1990s. In 1963, it failed in addressing the conflict between Algeria and Morocco, and the conflict was settled bilaterally without it.[27] In 1964, it was again not able to resolve the conflicts between Ethiopia and Somalia, and the civil war in the Congo. The organisation also failed to resolve the Nigerian civil war (1967 - 1970). This failure in particular, underscored its ineptitude in conflict resolution, probably due to the scale and duration of the violence. Furthermore, its Multinational Neutral Force in Chad (1981-1982) had France playing a lead role, thereby putting the organisation's efforts in the dark.[28]

However, the OAU achieved some modest success in addressing its weaknesses. These include the decision of the 29th Ordinary Session of Assembly of Heads of State and Government in June 1993 in Cairo, Egypt, that established the mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (MCPMR). Unfortunately, this Mechanism was hindered by the principle of non-interference, such that at the end of the Cold War, Africa was described by some scholars as a "club of dictators" and a "hub of populist and socialist ideologies".[29]

It is noteworthy that, despite these limitations, the OAU deployed peace missions, especially between 1981 and the early 2000s, to Chad (1981 - 1982), Rwanda (NMOG I&II 1991 - 1993), Burundi (OMIB 1993 - 1996), Comoros (OMIC I, II & III 1997 - 2002), DRC (1999-2000), and to the Ethiopia-Eritrea conflicts among others. The Heads of States and Government during the OAU Summit of July 1990 in Addis Ababa decided to send a peacekeeping mission to Rwanda in 1990.[30] The organisation, in line with its decision, deployed a neutral military observer group (NMOG) in Rwanda in 1991.[31] This was expanded in 1992 (NMOG II).

The success of this effort was in some ways facilitated by the UN's approval of the United Nations Observer Mission for Uganda and Rwanda (UNOMUR) to deploy along the Rwanda/Uganda border, and the subsequent establishment of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) in 1993. Unfortunately, UNAMIR failed to avert the genocide in Rwanda (April – July 1994), an experience that would serve, in many respects, as a wake-up call for Africa to get more serious with the management and resolution of its conflicts in Africa.

The OAU Summit in Cairo in June 1993, as already noted, formally adopted the OAU's MCPMR Mechanism. However, the focus was on conflict prevention rather than conflict management or resolution, but the Mechanism contained novel structures for conflict management. Its structure included a Central Organ and a Peace Fund. It also included the Conflict Management Division (CMD), created in March 1992, and located in the Conflict Management Centre. The Central Organ established two significant operations: the observer mission in Burundi (OMIB1993 – 1996) and the observer mission in the Comoros (OMIC, 1997 - 1999). These relatively enhanced the continent's conflict management capacity.

Although OAU recorded some failures in these missions, the Central Organ, had become an important foundation upon which to build. The OAU Charter of 25 May 1963 however, did not anticipate collective security to the extent required to deal with situations such as occurred in Rwanda. Moreover, in the course of six years between 1990 and 1996, the OAU witnessed the spread of the conflict from Rwanda to the Great Lakes region, and the commencement of what has been termed the "African World War", which the organisation was clearly not competent to handle.

Extra-African Assistance

The experience of genocide in Rwanda underscored the reluctance by Western countries to continue active interventions in conflicts within Africa. This reluctance may have also been largely occasioned by the experience of the USA in Somalia – "Black Hawk Down". Whatever the case, Western countries began to demonstrate interest in assisting Africa develop its own capacity for conflict management and resolution. In this regard, it is pertinent to note, albeit briefly, the peacekeeping capacity-building initiatives of Western countries for Africa, especially the "P3 Initiative". The "P3" – United States of America, Britain and France programmes laid the foundation for external assistance in building Africa's capacity to respond to violent conflict.

First, in 1996, the US floated the idea of an African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI), which provided peacekeeping training and equipment to African countries on a bilateral basis. Second, in 1997, France came with its *Renforcement des capacites africaines de maintien de la paix* (RECAMP) which provided training exercises, classroom instructions and pre-positioning of heavy equipment in designated locations across the continent. Third, the United Kingdom inspired by the Rwandan debacle, began its African peacekeeping Training Support Programme, which focused primarily on education and training through the activities of its British Military Advisory and Training Teams (BMATT).[32]

These initiatives were encouraged to become more coordinated, and to integrate local perspectives, following criticisms from African countries. The American ACRI evolved into the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA), to further enhance the capacity of countries to train their troops. Alongside ACOTA is the Africa Centre for Strategic Studies (ACSS), which also represents the US initiative to engage Africa on issues of peace and security.[33]

Moreover, the number of NGOs (especially Humanitarians) involved in PSOs has also increased remarkably in recent years. These include the ICRC, Oxfam, Action Aid, among others. They are both local and foreign organisations staking claims to having some critical roles to play in PSOs. There is also an increasing involvement of private contractors in PSOs due to the phenomenon known as 'out-sourcing', for instance, the Pacific Architects and Engineers (PAE). These initiatives have however, evoked serious concerns over transformative relationships, issues of accountability, and professional ethos about the involvement of private security companies or their use by countries like the USA in the management of conflict.

Thus, at the close of the decade of the 1990s, Africa geared up for the transformation of its conflict management capacity, against the backdrop of limiting factors such as the principle of non-interference, the Charter of 1963 which did not anticipate the possibility of conflicts on the continent, to the scale experienced in Rwanda (1994), or the USA 'Black Hawk Down' experience, and above all the growing reluctance of the West to commit soldiers to resolving conflicts in Africa. These factors paved the way for the necessary transition into the AU era.

AU Regime of Conflict Resolution

This section and the next present the critical elements of conflict management in Africa which have emerged from the transformative contexts that engendered the demise of OAU. The first section focuses on the normative frameworks for these elements, while the next section presents the key elements resulting from the transformation.

The OAU was formally dissolved on 9July 2002 at the 38th ordinary session of the organisation's Assembly in Durban, South Africa. The organisation had been blamed for inaction to stop the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, and in not finding lasting solutions to the

conflict in the DRC, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia and Sudan, among others. Member States had previously decided to establish the African Union (AU) in September 1999, during the Extraordinary OAU Summit in Sirte, Libya. The AU thus took over the rights, powers and obligations of the OAU, prominent among which was conflict management. The MCPMR of the OAU was incorporated as an organ of the AU, along with the requisite enabling structures and frameworks for a new phase of PSOs.

In the AU context, PSOs are carried out in conformity with the UN Charter, as the UN still remains the prime international organisation that can endorse the existence of regional or sub-regional organisations, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the UN Charter. However, the UN recognises the post-Cold War concept and principle of shared responsibility between it and regional organisations, for the effective management of conflicts within regions of the world.[34]

For the UN, the legal basis for peace operations is the UN Charter. Although the Charter makes no specific reference to PSOs, the three chapters which most relate to PSOs are its chapters VI (pacific settlement of disputes), chapter VII (which refers to such actions by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security) and chapter VIII (regional arrangements for maintenance of peace and security).[35]

For the AU, the legal basis for Peace Support Operations is first and foremost derived from the AU Constitutive Act, precisely its Article 4 (h) which recognised "the right of the Union to intervene in a Member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity".[36] This is complemented by Article 4(j) of the same Act, which specifies "the right of Member States to request intervention from the Union in order to restore peace and security".[37]

Furthermore, Article 6(d) of the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the AU Commission, empowers the PSC to perform function in PSO pursuant to Article 4(h &j) of the Constitutive Act; the function is made explicit in the next Article of the Protocol, that is, Article 7(c) which authorises the mounting and deployment of PSO by the PSC.[38] Therefore, the PSC was established to be a collective security and early warning arrangement to facilitate timely and efficient response to conflicts and crisis situations in Africa.[39] The AU PSO Doctrine provides guidelines for the implementation of PSOs within the AU context. The AU like its predecessor depends significantly on external assistance, however, unlike in the OAU era many AU Development Partners, became reluctant in continuing direct intervention in the continent's many troubles. Most of them gradually substituted the promotion of home grown African initiative for the physical involvement of their troops in conflicts on the continent.[40] The PSC became the main anchor for renewed engagement with partners.

On its part, the PSC established an operational framework "for the effective implementation of the decisions taken in the areas of conflict prevention, peace-making, peace support operations and intervention, as well as peace- building and post- conflict reconstruction.[41] The objectives of the PSC as contained in Article 3 of its Protocol include promoting peace, security and stability in Africa, anticipating and preventing conflicts, promoting and implementing peace-building, among others.[42] This Protocol also notably outlines what has become the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA).

African Peace and Security Architecture

The African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) consists of evolved instruments or elements for conflict prevention, management and resolution in the continent. The architecture is comprehensively outlined in the *Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union*.[43] The Peace and Security Council (PSC)

which is the hub of the APSA was established pursuant to Article 5(2) of the Constitutive Act of the AU, as a collective security and early warning arrangement to facilitate timely and efficient response to conflict and crisis situations in Africa. The adoption and ratification of the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of PSC therefore has given birth to a new continental peace and security regime known as the APSA.

The institutional structures of APSA generally include the Peace and Security Council (PSC), the Common African Defence and Security Policy, the Military Staff Committee (MSC), the Panel of the Wise (PoW), the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), the African Peace Fund (PF), and the African Standby Force (ASF). However, five of these, that is, the PSC, PoW, CEWS, PF and the ASF constitute the main pillars of APSA as explained below.

g. **Peace and Security Council** is a standing decision-making organ for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts. The Council is composed of 15 members elected on the basis of equal rights, viz: 10 members elected for a term of 2 years, and 5 members elected for a term of 3 years in order to ensure continuity.[44] The PSC in conjunction with the Chairperson of the Commission may authorise the mounting and deployment of peace support missions.

h. **Panel of the Wise** was constituted under the terms of Article 11 of the PSC Protocol, to support the efforts of the Council and those of the Chairperson of the commission, particularly in the area of conflict prevention. It comprises of 5 members drawn from various segments of society of AU Member States.

i. **Continental Early Warning System** is to provide timely advice on potential conflicts and threats to peace and security to enable the development of appropriate response strategies to prevent or resolve conflicts in Africa. The Committee of Intelligence and Security Services in Africa (CISSA) compliments the CEWS. The Committee was established on 26 August 2004 in Abuja, Nigeria by Heads of Intelligence and Security Services of Africa.

j. **African Peace Fund (PF)** established by the PSC Protocol, the Peace Fund provides financial resources for the AU mandated PSO as well as other operational activities related to peace and security. This is premised on Article 21 (2) of the Protocol. During its summit in Addis Ababa in 2010, the African Heads of State agreed to increase the Peace Fund from 6 per cent to 12 per cent of assessed contribution of member states on incremental basis of 1.5 per cent per annum until the 12 per cent is achieved.

k. **The African Standby Force** was established by the provisions of Article 13 of the PSC Protocol. A Policy Framework establishing the ASF and the MSC was adopted in May 2003 by the 3rd Session of African Chiefs of Defence Staff.[45] In March 2005, the AU Commission and RECs/RMs met in Addis Ababa and adopted a Roadmap for the Operationalisation of the ASF. The force is organised into five brigades on the basis of the five AU regions, and the Regional Economic Communities or Mechanisms. Thus, there are SADCBRIG, EASBRIG, ECCASBRIG (FOMAC), ECOBRIG and NASBRIG.

The Roadmap also emphasised the establishment of planning structures at the regional level: ASF Planning Elements (PLANELMS) and the formulation of key policy documents at the strategic level. The documents are on Doctrine, Logistics, Training and Evaluation, Standard Operational Procedures (SOP), Command, Control and Communication Systems. Collectively, the 5 Regional Brigades will provide the AU with a combined standby capacity of about 15,000 to 20,000 troops trained in peace operations ranging from low-intensity observer mission to full-blown military intervention.[46] The RECs/RMs such as the SADC, the ECCAS, ECOWAS and IGAD are continuously involved in the process of establishing and running their respective brigades. For instance, the ECOWAS Monitoring Group

(ECOMOG), created as ECOWAS intervention force, and which has intervened in Liberia (August 1990), Sierra Leone (August 1997), Guinea Bissau (June 1998), and Cote d'Ivoire (October 2002), was transformed in June 2004 into the ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF), in accordance with the development of the African Standby Force (ASF) concept.

Integral to this architecture also, is the Common African Defence and Security Policy (CADSP) and the Military Staff Committee (MSC). The CADSP adopted in 2004 is to ensure Africa's common defence and security interests and goals as set out in Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitutive Act.[47] The MSC is an advisory organ of the PSC, and consists of 15 military experts from the PSC member states who are resident in Addis Ababa.[48]

Towards an African Standby Force

The ASF was designed to provide the PSC with the ability to conduct multidimensional interventions across a range of 6 conflict scenarios (See Table 2 below).[49] The Policy Framework document provided for the establishment of the ASF in two phases: Phase One, up to 30 June 2005, and Phase Two from 1 July 2005 to 30 June 2010.[50]. Subsequently, continental exercise were planned to ascertain the operational readiness of the ASF, and were conducted as a joint AU-EU initiative, through a two-year training Cycle called the AMANI AFRICA.[51] The cycle was accompanied by a series of training activities including Map Exercise (MAPEX), Command Post Exercise (CPX), and Field Training Exercise (FTX) by regional standby forces.

Table 2: The African Standby Force Scenarios of Intervention

Scenario	Description	Deployment requirement
1	AU/Regional military advice to a political mission	30 days
2	AU/Regional observer mission co-deployed with a UN mission	30 days
3	Stand-alone AU/Regional observer mission.	30 days
4	AU/Regional peacekeeping force for Chapter VI and preventive deployment missions (and peace building)	30 days
5	AU Peacekeeping force for complex multidimensional peacekeeping missions, including those involving low-level spoilers	90 days (with the military component being able to deploy in 30 days.)
6	AU intervention, e.g. in genocide situations where the international community does not act promptly	14 days with robust military force

Source: Framework Document for the Operationalisation of ASF (2003)

Also, roadmaps were formulated to operationalise the ASF.[52] Roadmap I was set to create the base policy documents for the ASF, including Doctrine, Command, Control, Information System (C3IS), Standard Operating Procedures (SOP), Logistics and Training and Evaluation. Roadmap II was aimed at resolving issues in the implementation of Roadmap 1 and consolidating on achievements made, culminating in Exercise AMANI AFRICA. Roadmap II also occasioned the recruitment and training of staff at all levels for the PLANELM, with a view to providing the required harmonisation and facilitation of future actions.

The implementation of the cycle of activities commenced in 2008 with the Initiating Conference, in November 2008 in Addis Ababa. So far, all the major activities within the cycle have been concluded. The CPX was held from 13-29 October 2010. An After Action Review exercise took place at Dakar, Senegal from 23 – 25 February 2011 during which a reviewed Road Map for the *operationalisation* of the ASF was adopted, leading to a new cycle, the AMANI AFRICA II (AA II), which addresses the gaps identified in AMANI

AFRICA I. Roadmap III, which had been adopted in 2012, was aimed at facilitating the attainment of Full Operational Capability (FOC) of the ASF in 2015.[53]

The evaluation of AMANI AFRICA I demonstrated that the ASF had achieved Initial Operational Capability (IOC). The AMANI AFRICA II Cycle culminates in an FTX. In early September 2015, the AMANI AFRICA II FTX FHQ training was held in Harare, Zimbabwe. The AA II FTX (MHQ and SHQ) initially scheduled to be held in Lesotho, October 2014, was finally held from 19 October to 8 November 2015, in Lohatla, South Africa (SHQ) and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (MHQ). The overall objective of the exercise was "to validate the capacity of AU to mandate, deploy and employ a Rapid Deployment Capability (RDC) of the ASF as a start-up operation (Scenario 6), and to run a full multidimensional PSO (Scenario 5).

Preliminary observations on the outcomes of the exercise indicate that stakeholder Member States demonstrated sufficient and commendable political will that made the exercise possible. However, the perennial challenges of force generation, communication and strategic lift were also encountered. Forces trained in PSO in the different regions were mostly not the ones deployed. The communication gadgets never arrived as expected and communication systems had to be improvised. NATO never provided the promised strategic lift, but Nigeria and Angola sufficiently filled the gap. In the end, even though processes were validated, games such as AA II FTX still fall short of real life situations of violent conflicts of the Scenario 6 type and, therefore may not provide the intended objective basis, sufficient for determining the FOC of the ASF.

APSA and the Responsibility to Protect

The 2001 Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, commonly referred to as the Responsibility to Protect underscored the responsibility of the international community to intervene in humanitarian catastrophes to protect vulnerable populations.[54] The report highlighted, among other things, that where a state is unwilling or unable to protect its citizens, or makes them the target, the responsibility to protect is transferred to the international community. The report also suggests that authorisation for such intervention be provided by the UN Security Council. Furthermore, it underscored the right of regional arrangements or a coalition of the willing to intervene, under certain conditions, where the Security Council fails to act appropriately.[55] The formulations of APSA in this regard appear to have drawn significant inspiration from the report.

The ASF and Rapid Deployment Capability

The ASF Policy Framework recommended the development of a Rapid Deployment Capability (RDC), at the regional levels during Phase II of ASF development (1 July 2005 to 30 June 2010).[56] This is consistent with articles 4(h & j) of the Constitutive Act of the AU. It is aimed at effecting a preliminary preventive action, to enable the AU respond swiftly to crisis situations, while preparing for a more comprehensive action that could include the UN. Consequently, the Declaration adopted on 28 March 2008 recommended that the RBC be an integral part of the Regional Standby Forces (RSF). In 2010, the Commission in conjunction with the RSFs developed a Concept Note for the operationalisation of the RDC in five (5) RECs/RMs. However, the RDC could not be operationalised by 2012 as recommended in Roadmap III.[57]

The AU's capacity to mandate the use of an RDC as an initial Scenario 6 operation, and to lead a robust multidimensional PSO under Scenario 5, occasioned the launch of AMANI AFRICA II training cycle, which was to be concluded with an FTX in 2015. However, the RDC

shortcomings of the AU have been demonstrated by its inability to confront the Malian crises after the coup d'état of March 2012, despite the Malian government's request for assistance. The French "Operation Serval", stabilised the crisis before the African-led International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA) was able to deploy on 20 December 2012.[58] This has emphasised the urgent need for operationalising the RDC and establishing the ASF.

African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crisis

The African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crisis (ACIRC) is a South African initiative built on the maxim of "African solutions to African problems", and borne out of the failure of the continent to respond in a timely manner in the Malian crisis of 2012. Against this background and on the interim, the Assembly of the Union decided to establish an ACIRC at its 21st Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa in May 2013.

The ACIRC is aimed at putting in place, an efficient, robust and credible force that could be rapidly deployed and is able to create enabling conditions for the deployment of a larger AU and/or UN peace operation.[59] The attainment of ACIRC largely depends on the setting up of military capabilities, availability of force multipliers and resources from the continent.[60] The AU Commission has since initiated measures for the implementation of the ACIRC and some Member States including South Africa, Algeria, Chad, Tanzania and Uganda, have demonstrated their commitment to the initiative, but it has also suffered from the usual politics of interest by Member States. ACIRC does not enjoy the endorsement of Nigeria, Ethiopia Kenya and many others. For instance, Nigeria's initial reluctance with the idea of ACIRC was based on the fact that the ASF was yet to be fully consummated, and so did not see the need to rush into the development of another mechanism. Besides, the ASF has been largely based on the ECOWAS experience, whose origin, operations and successes, Nigeria was well acquainted with.

African Models of Intervention

In terms of models of AU intervention, five (5) kinds of models have been identified. Some of these models have been informed by past intervention experiences elsewhere on the continent, particularly West Africa. The models are discussed subsequently.

First, the AU led missions model speaks to missions in which every aspect is controlled from the AU headquarters in Addis Ababa. The Troop Contributing Countries (TCCs) come under the direct command of the AU in this model. Instances of this model include the African-Led International Support Mission in Mali (AFISMA) and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).

Second, are the UN/AU hybrid missions. The concept and practice of hybridity and integration[61] have become central to contemporary PSOs under a myriad of forms. The joint UN/AU mission for Darfur – UNAMID, is a good example of a UN-AU hybrid mission.

Third, the AU with a lead nation mission model describes peace support operations in which the lead nation takes care of providing troops and logistics, while the AU handles command and control. This model began with the ECOMOG experience in Liberia and later, in Sierra Leone, in which the lead nation – Nigeria, provided logistics and troops in prosecuting mission, while AU was entrusted with the overall command and control. Other examples also include Burundi and Comoros.

Fourth, the "coalition of the willing" model has found expression and demonstration in the missions against the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), Uganda and the Boko Haram, Nigeria.

First, on 18 September 2012, the AU launched an initiative to take over the fight against the LRA by coordinating on-going efforts to fight the group by Uganda, South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo and Central African Republic. Second, the coalition of willing Member States, composed of members of the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC), comprising Nigeria, Chad, Cameroun, and Niger, with support from Benin, and approval from the African Union, constituted a Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) in place as a proactive measure in the fight against *Boko Haram*. The African Union and the LCBC Member States on 19 October 2015 signed a Memorandum of Understanding on the operationalisation and sustenance of the MNJTF agreement to neutralise the sect. This occasion notably coincided with the day of commencement of the AMANI AFRICA II FTX in Lohatla, South Africa.

Fifth, the AU and one or more REC model was demonstrated in the AMANI AFRICA II FTX. Troops from ECOWAS and SADC for instance, that are not from the region in conflict could be deployed by the AU to a region in conflict like Somalia. This model should be useful in also checking the principle of impartiality, now that it is no longer a question of neutrality. Examples include missions in CAR and Mali.

Closely linked to this last model is the question over the principle of subsidiarity between RECs and AU in authorising missions within the continent. This principle has posed some challenges to initiatives for intervention between capable RECs and the AU, especially in relation to obtaining approval or consent from the UN. This has been demonstrated by the controversy surrounding ECOWAS deployment to Mali and the forceful ousting of the ECOWAS mission by AFISMA. It would be recalled that ECOWAS had effectively deployed such missions in the past, like the ECOMICI in Cote d'Ivoire and ECOMIL in Liberia before such missions were taken over by the UN mission.

Equally worthy of note is the fact that these models were *ab initio* part of the plans for establishing and operationalising the ASF. The fact that these initiatives have been informed by past intervention experiences such as ECOMOG in Liberia, has also been aptly captured in the narrative above. Suffice it now to turn attention to the future of interventions on the continent amidst these factors driving evolution of PSOs on the continent, and initiatives, challenges and prospects.

Future of African Peace Support Operations

The future of African PSOs is fraught with challenges. Over a decade ago, the prospects for African peace and security were described as disheartening, because, it was difficult for the State to respond to economic, social and security challenges. Some states had failed, while others were in steep decline; and while the need for peacekeepers grew in Africa, the supply of UN Blue Helmets drastically shrunk.[62] The responsibility for security in Africa devolved to African States and regional organisation.[63] However, the challenges to African peace and security still defy easy solutions.[64]

The future of African peace support operations will therefore significantly depend on how challenges to peace and security can be addressed by an operational APSA. As far back as 2010, the APSA Assessment Report categorised the main issues confronting the progress of APSA into five: coordination, sustainability, subsidiarity, coherence and partnership.[65] The AUC Chairperson's report in 2013, more than a decade afterwards, has demonstrated that these critical challenges still linger.

First, although some progress has been recorded in coordination between the AU and RECs/RMs in relation to the operationalisation of the ASF and CEWS components of APSA, due to clearly articulated roadmaps and the existence of liaison officers, there seem to be limited coordination between the other APSA components and similar structures in the

RECs/RMs. Moreover, the REC/RM to REC/RM interface has been limited.[66] In the same vein, APSA's dependence on RECs/RMs could compromise neutrality in sub-regional responses, where neighbours are a part of the problem.

Second, and most importantly, the operationalisation of APSA has been largely dependent on external support – especially financial, from partners and donors. This puts ownership and predictability in doubt. The OAU and the AU have not been able to finance missions entirely own their own. Moreover, the AU's experience with voluntary contributions from Member States has not been encouraging. Funding therefore remains a veritable challenge to the success of peace support operations planning and mounting by the AU.

Third, the RECs/RMs seems to acknowledge the principle of subsidiarity in their relationship with the AU, but its application in practical terms remains obscure. The AUC would be preferred in a coordinating role rather than playing an implementing role, especially in areas where RECs/RMs have comparative advantages, but such areas are yet to be identified and defined.[67] Moreover, the legitimacy of an AU intervention without prior approval by the UNSC remains in controversy, given that the AU 2005 Ezulwini Consensus document on UN reforms stated that intervention on the part of regional organisations should be under UN authorisation.

Fourth, among the RECs/RMs and other actors, there is the general impression that APSA is not coherent or comprehensive enough in its configuration. They argue that issues such as security governance, security sector reform, terrorism, piracy, disaster management, post-conflict reconstruction, among others, are challenges that are not adequately covered by APSA in its current structure.[68] It has also been observed that between and among the APSA components at the AU and RECs/RMs, there is little coherence.

Fifth, the operationalisation of APSA critically depends on partnerships. These are partnerships between the AU, RECs/RMs and external actors – multilateral or bilateral. These have been of immense benefit to the development of the APSA. However, they have raised concerns over sustainability, predictability and also ownership.[69] One way out is to diversify partner support for the APSA, which is heavily dependent on EU support at the moment. Similarly, the implementation of the ASF is being hampered by its dependence on the 5 regions, particularly where a Member State belongs to more than one regional organisation. Moreover, the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) operating in Northern Africa still has no peace and security mechanism.

Conceptually, there are also challenges. For instance, neither the AU Constitutive Act nor the PSC Protocol presents operational definitions of what constitutes a war crime, crime against humanity or genocide. Therefore, recognition of the Responsibility to Protect may never result to any meaningful intervention in the foreseeable future. Therefore, besides addressing the challenges identified, the continent must also give concerted attention to hastening the pace of development across Africa; strengthening democratic institutions and early warning systems; fostering the consciousness of collective security mindset; and placing greater emphasis on peace building especially in post-conflict states.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to trace the trajectory of evolution of peace support operations in the African context. On the one hand, this trajectory, largely depended on the operationalisation of the various components of the African Peace and Security Architecture by 2015, along with some challenges that have to be surmounted, notably, the debilitating lack of resources, a discouraging financial commitment by Member States, high dependence on external funding support, and above all, a gross lack of political will by governments and heads

of state. On the other hand, the evolution is capitalising on some identified strengths. One, the regional character of the ASF ensures that Member States of the RECs have ownership in the process of establishing a continental security architecture while continuing to strengthen their institutional links with the AU.[70] Two, there is a greater awareness that responsibility for security in Africa has devolved to African states and regional organisations, and that the continent is replete with circumstances that require timely and robust intervention. These make the development of ACIRC and subsequently RDC imperative and should facilitate positive responses from Member States in this direction.

Finally, peace support operation remains an expensive enterprise, which Africa alone, whether in the OAU regime or in the AU era, has vividly been unable to shoulder, particularly in terms of cost, duration and efficiency. Furthermore, there is no guarantee on the continued availability of external assistance in terms of resources, funds and logistics, which are crucial to implementing mandates to the letter. One probable option for Africa, against this background, is to place greater emphasis on preventive measures, especially as outlined in the other components of the APSA such as the activation of CEWS and the improved use of PoWs, without jettisoning on-going efforts at operationalising the ASF. This will invariably require critical actions at identifying and eliminating the stockpile of false necessities currently clogging the integrated and comprehensive operationalisation of the various components of APSA.

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5 The 'Toolbox' of African Rapid Intervention Strategy: Beyond the ASF, RDC and the ACIRC

Jide Okeke, PhD and Tim Murithi, PhD

Abstract

Since the time of its liberation, the Central African Republic (CAR) has been characterised by chronic political volatility and insecurity. Subsequent authorities have remained largely incapable of effectively controlling and administering the territory as well as for providing for the basic needs of the populace. In responding, the broader international community has on several occasions mobilised itself to provide security and humanitarian support. Specifically this chapter will examine primarily four military interventions undertaken by the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and the African Union (AU) within the framework of regional cooperation. What becomes clear is that notwithstanding these interventions, the political and security situation in the CAR remains fragile and tenuous still, suggesting flaws and or limitations in the approach and capabilities of these regional actors. The chapter also makes some key observations and lessons from these regional experiences in support of peace and stability in the CAR and also offers recommendations for the strengthening of regional peace operations.

Introduction

The development of a collective security mechanism by African regional institutions, suggest that there is a growing regional normalisation of the political commitments and the technical capabilities to respond to crises through the strengthening of the APSA, including through its adaptation to better respond to contemporary security threats. There are still concerns about the effectiveness, and timely response of African security architecture to crises on the continent. One of the most profound concerns has been expressed in the aspirational status of the ASF and its Rapid Development Capability, which has been implicated for the slow response of African actors to threats to state authority due to rebellion by armed opposition groups that has sometimes justified non-Africa intervention. This was manifested in the 2013 crisis in Mali, which triggered a timely military intervention by France followed by the joint deployment of an African peace support operation by the AU and the ECOWAS.

As part of efforts to learn lessons from the crisis in Mali and past externally driven military operations as well as prevent future extra-African military operations on the continent, the AU member states established the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises (ACIRC). The ACIRC was established as a transitional mechanism pending the full operational capability of the ASF and its RDC. By 2014, the ACIRC had attained initial operational capability and provides AU Member States with the capacity to respond to crisis through military operations, if required. At the same time, the ASF-RDC has received significant boost through the self-declaration by some regional standby forces of the attainment of operational readiness. The Field Training Exercise (FTX) in October 2015

is also expected to test the operational readiness of the ASF-RDC with the likelihood of supporting the claims made by some regional standby forces of the full operational capability of the ASF-RDC.

The justification of this chapter is premised on the on-going debates on rapid intervention through the ASF-RDC or through the ACIRC. It has been largely accepted that rapid intervention may be an essential element for conflict management. However, there have been unending debates on the best model for rapid intervention. This has generated two schools of thought, which privileges on one hand the principle of voluntarism and individual capacities of state that characterises the ACIRC or the need to promote regional capacity building and collective involvement of states through the regions inherently underlying the ASF-RDC. This chapter takes this dual debate further by suggesting that there is a need to develop a toolbox for rapid intervention, which transcends either options provided by both the ACIRC and the ASF-RDC. This toolbox will entail consideration of various options that can be derived from historical and contemporary practices of rapid intervention in Africa. Three options are identified in this chapter namely, unilateral intervention with or without the consent of the host state but preferably with the authorisation of the AU Peace and Security Council; the strengthening of a Lead Nation concept within the framework of Regional Economic Communities/Regional Mechanisms (RECs/RMs) and; the establishment of medium to long term security cooperation between affected states given the nature of contemporary security threats. There are clearly strengths and weaknesses of each of these, but it is suggested that the focus on more relevant models for rapid intervention is required to overcome the unending discourse and political division that has often characterised the debate over the ASF-RDC and the ACIRC.

Evolution of Rapid Intervention in Africa: historical and conceptual analysis

The Gestation of an Idea: Pan-Africanism and the Capability to Intervene

The idea of Africa as a collective entity intervening to address crisis around the continent was championed by the first President of Ghana and a staunch Pan-Africanist, Kwame Nkrumah, during the era of decolonisation in the early 1960's. On 24th May 1963, during the Assembly of Heads of State of Africa, which led to the inauguration of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), there were heated debates about what shape and function the Organisation should take. On the one hand, there was the radical view promoted by among other's Nkrumah of Ghana, Nyerere of Tanganyika (present day Tanzania) and Nasser of Egypt for a closer political unification and an actualisation of Pan-Africanism based on strong continental institutions. Nyerere argued, rightly so, that the boundaries, which divide African states were nonsensical as they had been arbitrarily drawn by Europeans in the 1885 'Scramble for Africa'. Nkrumah, while addressing the African Heads of State Summit in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, observed that, 'there is hardly any African state without a frontier problem with its adjacent neighbours … but let me suggest that this fatal relic of colonialism will drive us to war against one another … unless we succeed in arresting the danger through mutual understanding on fundamental issues and through African unity ... we shall have fought in vain for independence.'[1] Nkrumah envisioned an African High Command, which could be deployed to quell unrest and stabilise war affected regions of the continent.

This debate took place during the decolonisation period when the majority of newly independent African states were not ready to cede their sovereignty, having only gained it recently. The more conservative African leaders were unwilling to take such a step, and preferred to retain the 'illusion' of national independence. As a result, the OAU in effect,

became impotent in its efforts to positively influence national policies, monitor the internal behaviour of member states and prevent human rights atrocities from being committed through the deployment of diplomatic and military interventions.

The idea of intervention has gestated over the intervening fifty-plus years up to now, when the sentiment is that an integrated continental armed force is necessary to conduct police action and peacekeeping operations across the continent. The obstacle of course is that many African governments, or rather the regimes of dubious legitimacy that control them, still retain the egoistical state-centric attitudes. Consequently, they are unwilling to embark on a process that will transfer their sovereignty, notably over the instruments to project power, because in their view, this would leave them exposed to monitoring and intervention. As far as intervention into the affairs of nation states is concerned, it was a visionary idea, whose time had not yet come.

The Organisation of African Unity and its Ad Hoc Approach to Intervention

On 27 April 1994, the OAU succeeded in its primary mission of liberating the entire continent from the yoke of colonialism when the system of internal colonialism was dismantled in South Africa. However, the OAU was not as effective in monitoring and policing the affairs of its own Member States when it came to the problems discussed earlier of political authoritarianism, corruption, economic mismanagement, bad governance, the abuse of human rights, the absence of gender equality and the eradication of poverty. Consequently, the conditions for violent conflict persisted on the African continent. By extension, the need to intervene would remain a going concern for the OAU.

The idea of intervention into the affairs of member states had already begun to feature in the thinking around issues of Pan-African solidarity. In 1992, Salim Ahmed Salim, the former Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity, issued a report to the OAU Council of Ministers entitled *Report of the Secretary-General on Conflicts in Africa to the Council of Ministers: Proposals for an OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention and Resolution* in which he argued forcefully for the need for early intervention. This report was subsequently utilised to inform the establishment of an OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. Salim argued that 'if the OAU is to play the lead role in any African conflict, it should be enabled to intervene swiftly, otherwise it cannot be ensured that whoever (apart from African regional organisations) acts will do so in accordance with African interests'.[2]

Regrettably, the establishment of this Mechanism did not enhance the OAU's capacity for intervention or rapid deployment. The OAU's interventions were defined by the continuing culture of adhockery and a retroactive approach to addressing crisis. This was because the organisation was still mired in the laborious and arduous decision-making processes of its member states and the prioritisation of sovereign concerns over the collective good. The OAU's ability to act to prevent the outbreak of violence or contain a conflict situation, was severely hampered by the inability to always generate the necessary political commitment and the necessary assets including troops, logistics and a strategic airlift capability. The impotence of the OAU was tragically demonstrated during the Rwandan genocide in which one million Tutsi and Hutu victims were massacred in a visceral pogroms which afflicted the country.

The creation of the African Union five years later in 1999 was in effect a statement of *mea culpa* by the leadership of continental body. It was essentially an acknowledgement that the situation with regards to the inability of the OAU to intervene diplomatically and militarily was untenable. Pan-Africanism was again taken to another level with the launching of the African Union, first as an idea at pen-ultimate Summit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) convened in 1999, in Sirte Libya.

The African Union Peace and Security Council and its Right to Intervene

The Constitutive Act of the African Union adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State on 11 July 2000, in Lomé, Togo, replaced the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity. The African Union was established and formerly launched on July 2002, in Durban, South Africa. It assumed and absorbed all the assets and liabilities of the OAU. In this regard, the legal instruments established by the OAU are still valid and part of the corpus of AU legislation.

The AU created a set of intervention instruments specifically focusing on the issue of peace and security, which are still being developed as the organisation evolves. This led to issuing of the *Protocol Establishing the Peace and Security Council of the African Union,* of 2002, at the close of the inaugural summit in July 2002, in Durban, South Africa. In December 2003, the African Union established the AU's Peace and Security Council (PSC) following a provision in Article 5(2) of the Constitutive Act which authorises the Assembly of the African Union to establish organs as may be necessary to fulfill its objectives.[3] The Peace and Security Council was endowed with 15 member countries (ten elected for a term of two years and five for a term of three years). The Chairperson of the African Union is assisted by a Commissioner in charge of Peace and Security to provide operational support to the Peace and Security Council, as well as deploy efforts, including early intervention, with a view to taking the necessary steps to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts. According to the Protocol, the PSC was to be complemented by the African Standby Force (ASF), the Continental Early Warning Mechanism (CEWS), a Panel of the Wise, and a Military Staff Committee (MSC) to provide advice on deployment and security requirements. This institutional framework, also referred to as the APSA, is designed to oversee the successful implementation of the continental peace and security strategy.

The Peace and Security Council was officially launched on 25 May 2004, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. It has the mandate to promote collective security and enhance an early-warning and intervention framework to facilitate the timely and efficient response to conflict and crisis situations that, for example, may put minority groups at risk. The Peace and Security Council assesses potential crisis situations, sends fact-finding missions to trouble spots and should be in a position to authorise and legitimise the AU's intervention in internal crisis situations. Article 4(h) of the AU Constitutive Act affirms the right of the Union to intervene in a Member State with respect to crisis situations. Specifically, Article 7, item (e), of the Protocol on the Peace and Security Council, states that the Council can 'recommend to the Assembly (of Heads of State), intervention, on behalf of the Union, in a Member State in respect of grave circumstances, namely war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity, as defined in relevant international conventions and instruments'.[4]

The mandate and right to intervene is therefore enshrined in the highest policy documents and embedded into the institutions of the African Union. The establishment of the PSC with its inherent right to intervene heralded a major qualitative difference between AU and OAU. With the adoption of these legal provisions, for the first time in the history of Africa, the continental organisation working through an appointed group of states acquired the authority to intervene and deploy forces, in internal situations that might lead to atrocities being committed against minority groups or communities at risk within states.

A cursory assessment of its period of its existence reveals that the PSC has convened more than 500 meetings and issued as many communiqués and statements relating to crisis and conflict situations in Burundi, CAR, Chad, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, DRC, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Togo, and Zimbabwe, among others. The Council has also authorised sanctions against several member states, most notably against the military junta in Guinea,

following the September 2009 massacre of innocent civilians. The Council has authorised the deployment of four peace operations in Burundi (2003 to 2004), Sudan (2004 to the present and now being jointly undertaken with the UN), the Comoros (2008), Somalia (2007 to present), Mali (2013), Central African Republic (2013 to 2014) and Nigeria (2015 to Date). Undoubtedly, the Council has demonstrated its ability to draw attention to crisis situations in Africa and will continue to function as one of the most important powerful organs of Africa's evolving peace and security architecture.

The Trajectory towards the African Stand-by Force and a Rapid Deployment Capability

To reinforce the right to intervene, the PSC Protocol stipulated the establishment of an African Standby Force (ASF), which was initially due to be operationalised in 2010. The ASF is composed of five brigades from each of Africa's sub-regions: South, East, Central, West and North. The initial intention was for the AU to operationalise its own Pan-African Stand-by Rapid-Reaction force composed of 15,000 troops by 2010. The ASF's Rapid Deployment Capability (RDC) concept was developed to frame how the AU would intervene in situations that required urgent attention, notably situations of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. However, the further development of the ASF-RDC concept would require the development of a broad range of modalities, so that the Force could tailor itself to address the peacekeeping and peace enforcement demands of the African continent. These barriers and obstacles relating to the process have hampered and continually postponed the official pronouncement of the Full Operational Capability (FOC) of the ASF.

It gradually became self-evident that the African Standby Force could only be effective if there was the political will to operationalise it, as well as frameworks to ensure the close coordination and co-operation between the AU's defence and foreign affairs ministries, and if a stable source of funding is found for the force. The intention was that the ASF would cooperate where appropriate with the United Nations and other international partners in the quest to enhance the deployment capability within the African continent.

Sub-regional Mechanisms and their Mandate to Intervene

It is worthwhile to note that in its interventions the AU will not always take the lead on specific challenges and will occasionally defer to the efforts of the Regional Economic Communities established around the continent. Through the creation of the ASF, the AU was mandated to co-ordinate the activities of Africa's sub-regional mechanisms. On 16 May 2003, the Policy Framework for the Establishment of the ASF and the MSC was adopted, in Addis Ababa. The ASF will comprise five brigades from each of Africa's sub-regions: These include brigade formations drawn from the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) notably: the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC); the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS); and two Regional Mechanisms (RMs), one in East Africa initially known as the Eastern Africa Standby Brigade (EASBRIG) and since 2007 known as the Eastern Africa Standby Force Coordination Mechanism (EASFCOM), and in North Africa known as the North African Regional Capability (NARC). Collectively these institutions comprise the APSA and the plan is to eventually link them to the UN's stand-by arrangements.

The ASF was initially designed to have an operational component at the AU headquarters, which would include one Continental Planning Element (PLANELM); and one Continental Military Logistic Depot (MLD). Each REC/RM was also supposed to have one Permanent Brigade Headquarters; one Military Logistic Depot; one Permanent Planning Element

(PLANELM); one Standby Brigade; and Training Facilities. Therefore, one should not view the Standby capabilities of RECs/RMs as independently functioning entities, but as part and parcel of the ASF overall deployment capability

In October 2010, the operational readiness of the ASF and the decision-making process utilized by the PSC was tested through the first of a series of Command Post Exercise (CPX), called the AMANI AFRICA I Exercise. The AU Commission conducted an AMANI AFRICA simulation exercise on how the various pillars of APSA would interact with each other, including early warning information from CEWS, to the decision-making processes of the PSC and ultimately the processes that lead up to the deployment of the ASF. Despite this 'dress-rehearsal' the ASF remains a work-in-progress. In particular, there are still logistical and infrastructural limitations inherent in the Force. Furthermore, key components of the ASF notably the regional standby mechanisms are at different stages of development. At the operational level, the force needs further development to enhance its capacity to conduct mission planning, budgeting and mission management.

The Politics of the Operationalisation of ASF

Despite the reluctance of African Union member states to fully embrace the ASF, due to fears of its potential use to infringe upon their sovereignty, the policy arguments against such short-sightedness and political self-indulgence must continue to be made. The insecurity in the majority of crisis in African countries has a spill over effect, which can extend the continent. In the absence of a dedicated framework for intervening and robustly securing countries and regions, the continent will continue to be beholden and subservient to the prevarications and infiltration of global powers such as France and the United States of America. Consequently, there is a strong Pan-Africanist argument to find a way to push through the political, diplomatic and financial obfuscation, which is stalling, and threating to kill, the operationalisation of the ASF. The AU Commission, in partnership with African civic organisations, needs to scale up its advocacy agenda on the operationalisation of the ASF, notwithstanding efforts by certain member states to place the issue on the back burner in perpetuity.

The Advent of Rapid Deployment and the Affirmation of Pan-African Solidarity

By developing the notion of rapid deployment, the AU system was consciously attempting to promote the principle of solidarity, the notion of shared responsibility and the norm of intervention through its articulation of a rapid deployment capability and the African Standby Force. The prevarication around the operationalisation of the ASF led to the establishment of the African Capacity for the Immediate Response to Crisis (ACIRC). Critics of ACIRC argue that it has emerged, with some goading from external actors, to actualise the continent's ability to respond to its multiple security challenges. The key criticisms of the ACIRC is that it will encounter all, if not most, of the challenges that have been faced in the operationalisation of the ASF-RDC. Specifically, ACIRC will have challenges in terms of TCCs committing to its interventions; logistics and strategic airlift assets as well as some of the political and diplomatic challenges that have bedevilled the evolution of the ASF. In spite, of these challenges, the advent of rapid deployment in effect serves to re-define the notion of security in Africa. The security of one can only be achieved by ensuring the security of all. Every African is every other African's keeper, which reaffirms the notion of Pan-African solidarity. The interventionist stance adopted by the African Union is therefore an appropriate one for the continent going forward. African conflict situations cannot be allowed to escalate because they will continue to have a much more destructive effect on their people and citizens of neighbouring states.

Regionalism and Continentalism: The African Standby Force and its Rapid Deployment Capability (ASF-RDC) and the African Immediate Response to Crises (ACIRC)

One of the most controversial aspects of the perceived mutually exclusive relationship between the ASF-RDC and the ACIRC is based on their respective linkages to regionalism and continentalism. Regionalism here refers to the roles and responsibilities of the Regional Economic Communities and Regional Mechanism (RECs/RMs) in the mandating process, generation of capabilities, deployment and management of peace support operations. This is firmly enshrined in Article 16 of the Protocol Establishing the Peace and Security Council of the AU, which states that RECs/RMs are part of the overall security architecture of the AU in the prevention, management and resolution of crises in Africa. In addition, Article VII (4) of the 2008 Memorandum of Understanding between the AU and RECs/RMs on peace and security matters underscores the need for both entities to ensure cooperation in addressing conflicts including when a peace support operations is being deployed. From this perspective and in the absence AU pledged capacities, the RECs/RMs are the building blocks of the APSA in general and the ASF-RDC in particular.

On the other hand, the centralisation of mandating process and the possible generation of pledged capacities under the authority of the AU lie at the heart of the promotion of continentalism. This vision is historically rooted on the grand design of the Unionist in the efforts by nationalists to promotion regional integration following the establishment of the OAU. It was rejuvenated by the inter-governmental initiative for the promotion of a United States of Africa, by the late President Muammar Ghaddafi on the eve of the establishment of the AU. However, influential states such as Nigeria and South Africa, at the time, rejected the idea of a political and security confederation based on the merging of borders and a unified military command. In 2009, there were attempts to re-introduce the idea of a Union government through a proposal for the transformation from the AU Commission to an 'Authority', which would allow for more Executive powers to be given to the Commission. This would also allow for the establishment of a Strategic Defence Office in Addis Ababa, which would facilitate the deployment of peace support operations. Both ambitions of establishing a centralised AU Authority and a Strategic Defence Office have not been attained. Due to the delay in achieving Full Operational Capability (FOC) of the ASF-RDC and determined to halt the increasing influence of extra-African interventions on the continent, AU member states decided to establish the ACIRC as a transitional arrangement for rapid intervention pending the full realisation of the ASF-RDC.

The distinction between the ASF-RDC and the ACIRC lie in both political and technical indicators underpinned by five main factors. The first is based on the mandating process for rapid intervention. Delayed political decision making has been one of the main sources of delayed intervention to address crisis situations. Under APSA, the deployment of the ASF for peacekeeping purposes could be done through the Peace and Security Council at the Ambassadorial, Ministerial or Heads of State and Government levels. However, the RDC designed to prevent or immediately stem gross violations of human rights as framed in Article 4(h) of the AU Constitutive Act can only be authorised through a two-third majority of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. Accordingly, it could be difficult to convene a Summit upon the unexpected eruption of violence that may require such a mandate. It is against this background, that there has been consideration for the ACIRC to propose an alternative model for facilitating decision-making for timely and effective response to crisis. In this respect, it has been proposed that Heads of State and Government could delegate the responsibility of decision-making for rapid intervention purposes to the PSC at any of its levels. The raison d'état for such a possibility is to allow for early mandating process that would facilitate the deployment of the ACIRC. Unfortunately, this proposal has neither been presented nor debated by AU Member States for varying reasons.

Despite more than a decade of capacity building of the RECs/RMs and the pledged capacities of Member States to the regions, challenges persist in generating these capacities, when required for peace support operations. The pattern of capacity building has been based on a gradual process of achieving uniformity and standardisation across all Troop and Police Contributing Countries (T/PCCs) across the regions. This has not necessarily translated into functionality, deployable and efficient capabilities. In some cases, the political and security circumstances of some Member States especially in the North Africa region, has tended to stall or in fact reverse the process of building capacity. As a way of overcoming this slow pace of uniformity and uneven standardisation across member states, the ACIRC is based on the principle of voluntary contribution of readily available capacities from capable states. These Volunteering Nations (VNs) are expected to provide the required technical capabilities including enablers and multipliers that can be used to execute a rapid intervention. Given that capability generation has been perceived, quite exaggeratedly, as a central challenge to the ASF-RDC, the opportunity provided by the ACIRC is that trained personnel and equipment can be made available, when required for deployment based on the voluntary contributions of states that possess them.

A related feature in the discourse on the differences between the ASF-RDC and the ACIRC is the issue of sustainable and predictable funding. It is common knowledge that external partners have largely funded the ASF-RDC. As a result, pre-conditions and questions around sustained and continuous support have remained a challenge in the aspiration towards attaining FOC of the ASF-RDC. The ostensible point of departure of the ACIRC is the political commitments of VNs to self-sustain their respective personnel without reimbursement for a maximum period of 30 days. Under the operational concept of the ACIRC, this mechanism will be deployed for a maximum of 90 days before transitioning to a multidimensional peace support operations. Although the AU Commission may cover common costs, the contingent costs including equipment will be funded by the VNs for the expected time frame of 90 days when the ACIRC will be deployed. The principle of self-sustainment is also applicable to the ASF-RDC, except that it is limited to a pre-defined period of 30 days and re-imbursements are expected for this duration. The ACIRC has therefore been regarded as a mechanism that seeks to translate into practice the dictum of 'African Solutions to African Problems' through the utilization of African resources.

There are unending tales of controversies, contestations and inherent contradictions in the functional differentiation between the ASF-RDC and ACIRC. This is why Heads of State and Government instructed the Commission to harmonise both concepts in order to avoid duplication and by so doing optimise resources. During the 8th Specialised Technical Committee on Defence, Safety and Security held in Victoria Falls, on 15 and 16 May 2015, decisions were also made on how to leverage on the comparative value of the ACIRC through an understanding that it should be seen as a mechanism for expediting the RDC. At the same time, there was much emphasis on the need to draw down the ACIRC as the ASF-RDC becomes operational, following conduct of an AMANI AFRICA II Field Training Exercise, which was scheduled to take place in South Africa in October-November 2015.

The privileging of one mechanism over another will not resolve the problem of rapid intervention in Africa. As already noted elsewhere, both ACIRC and ASF-RDC are united in their challenges and therefore do not offer the solution of deploying an African rapid intervention force when needed on the continent (Okeke, 2016). The issue of rapid intervention has been historical focused on the appropriate mechanism for intervention rather than a more contemporary necessity of determining context-specific modalities of how to ensure rapid intervention if needed. The next section provides a set of models that could be considered if the need for rapid intervention arises.

Models for Rapid Intervention in Africa

The emphasis on rapid intervention as part of the toolbox for addressing crises on the continent reflects the growing securitisation of conflict management. The justification for timely response often involving rapid military intervention in the prevention and response to large-scale violations of human rights including Genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes and mass atrocities have been historical, related to the pattern of violence in Africa. It has also been the basis for the development of an 'ethical' foundation of a global society of states recognised in the 2005 endorsement by UN member states of the 'Responsibility to Protect' concept as well as the transformation of the African security regime from the rigid adherence to sovereignty as maintained by the OAU to the AU's principle of non-indifference. Notwithstanding, the relevance, adequacy and operational prospects of undertaking a rapid intervention through the AU and RECs/RMs are still characterised by the reactive nature of African states rather than a deep understanding of strengths and limitations of a robust African rapid intervention regime. Drawing from historical and contemporary evolution of security practices and challenges on the continent, this chapter identifies three models that provide an alternative thinking for understanding rapid intervention by African actors.

The first model is related to the historical fact that intra-African intervention that has been undertaken on the basis of humanitarian concerns although justified on the basis of the pursuit of national interests, have been led primarily through unilateral military interventions (Mayall, 2004).[5] Unilateral intervention refers to the possibility of a state conducting a military operation in another state with or without the authorisation of the UN Security Council and increasingly the AU PSC. The OAU strict adherence to the principles of traditional sovereignty and non-interference meant that the practice of an OAU-sanctioned intervention against a member state was prohibited. As a result, there was no legal justification for the pursuit of moral concerns of protecting civilians over the sacrosanct political dictates of traditional sovereignty. Despite this constraint, in 1979, Tanzania conducted a military operation in Uganda to overthrow the tyrannical regime of Idi Amin. This intervention was justified on the basis of the defence of the territorial integrity of Tanzania. However, the gross violations of human rights characterised by the expulsion of Ugandan Asian community and the prosecution of political opponents also explains why it has been argued that there was a coincidence with self-interest and humanitarian imperatives in the Tanzanian unilateral intervention in Uganda.[6] Indeed, the OAU formally condemned the unilateral intervention by Tanzania, but there was considerable satisfaction by most member states in the overthrow of Idi Amin. This pattern of intervention may be abused by big states against weak states, but its legitimacy can be justified if it seeks to prevent or respond to gross violations of human rights when there is a manifest failure of multilateral institutions to timely respond to such security threats due to political limitations (already identified) even when the ACIRC or the ASF-RDC are operationally ready for deployment.

The second model is to deepen institutionalised practice of the Lead or Framework Nation concept at the RECs/RMs level for the purpose of rapid intervention. In this respect, both ASF-RDC and ACIRC are somewhat related because they underscore the importance of Lead Nation concept. However, the ACIRC is based on the rotation Lead Nation of only VNs on a six-month basis while the ASF-RDC is based on the recognition of regional hegemons across the respective RECs/RMs. This was the basis of the ECOWAS deployments in Sierra Leone and Liberia in the 1990s and remains vital in building the required political momentum for timely and effective response to mass atrocities. A drawback with this model is the political difficult in promoting interoperability across regions as a regional hegemon within a REC could be negatively perceived as a threat in another region. The attempt by South Africa to intervene in the crisis in the 2010 post-election violence in Côte d'Ivoire was criticised by most ECOWAS member states. Overall, harnessing the strengths of capable states within each region could facilitate the prospects for timely and effective response to mass atrocities or indeed other forms of crisis.

Finally, the prevailing security threats that Africa faces especially in relation to terrorism, insurgency and transnational crimes, have significantly questioned the effectiveness of a time-bound rapid military intervention. Specifically, military intervention as we have seen in Somalia, Mali and Northeast Nigeria has merely led to a diffusion rather than degradation of terrorist threats. Yet, the significant civilian casualties recorded from the asymmetrical nature of these threats are consistent with war crimes and crimes against humanity. Certainly, the fluid nature of this pattern of threats cannot be addressed through a pre-determined timeline for rapid deployment as envisaged in both the ASF-RDC and the ACIRC. Rather it requires a dedicated long-term security and political strategy that is able to address the deep-rooted causes of the alternative forms of governance created by such illiberal opposition armed groups. Possible regional cooperation can be established in promoting a long-term security strategy whilst also addressing the political and socio-economic challenges in a timely and comprehensive manner. The 2013 establishment of the Operationalisation of the APSA in the Sahelo-Saharan region, although a work in progress, provides a framework for long term security cooperation in addressing terrorism in sub-Saharan Africa in general and northern Mali in particular. Recently, the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC) and Benin also established the Multinational Joint Taskforce against Boko Haram. This arrangement provides for sustainable security partnership that has the potential for addressing, in a sustainable and continuous manner, albeit in security terms, the threats posed by Boko Haram in the region. Indeed, the discourse on rapid intervention must transcend the security threats of the 1990s to the new prevailing security challenges in Africa.

Conclusion

Rapid intervention as defined by the ASF-RDC and ACIRC were conceived with the mindset of traditional peacekeeping based on traditional security threats of the immediate post-Cold War era. Despite this, it has proved difficult to realise or deploy a rapid capability, due to considerable technical challenges, but overwhelming because of the political decision-making process in mandating a rapid deployment capability under the Article 4 (h) provision of the Constitutive Act. These technical and political challenges suggest that the ASF-RDC and the ACIRC may never be deployed to prevent or respond to mass atrocities. However, the prospects and necessity for rapid intervention must be understood against the background of the specificity of the crisis, willingness of intervening parties as well as the contemporary security challenges in Africa. This means that it is possible that rapid intervention used be understood not as the primary development of a robust mechanism but rather as part of a comprehensive toolbox of options that would allow for the timely and effective response to crisis based on the nature, pattern and context of the crisis to be addressed. While one or a combination of these options may be in dissonance with extant legal arrangement, the legitimacy of such an intervention must remain the central focus. Legitimacy should always be defined as the ambition to protect vulnerable civilian population at risk of mass atrocities.

(Endnotes)

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6 Training on Child Rights and Child Protection for Military and Police Peacekeepers

Save the Children International

Introduction[1]

Over the last decade, great achievements have been made by the international community in adopting legal standards and high level mechanisms of monitoring, reporting and responding the gravest violations against children's rights in armed conflict situations. Yet the impact of armed conflicts on children is more brutal than ever. The nature of armed conflicts in Africa and elsewhere is changing with a growing number of long lasting internal conflicts where civilians, especially women and children, are caught up in the crossfire and suffer the most serious consequences.

Africa is host to some of the most devastating and lengthy conflicts in the world and has experienced more conflicts in the last 50 years than any other region. The continent is home to close to 3 million refugees and almost seven million IDPs[2] and has the largest number of child soldiers of any region. Children were actively involved in armed conflict in state forces or non-state armed groups in 11 countries from 2000 to date: Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, and Uganda.[3]

The breakdown of state authority, law and order, social cohesion, the emergence of non-state armed groups, the illegal flow of arms and drugs, and the recruitment and trafficking across borders that characterise such conflicts expose children to serious protection risks. The United Nations and, more recently the African Union, have increasingly responded to conflicts in Africa by deploying African peacekeeping missions to a large number of countries (Sudan, Burundi, Somalia, the DRC, Chad, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, and CAR). These peacekeepers carry out their mandates on the frontline, living near to and having daily interaction with affected communities, including children.

However, in recent years, reports of violations perpetrated by those forces with the mandates to protect children have increased, particularly the sexual exploitation and abuse of girls and boys, and the military use of schools.

While there is increasing interest and commitment from international and national militaries to address issues of children and armed conflict, and to safeguard children, there continue to be gaps in the system, which need to be strengthened if children are to be fully protected. Induction and pre-deployment training is just one component of this system; but if children are to be effectively safeguarded, then monitoring, reporting and follow-up mechanisms need to be in place and to be designed with the best interests of children at the core.

If military and peacekeeping forces are not trained in child protection and child rights, it is easy to claim that they did not know that what they were doing was a violation. Similarly, if the discipline, conduct and judicial procedures are inefficient or ineffective, a culture of impunity can prevail.

It is against this backdrop that Save the Children Sweden started training military personnel, with a focus on pre-deployment training of peacekeepers, in child rights and child protection in Africa in 1998. The initiative came in response to a key recommendation from the ground-breaking Graça Machel study on the impact of armed conflict on children (UN 1996), which clearly stressed the necessity of putting the protection of children on the international peace and security agenda. By 2012, Save the Children had provided training or sensitisation of approximately 91,156 military elements, including 29,760 peacekeepers and 1,570 trainers.[4] Save the Children continues to work with national, regional and international military actors to ensure that military, civilian and police personnel have at the minimum an orientation on child rights and child protection, and at best comprehensive capacity building that seeks to develop knowledge, skills and behaviours that will result in the better protection of children in conflict situations.

The Role of Save the Children

Save the Children is a humanitarian organisation, which means that it operates under the guidance of international humanitarian law (IHL) and international human rights law (IHRL). Its work is based primarily upon the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).

Save the Children Sweden believes that the military has a vital role to play in protecting children affected by armed conflict and this role is increasing in importance. While always maintaining our neutrality and non-political stance, our experience is that the dialogue created with the military has proven to make a difference in children's lives and will hopefully continue to do so even more in the future. Any soldier, peacekeeper, police officer or other adult in uniform that participated in Child Protection training now also has the chance to make an informed choice to protect children when this is needed– a choice that could have great impact on children.

Several sets of guidelines for humanitarian–military interaction have been developed in recent years by UN bodies and NGO coalitions as well as by individual agencies. These guidelines outline the appropriate terms of humanitarian actors' engagement with military forces, so that they can remain true to the fundamental principles of humanity, independence and impartiality.

Humanitarian space is under increased pressure in conflict zones around the world. This is particularly true in areas where non-state armed groups and government forces are fighting over territory and resources, political power and the support of the local population. In order to work effectively, humanitarian organisations require maximum access to all communities and children, which, in turn, demands that organisations such as Save the Children be perceived as neutral, with no political agenda.

Of particular importance for Save the Children is the challenge of finding the correct balance between cooperation with the military and maintaining a neutral and non-political stance. In areas of armed conflict, the mere presence of Save the Children can affect the parties or the situation and have an influence on developments. The advocacy and programmatic response could also change power dynamics and be seen as a support to certain interests. This is particularly the case if it involves direct support and cooperation with military forces by way of providing training.

The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children

Children's vulnerability during armed conflicts is very high. They are exposed to a variety of extreme circumstances, some of which are beyond their capacity to cope. The psychological and social aspects of child development, and children's overall well-being,

are continually compromised during the violence, insecurity and instability of armed conflict. It is now accepted that in addition to meeting basic needs, such as food and shelter, it is essential to consider the emotional and developmental support of children as they recover from distressing experiences more quickly when supported by their family and community in a child-friendly environment.

In situations of armed conflict, boys and girls are regularly recruited into armed forces or armed groups. While this involvement may be forced or 'voluntary', they take on a range of roles including fighting, or messengers, cooks and porters. They are also often exploited for sexual purposes. Recruitment exposes children to a number of extreme risks, such as death, physical injury, psychological damage, and sexual abuse. Return to civilian life can pose many challenges for both children and communities.

Children are also at risk of being separated from their primary caregivers either as a direct result of the emergency or as a result of its consequences. The identification of separated children, as well as tracing of their families and subsequent reunification, is therefore a priority in every phase of any emergency. Interventions that prevent secondary separation are also required.

The incidence of exploitation and gender-based violence often increases during and immediately after emergencies because of the breakdown in social structures and protective mechanisms normally provided by the state, community and family.[5]

In every armed conflict, boys and girls risk being physically harmed as a consequence of being targets and victims of violence and they are at risk of being maimed or killed. An estimated 90 per cent of global conflict-related deaths since 1990 have been civilians, and 80 per cent of these have been women and children.[6]

The Role of the Military in Protecting Children during Armed Conflict and Natural Disasters

The military has a vital role to play in protecting children affected by armed conflicts and this role is increasing in importance. Since the 1990s, armed forces at all levels have been steadily evolving towards a multi-functional role that is competent in fighting wars, peacekeeping, and providing disaster relief and humanitarian assistance such as protecting convoys of humanitarian assistance, repatriation of refugees and monitoring human rights. Military interventions that incorporate humanitarian-like activities (food delivery, provision of shelter, reconstruction of schools, well-digging) are launched for a number of reasons; among them the need to win over 'hearts and minds' or to increase local acceptance. Depending on the context, their contribution could be either invaluable, or could severely compromise the operational and humanitarian space of humanitarian organisations. One result of this focus of the military on 'humanitarian' activity is that it has an important role to play in ensuring humanitarian access in certain areas and enhances the importance of good civil-military relations where respective mandates are clearly understood and respected.

The military are often fighting in a conflict in which children might be illegally involved and it is crucial that they can identify a child soldier and respond to them appropriately. Under International Humanitarian Law, the military's response to child combatants must be framed by balancing military necessity against humanitarian considerations using the principle of proportionality.

The military have a very important role in referring children whose rights are being violated to the appropriate humanitarian organisations. There is also great potential for

the military, particularly peacekeepers, to monitor and report on violations of children's rights that they encounter.

When a natural disaster suddenly strikes, the military are most often the first responders and can play a key role in the protection of children during the most critical first 48 hours when families may have become separated. In the days, weeks and months that follow, military and security personnel are often heavily involved in rescue, recovery and relief efforts, as well as providing critical safety and security for affected communities.

It is within these contexts that knowledge and understanding of children's rights and the protection of the most vulnerable children in emergencies are vital.

The importance of standardised training on child rights and child protection for the military and peacekeepers

Since the 1990s, there have been numerous reports of violations against children by military and peacekeepers.[7] They are in a unique position of power, being authority figures in uniform, often carrying weapons, and sometimes with access to much-needed money, food or other such basic needs that those affected by conflict or natural disasters are in dire need of. It was within this context that Save the Children first advocated for the training of military and peacekeepers in 1998.

In the years that followed, Save the Children has worked together with ECOWAS, the East Africa Standby Force, National Militaries, as well as UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) to design and develop child rights and child protection training packages, and in some countries, to establish Child Protection Units in national armed forces that can directly address child protection issues.

Experience has taught us that while each mission has its own mandate, the violations experienced by children in conflict situations are quite consistent. This is reflected in the listing of the six grave violations against children in armed conflict as defined under UN Resolution 1612.[8]

While much progress has been made to include child protection in to induction and / or pre-deployment training for national militaries and peacekeeping forces (in 2009 UNDPKO established a policy of mandatory child protection training in its pre-deployment orientation for all missions[9] and in 2014 the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 2143,[10] recommending preventative training for militaries, police and peacekeepers in child protection), this has yet to be fully realised by all TCCs. Also, for those countries that do not deploy on UN peacekeeping missions there remains no obligation to conduct child rights and child protection training, resulting in varying levels of competencies within and between troops and missions.

An assessment of the impact of child protection training on security and defence forces conducted by Save the Children and The International Bureau of Children's Rights in 2014[11] provides an overview of child protection training delivery by key organisations, including Save the Children. The assessment found that structure of child protection trainings for military and peacekeepers vary quite significantly between organisations. There currently exists 211 tools to support child protection trainings for military and peacekeepers; however, the topics included in the materials are similar. The typical length of child protection trainings by UN DPKO (core training materials) is on average, less than 3 hours; UNICEF training is approximately 11 hours, and Save the Children's is 2 days or more (depending upon the training package used). While quantity does not necessarily mean

quality, longer sessions provide opportunities for good discussion, detailed presentations and a variety of methods.[12] Shorter sessions can be rushed and only offer a superficial level of orientation or awareness raising, rather than skills and competency development.[13]

Standardised training that is tailored for different ranks would ensure that all ranks have a minimum standard of child protection competencies enabling them to understand how conflict and disasters affect children, how to identify violations against children, their duty to protect and how to prevent violations against children within their own missions. It would also make them conversant with how to report concerns or violations of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Law, in particular, the Six Grave Violations against Children as detailed within the UN resolution 1612, as well as Monitoring and Reporting Mechanism, against which perpetrators can be held to account under the International Criminal Court.

Additionally, standardised (yet contextualised) training policies can also be used to inform mission doctrine and planning at the strategic level, informing rules of engagement in relation to children associated with armed forces and groups, designing operations to reduce the impact on children, such as minimising the threat of family separation, or physical harm to children where operations are planned. To achieve this requires endorsement and support from military leaders, including regional Peace and Security Departments, Standby Forces, and senior ranking personnel in National Militaries, as this requires a commitment to review policy and a commitment of human, financial and technical resources.

One of the greatest challenges regarding the sustainability of child protection training programmes has been the high rate of turnover of military training personnel, as they progress through the ranks or are assigned new duties. Having a standardised training package that is fully adopted and institutionalised would support a more consistent approach to training, reducing the risks incurred through loss of institutional memory as a result of personnel change; this approach would apply equally to Peacekeeping Training Centres of Excellence.

Conclusion

All military and peacekeeping missions have a duty to protect vulnerable civilians in the course of their duties. Children affected by conflict or natural disaster face particular risks and vulnerabilities. As this chapter has highlighted, children are at risk of family separation, recruitment into armed groups, gender-based violence, exploitation, psychosocial distress, trauma, maiming and death. Within each of these risks there are many nuances and interrelated risks that further exacerbate the vulnerability of children. In the 21st Century, with increasing access to and use of social media, there is also an increased attention to the conduct of the military and peacekeepers, and of the impact of armed conflict and natural disasters on children and other vulnerable groups. The nature of armed conflict is also changing, with many more intra-country conflicts than inter-country, which has also witnessed increasing numbers of military and peacekeeping missions being deployed, some of which are 'hybrid missions' combining UN and AU missions.

Yet, child rights and child protection training is rarely prioritised, often afforded an hour or two within induction or pre-deployment training programmes at best. At times inexperienced and unqualified trainers are tasked with conducting the training, without the skills and experience to go into depth or answer questions about key issues.

It is not simply a matter of having a standardised child rights and child protection training package, but there is a need for greater commitment to fully institutionalise child rights

and child protection training into (at least) basic induction training for all rank and file personnel, as well as civilian and police contingents of military and peacekeeping missions. This commitment should come from the highest levels and be fully implemented. Such a commitment would entail allocation of resources for the training of skilled and qualified dedicated trainers, who would be committed to conducting all child rights and child protection trainings. An appropriate amount of time for the training would also be allocated. It is possible to start off with a short orientation level training, progressing to more in-depth trainings as personnel progress through their missions and ranks.

Critically, standardised training materials would result in peacekeeping personnel from different troop-contributing countries arriving on-mission with the same understanding and competencies related to child rights and child protection, reducing any disparities between UN and AU mission peacekeeping personnel and strengthening all personnel's ability to fulfil their mission's mandates, particularly the protection of civilian responsibilities.

(Endnotes)

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9 *UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations: Policy Statement on Child Protection* (2009, Reviewed 2011).

10 United Nations Security Council voted unanimously to pass resolution 2143. This historic Security Council resolution is the first to recommend preventative training for UN peacekeeping personnel regarding children and armed conflict.

11 *'Assessment of Knowledge, Attitude and Behavioural Change Among Security and Defence Forces: Experiences and lessons from East, West and Central Africa'.* (2014) Save the Children and The International Bureau of Children's Rights.

12 Ibid. 22.

13 It is worth noting that in 2014 UNDPKO launched a revised 'Child Protection Specialised Training Materials' package for peacekeepers that builds upon the Core Training Materials and is designed to be conducted over 2 – 3 days.

Conflict Overviews: Wider Mano River Union Area Conflicts

In this Section

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7 ECOWAS Intervention in Liberia and Sierra Leone: Lessons for the Evolving APSA

Thomas Jaye, PhD

Abstract

Over the last two decades, the Mano River Basin became the epicentre of the conflict system in West Africa as a result of the failure of governance processes. It began with the outbreak of the Liberian civil war on the eve of Christmas (1989) and soon after, Sierra Leone followed in 1992. Both wars attracted the attention of ECOWAS, which intervened by putting together an ad-hoc body called ECOMOG. After protracted period of conflict and peace negotiations by ECOWAS and other external bodies, both wars were brought to an end without clear military victory by any one side. The interventions raised three indissolubly linked issues namely sovereignty (legality and legitimacy), strategy (politics, economics and military aspects) and security outcomes (ensuring that alleviating immediate human suffering feeds directly into long term tasks of addressing the underlying causes of the conflict). The chapter argues that the origins and manifestations of these conflicts are complex and rooted in the history of both countries, but are also linked with governance processes. The chapter also argues that as part of the evolving role of the APSA, future interventions in African conflicts should factor these three issues into planning processes.

Introduction

Liberia and Sierra Leone may have emerged under different historical circumstances, but they have certain experiences in common. Liberia was not formally colonised, but was established under the tutelage of the American Colonisation Society (ACS) and hence evolved under the strong influence of the US whereas Sierra Leone became independent from British colonial rule. Liberia became independent in 1847 and Sierra Leone in 1961. Both countries belong to the sub-regional security group called the Mano River Union (MRU), which was established in 1973 and they do share ethnic affinities or similarities: settlers (former slaves and recaptured Africans from the Diaspora), Kissis and others. Both have experiences of protracted civil wars: Liberia (1989 to 2003) and Sierra Leone (1992-2001). Finally, in both these countries, the regional body, ECOWAS played a significant role by sending in troops and brokering several peace agreements that finally brought the wars to an end. However, unlike Liberia where Charles Taylor, the man who started the fighting in Liberia in 1989 became President in 1997, his counterpart, Foday Sankoh did not manage to get elected. Sankoh died but Taylor is currently serving a jail sentence of 50 years in the UK.

As Africa evolves its peace and security architecture, it can draw lessons from the role of ECOWAS and its military wing, ECOMOG in the armed violent conflicts that gripped Liberia and Sierra Leone in the Mano River basin in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Historical Background to Interventions

Liberia

By the early 19th century, Africans freed from slavery arrived on the West Coast of Africa and established Liberia as a place for settlement. By 1847 Liberia was declared independent. After a spell with pluralist politics, by the 1870s the country became a one-party state and for more than one hundred years, the True Whig Party (TWP) ruled the country until it was overthrown in a Military coup d'état led by young officers of the Armed Forces of Liberia on 12 April 1980. Prior to the intervention, Liberia suffered long years of bad governance and democratic deficits; the politics was characterised by nepotism, cronyism, corruption, authoritarianism and lack of respect for the rule of law. Rather than serve as 'guardian angel' of the security of the people, the Liberian state and its coercive forces became sources of insecurity.

This intervention of the military did not change anything fundamentally. It did not take long before the country returned to the status quo ante. All the talk about weeding out corruption faded away within a short span of time. The military became a law unto itself; and soon, it was personalised rule once again. Instead of returning to the barracks, by 1985 the military civilianised itself, with Samuel Doe the leader of the coup as the presidential candidate for the National Democratic Party of Liberia (NDPL), which emerged from the military. The Doe regime did not only pursue the politics of marginalisation and exclusion; it also subjected people to human rights violations. It purged the army of elements that seemed committed to the idea of a return to the barracks. The execution of the Vice Head of State, Thomas Quiwonkpa and others is a clear manifestation of this. After the abortive coup of November 1985, the regime executed and imprisoned many people, particularly from Nimba County because of the role of Quiwonkpa and others from that area.

It is within the context of such environment that the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) led by Charles Taylor invaded the country from the Ivorian border on 24 December 1989. Thereafter, the war continued for fourteen years. The carnage and mayhem that characterised the war forced ECOWAS to intervene. ECOWAS intervened both militarily and diplomatically; holding peace meetings across the region while at the same time engaging the armed factions militarily.

Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone gained independence in 1961 from the British colonial rule. The country was governed by the Margai brothers, Sir Milton Margai and Sir Albert Margai, under the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP). In the process of winning the elections of 1967 by the All People's Congress (APC), a coup occurred, which delayed the party from assuming power, but inevitably, the military handed power over to the APC led by Siaka Stevens.[1] Having incrementally centralised power into the presidency, Stevens effectively turned Sierra Leone into a one-party state in 1978 (Arthur, 2010:8). The regime of Stevens was characterised by poor economic governance and corruption, as well as political repression. All of these factors gradually began to alienate not just the opposition but also the mass of the people. Subsequently, under the reign of Siaka Stevens, the seeds of discord and discontent were sown.

In light of the above, the history of the origins of the war in Sierra Leone can be traced to its past and relates to issues of politics, economics, social deprivation and insecurity. Nonetheless, the trigger factor can be traced to intervention of the army in the politics of the country. It began with the overthrow of Joseph Momoh from power by Captain Valentine Strasser on 29 April 1992. Momoh had been in power under a single party rule since 1985 after the longest serving, Siaka Stevens. In 1991, Foday Sankoh and his Revolutionary

United Front (RUF) started an armed incursion against the Momoh government. Strasser and his cohorts had apparently grown frustrated with the Sankoh war, but after assuming the leadership of the country, the war showed no sign of abating. In the process, Strasser's deputy, Julius Maada Bio, removed the former from power on 16 January 1996, promising pluralist elections. Subsequently, the elections were held, but without a clear winner; in the second round, Ahmed Tejan Kabbah won with 59.5% of the votes.

Interventions: Peace Processes and Agreements

Liberia

Lasting for fourteen years, the Liberian peace process saw the signing of thirteen peace agreements that constitute the basis for understanding and explaining efforts aimed at bringing the war to an end. These included the following among otheers: Banjul (August 1990), Bamako (November 1990), Banjul (December 1990), Lome (February 1991), Yamoussoukro (June 1991), Yamoussoukro (July 1991) Yamoussoukro (September 1991), Yamoussoukro (October, 1991), Accra (1992(, Akosombo (1992), Cotonou (1993), Abuja I and II (1996 and Accra (2003). In addition to the peace agreements, two All-Liberia conferences were held in Banjul (1990) and Monrovia (1991) without reaching a consensus on the way forward. Two of these agreements, namely Cotonou (1993) and the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (2003) are explored for the purpose of this chapter.

i) Cotonou: Shift Towards Appeasement

BEGIN HERE: Even though Banjul (1990) provided the framework and template for the peace process, Cotonou played a major role in shifting the paradigm adopted at Banjul. Notably, despite the agreements brokered by ECOWAS and the international community, the armed factions were not ready to end the conflict. In fact, Charles Taylor and his NPFL had even gone ahead to establish a government in Gbarnga, Bong County, called the National Patriotic and Reconstruction Assembly Government (NPRAG). After several peace meetings across West Africa, the peace talks were moved to Geneva, Switzerland through the initiatives of United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary General, Trevor Gordon-Somers; OAU eminent person, Rev. Canaan Banana; and ECOWAS Chair, Nicephore Soglo of Benin. After failed enforcement actions by the peacekeepers, the meeting resolved that there was need to dangle the 'carrot' through appeasement. Although the armed factions, particularly Charles Taylor, welcomed the shift, it failed to alter the distrustful and mistrustful relationship between the armed factions. Such atmosphere provided the basis for the subsequent meeting in Cotonou, Benin.

The key actors in Cotonou (1993) were the NPFL, IGNU and ULIMO. President Nicephore Dieudonne Soglo chaired the meeting whilst the UN and AU were represented by James Jonah, then Under Secretary General, Department of Political Affairs; and Rev. Canaan Banana, then serving as OAU Eminent person who signed as guarantors.

ECOWAS and the other stakeholders in the international community were frustrated because of the lack of commitment by the armed factions, especially the intransigence of the NPFL. As in the case of Sierra Leone, the mediation style was persuasion, appeasement, and also threats of boycott of the peace process. In furtherance of the appeasement process, Article 19 specifically urged that,

> acts committed by the Parties or by their forces while in actual combat or on authority of any of the Parties in the course of actual combat are hereby granted amnesty. Similarly, the Parties agree that business transactions legally carried out by any of the Parties hereto with private business institutions in accordance with the laws of Liberia shall in like manner be covered by the amnesty herein granted.[2]

Cotonou provided the basis for a power-sharing arrangement but implementing it became a challenge. According to Kendra Dupuy and Julian Detzel, the armed factions welcomed it because it shifted from the "model of trying to secure a long-term peace based on the needs of the civilian population through an interim government composed of civil society members and with minimal participation from the fighting factions, to achieving a short-term peace based on the needs and interests of the faction leaders through their inclusion in a transition government."[3]

The agreement was divided into two broad parts: Part One covered broader military issues, and Part Two covered broader political issues. Among others, the military issues included: declaration of ceasefire including terms and conditions, supervisory and monitoring authority, acts of violation, disarmament, encampment, demobilisation, and enforcement powers of intervention force, prisoners of war, and implementation schedule. The political element covered the following issues: structure of government (styled the Liberia National Transitional Government). This would be a single government replacing the IGNU and NPRAG; elections modalities; tenure and mandate of transitional government; humanitarian assistance; repatriation of refugees; and general amnesty.

One of the sticky points had to do with who gets what posts in the transitional arrangement. The agreement was completely silent on cabinet positions. The four ministries in contention were finance, defence, justice and foreign affairs. Then there was the situation in which some of the factions did not have confidence and trust in ECOMOG that was believed to have supplied arms to rival factions. Fingers were specifically pointed at Nigeria, Ghana and Guinea. Finally, the delay in the arrival of the expanded ECOMOG troops from Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Uganda for months because of financial reasons caused anxiety. Their arrival would later allay the fears of the NPFL that held the opinion that it was a target of ECOMOG.

After Cotonou, it became evident that one of the things to be mindful of under such circumstances is the tendency for groups to emerge after peace agreements have been signed. Such was the experience with the Liberia Peace Council (LPC) led by George Boley, which emerged in 1993. As this group was not a signatory to the agreement, it posed a challenge.[4] How could it partake in implementation of an agreement to which it was not a signatory?

There were other developments in the region that favoured appeasement. For example, the region could not sustain the peace process through enforcement actions because this was costly in human and financial terms. General Sani Abacha replaced I. Babangida and as a pariah regime, it was seeking a good face globally as a peace maker. Then President Boigny died in Côte d'Ivoire and was replaced with Henri Konan Bedie. The latter did not have any personal interest in the Liberian conflict as did his predecessor.[5] Reportedly, Boigny sought to remove Doe for the arrest and execution of his son-in-law, Adolphus Benedict Tolbert (son of the slain President William R. Tolbert, Jr.) who was married to Boigny's stepdaughter. Appeasement was the preferred choice that influenced Taylor and his intransigent NPFL to begin to cooperate with ECOWAS.

The subsequent Abuja I & II meetings therefore created the enabling environment for the elections of 1997 by appeasing the armed factions. As opposed to previous agreements that banned those holding positions within interim governments from contesting elections, the Abuja Agreement changed this to read as follow: "holders of positions within the Transitional Government as defined by the Cotonou Accord who wish to contest election provided under the Schedule of Implementation shall vacate office three months before the date of elections. They shall be replaced by their nominees or by persons nominated by the parties represented in the Council of State" (Abuja, Article 16, August, 1995). The armed factions embraced this provision because it would allow them to contest elections and have a direct role in running the affairs of the state.

Accordingly, after the Abuja I & II agreements of 1996, Taylor was finally accommodated, particularly by Nigeria. Subsequently, elections were held in 1997 that brought Charles Taylor to power through a process in which the citizens voted purely for peace and not necessarily for democracy. Unfortunately, in the two years that followed, Liberia did not enjoy peace or democracy. The relapse into war in 1999 was not surprising because Mr. Taylor had squandered the opportunity to pursue a course of post-war recovery that was offered by the elections.

ii) Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA)

The decisive phase of the peace process was ushered in after the elections of 1997 failed to bring either peace or democracy. On the contrary, it was followed by war which started in July 1999 by LURD. Such result signified two things: underlying causes of conflict were not addressed; and Taylor failed to exploit the opportunity offered by the elections. The stalemate that ensued led to new round of talks in Accra, Ghana out of which the CPA emerged on 18 August 2003. Its signatories included the armed factions, political parties and civil society groups. President Taylor was present at the opening ceremony that was attended by Presidents Thabo Mbeki (South Africa), Olusegun Obassanjo (Nigeria), John Kufuor (Ghana) and Laurent Gbagbo (Côte d'Ivoire). On the day of the opening ceremony, the American, David Crane of the Special Court in Sierra Leone, unsealed the indictment of Taylor for war crimes. By their action, Crane and his team were insensitive to the process and could have derailed the peace process, but the mediators did not succumb to Crane's actions.

Subsequently, the International Contact Group on Liberia (ICGL), including ECOWAS, chose General Abdulsalami Abubakar as chief mediator.[6] General Abubakar successfully presided over the political transition in Nigeria after the death of General Sani Abacha. Representatives of the UN, EU, AU, ECOWAS, ICGL and the United States were present at the talks throughout.

The agreement signed on 18 August 2003 comprised eleven parts, which among others covered the following issues: cessation of hostilities; cantonment, disarmament, demobilisation, reintegration and rehabilitation; security sector reform; release of prisoners and abductees; human rights; humanitarian issues; political issues; conflict rehabilitation and reconstruction; implementation of peace agreement; and settlement of disputes.[7]

Among others, the CPA proposed a power-sharing transitional political arrangement to be named National Transitional Government of Liberia (NTGL) that would replace GoL headed by Charles Taylor. It comprised the National Transitional Legislative Assembly (NTLA), the Executive and the Judiciary. The NTLA was a unicameral body comprising seventy-six members originating from the following: each of the fifteen counties, GoL, LURD, MODEL, Political Parties, Civil Society and Interests Groups of Liberia including the National Bar Association, the Liberian Business Organisations, Women Organisations, Trade Unions, Teachers Union, Refugees, the Liberians in the Diaspora/America and Youth (CPA, Article XXIV, 2003). Accordingly, the armed factions, namely GoL, LURD and MODEL were each given 12 seats; political parties got 18 seats; civil society and special interest groups got seven seats and the counties were allotted 15 seats (CPA, Article XXIV). It had the power to accept or reject nominees to the Cabinet.

The CPA constituted the most comprehensive of all peace agreements and signing it altered the dynamics of the peace process including the political landscape of Liberia. Taylor resigned and moved to Nigeria; NTGL was installed into office and after its two year term, elections were held in October 2005 that brought Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf to power. A subsequently violence free election was held in 2011. In this light, the CPA provided the basis for the peace presently enjoyed in Liberia.

Sierra Leone

Like the case of Liberia, the conflict in Sierra Leone was brought to an end after several efforts by ECOWAS and the international community to broker peace deals. For the purpose of this chapter, only the Abidjan, Conakry and Lomé agreements will be explored because of their significant contributions to the peace process in Sierra Leone.

i) Abidjan Agreement

The Abidjan Agreement was pursued because of the lack of progress in the Sierra Leonean peace process. A number of incidents forced the need for a political settlement of the conflict. First, the NPRC carried out a military coup d'état, which complicated the process. Second, the rebels were not only reluctant for peace, but were perpetrating untold and unbearable human suffering in the country. Finally, as a consequence of the war, thousands of Sierra Leoneans were displaced either as refugees or as internally displaced persons; and humanitarian relief was inaccessible.

As Yusuf Bangura would write, after five years and eight months of war and the rapid change of governments, a political settlement was the way forward to stop the carnage and create the enabling environment for people to begin to rebuild their lives. Then there was the situation in which RUF had also realised that it was losing territory and suffered setbacks in the fight with the Kamajors: the traditional hunters.[8]

The Abidjan talks were characterised by a number of challenges. For example, according to Solomon Berewa (leader of the government delegation), formal negotiations were superficial and facile; "there was no agenda or programme for the talks. There was no demand made by the rebels as a condition for ending the conflict, nor was any incentive held out to them to induce them to lay down their arms permanently".[9] Frustratingly, Sankoh and his people were more interested in blaming others and explaining why they were fighting than in saying exactly what plan they had for peace.

Significantly, it was not ECOWAS nor the OAU or UN that initiated the Abidjan talks; rather, it was the London-based International Alert (IA) that worked behind the scenes to arrange meetings between the Assistant Secretary General of the OAU, Daniel Antonio and the RUF in December 1994. IA also organised a meeting between the Ivorian Foreign Minister, Amara Essy and Foday Sankoh in Sierra Leone in February 1996. IA also brought the RUF delegation to Abidjan to prepare them to travel to Addis Ababa, but this did not happen, which then forced them to remain in Abidjan.

The meeting was chaired by Essy, and in addition to the NPRC and RUF, representatives of the UN, OAU, Commonwealth Secretariat, and IA were also present. During the talks, the RUF had to face a new and changing reality in the country: on 15 March 1996, Kabbah of the SLPP won the elections by 59 to 40 over Karefa Smart after the run-off elections (Gberie, 2000: 21). This meant that the RUF had to now deal with an elected and legitimate government led by Kabbah.

Abidjan was signed as a result of the combination of diplomacy, coercion, appeasement, peace enforcement, military pressure and others that were employed during the period of the negotiation. Appeasement was a major concern because, under Article 14 of the Agreement, the RUF leaders were given amnesty and immunity against prosecution for crimes committed during the war. Even though efforts were made to appease the rebels, implementation became difficult because of the attitude of the parties.

As part his desire to pursue dialogue, after his inauguration, Kabbah released six RUF people from prison and held a meeting with Sankoh on 22 April in Yamoussokro, Côte d'Ivoire. The talk between Kabbah and Sankoh provided an opportunity for direct contact between

them and dispelled the thinking that Sankoh was a mythical, but rather, a real person. As Berewa asserts, it also allowed them to agree on a date for a formal meeting and showed that peace was possible (Berewa, 2011:118). On the following day, the parties signed a ceasefire agreement and agreed to form a working committee to deal with the agreement. The groups were tasked with presenting their reports to a plenary within two weeks.[10]

After pressure mounted by the international community, Sankoh returned to Sierra Leone to consult with his commanders about signing the agreement; and when he returned, the agreement was signed on 30 November 1996 (Gberie, 2000: 23) by Foday Sankoh and Kabbah. Other signatories were Henri Konan Bedie, President of Côte d'Ivoire, Berhanu Dinka, SRSG for Sierra Leone, Adwoa Coleman, Representative of the OAU, and Moses Anafu, Representative of the Commonwealth Organisation. ECOWAS is ostensibly absent from the list of moral guarantors, but it could mean that Bedie who was then serving as Chair of ECOWAS,[11] represented the organisation. While this was an important step in the right direction, it was premature to assume that the agreement would bring Sierra Leone's misery to an end.

The agreement comprised 28 Articles dealing with different elements of the peace process. One of the most important elements of this agreement was the Commission for the Consolidation of Peace that would be charged with the duties to monitor and supervise the implementation of, and compliance with the provisions of the Agreement. Among others, it would also coordinate and facilitate the work of bodies such as the: Citizen's Consultative Conferences; Trust Fund for the consolidation of Peace; and Demobilisation and Resettlement Committee. It comprised representatives of the Government and the RUF.

The security issues were covered in the Articles relating to DDR and SSR. For example, DDR was covered under Articles 5 to 10 of the Agreement. In this regard, the parties expressed commitment to ensure that the process of encampment, disarmament, demobilisation and resettlement were indissolubly linked to national development objectives of the country. Thus, a specialised Committee on Demobilisation and Resettlement was envisaged, comprising a membership not exceeding seven representatives of the Sierra Leone Government and the RUF, but supervision and monitoring would be left to the international community (Articles 5-9, Abidjan Agreement, 1996).

On security sector reform (SSR), the Commission for the Consolidation of Peace was given the task to put forward recommendations on 'the restructuring and reorientation of the military as well as its leadership. In this context, members of the RUF/SL who may wish to be part of the country's military could become part of a new unified armed forces (Article 9, Abidjan Agreement, 1996). All units of the army that were not required for national security duties were to return to the barracks; and the army would be downsized in keeping with the security needs of the country (Article 10, Abidjan Agreement, 1996).

Finally, under Article 25, the need to ensure that rule of law is upheld was enshrined. In this light, it was stressed that there is a need to strengthen the police and emphasise 'professionalism, the importance of human dignity and democratic values and respect and protection of human rights...the conduct of members of the Police Force shall be free from all partisan considerations of politics, ideology and social position and that the Police Force shall avoid and combat corruption' (Article 25, Abidjan Agreement, 1996). The agreement also covered the issues of national unity and reconciliation by expanding the mandate and membership of the existing National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (Article 15, Abidjan Agreement, 1996).

Implementation became a headache because Sankoh was never interested in any agreement that did not personally benefit him with power and wealth. In fact, once the

Executive Outcome left the country, the RUF began to adopt an intransigent attitude towards the peacekeepers and this negatively impacted on the peace process.

In addition, the RUF refused to cooperate with the government and a 'wireless communication' between Sankoh and his field commander, Sam Bockarie exposed Sankoh that he had no intention of complying with the Abidjan agreement but "only signed it so that he would spare himself from further pressure to which the international community was subjecting him in order to end the hostilities."[12]

Thus, the signing of the agreement failed to bring peace or security to Sierra Leone. On the contrary, within less than year, on 25 May 1997, the government of Kabbah was toppled in a military coup d'état that brought to power a military junta led by Major Johnny Paul Koroma.[13]

The coup d'état that overthrew the Kabbah regime sparked regional as well as wider global concerns and condemnation. For example, the OAU meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe did not only condemn it, but mandated ECOWAS to ensure that constitutional rule be restored to Sierra Leone.[14]

ii) Conakry Agreement

ECOWAS intervened and pursued a diplomatic course of action by convening a meeting of the stakeholders including the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) that overthrew the Kabbah government; the RUF and the Government itself. It was agreed that Kabbah would be restored to power, but the AFRC reneged on the agreement reached in Conakry, Guinea. On the contrary, the junta insisted on three conditions as follow: unconditional release of RUF leader, Foday Sankoh; withdrawal of Nigerian troops from ECOMOG; and exemption of the AFRC from the DDR process.[15]

Because of their intransigent behaviour, the region imposed economic sanctions and called for the restoration of the regime of Kabbah. There were even clashes between the Nigerian-led ECOMOHG troops and the junta. But when the Nigerian troops that were stationed in the country to train its army failed to dislodge the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), General Sani Abacha then decided to deploy the Nigerian-led ECOMOG troops in neighbouring Liberia to reverse the coup in Freetown. Consequently, in February 1998, about nine months after the coup, ECOMOG troops recaptured Freetown and restored the exiled President Kabbah on 10 March 1998 (Peter A. Dumbuya, 2008: 83). After restoring Kabbah, Maxwell Khobe, a Nigerian General was named head of the Sierra Leonean army.[16]

One observer makes the argument that at the time of the intervention in February 1998 in Sierra Leone, ECOMOG was not a peacekeeping force because it was partisan and supported the regime of President Kabbah (Berewa, 126). But by 22 October 1999, the UN did not only acknowledge the role of ECOMOG, but approved its new mandate to provide security in the broader sense of the word, including establishing corridors and locations for the resettlement of refugees and distribution of humanitarian relief supplies in the country.[17]

iii) Lomé Agreement

In addition to the Abidjan and Conakry Agreements, ECOWAS also played a critical role in the Lome peace process that produced the Lome Agreement. Lome was ushered in because the Conakry and Abidjan Agreements failed; the RUF/AFRC rebels invaded Freetown in January 1996, but were flushed out of Freetown by ECOMOG. This forced the peace process back on course and led to three different levels of dialogue that occurred before Lome: dialogue among the rebels including Sankoh and his commanders; dialogue between the Government and the rebels; and dialogue among Sierra Leoneans through

consultations.[18] Between January and March 1999, Kabbah met with Sankoh regularly to illustrate his commitment to the process.[19]

While the pursuit of dialogue with the rebels was necessary; it also threw up some challenges. Peter Penfold, then UK Ambassador to Sierra Leone, captures this very well. He says:

> The question to be answered was with whom did one talk? Sankoh was still in detention in Freetown, but did he really control the RUF? It was now over four years since Sankoh had actually been in the bush with his boys. Bockarie, out in the east in Kailahun, had got used to running the show and was forever making statements on his own behalf. Even if the RUF were united, it was questionable how much the ex-AFRC/SLA recognised Sankoh's leadership. Johnny Koroma was still being held hostage and tortured by Bockarie.
>
> To demonstrate this disunity Sankoh said that he would need to speak face to face with his supporters before he could tell President Kabbah what the RUF wanted. It seemed strange that a revolutionary movement that had been fighting for eight years did not know what it wanted.[20] In the face of the intransigence of the group, ECOWAS mandated the Foreign Ministers of Togo and Côte d'Ivoire to ascertain from the rebels their real motives for fighting.

According to Kabbah, this decision by ECOWAS 'marked an important milestone in the peace process', which encouraged efforts towards dialogue and peace. To pursue this objective, he personally met with Sankoh and:

> […] because the RUF commanders kept insisting that they had to talk to their leader directly, and in the context of the ECOWAS mandate to find out what exactly they wanted, I had on 6 February 1999 allowed Foday Sankoh to be flown to neighbouring Conakry. Although he was a convict awaiting judicial appeal, he was allowed to leave our jurisdiction and given the unique opportunity to meet the two ECOWAS Foreign Ministers outside Sierra Leone.[21]

Sankoh was even given a satellite phone so that he could keep in touch with his supporters but nothing changed and fight in different parts of the country continued.

Then on 11 March 1999, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1231 in which it expressed its support for all efforts:

> , particularly by ECOWAS states, aimed at peacefully resolving the conflict and restoring lasting peace and stability to Sierra Leone, encourages the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative for Sierra Leone, to facilitate dialogue to these ends…and calls upon all parties involved, especially the rebels, to participate seriously in these efforts.[22]

In response, the RUF issued a paper titled: *Lasting Peace in Sierra Leone: Revolutionary United Front Sierra Leone (RUF/SL) Perspective and Vision.* In this document, they outlined a number of demands including the following:

- Immediate and unconditional release of Foday Sankoh; and that all charges against him be dropped
- Blanket amnesty for all AFRC personnel, sympathisers, collaborators and all combatants
- Cessation of hostilities and ceasefire be established
- Establishment of a four-year transitional government that will include the RUF/SL
- All foreign troops (including ECOMOG) and mercenaries to leave Sierra Leone, and

- A new Sierra Leonean army should be created in which the armed factions would participate[23]

Consequently, the Kabbah administration set up a technical team to develop an outline for the Government's position.[24] Civil society groups were asked to hold a consultative conference in Freetown from 7-9 April 1999 under the leadership of the National Commission for Democracy and Human Rights (NCDHR) led by its Chairman Dr. Kadi Sesay. The main purpose of this meeting was to allow the people of Sierra Leone to have a voice in the peace process. About 300 people participated in the meeting, including: teachers, students, women's groups, paramount chiefs, religious leaders, trade unions, and ex and serving members of the army, civil defence forces, parliamentary parties, the amputees and displaced. After the three-day consultative meeting, "The Road to Peace" was produced with the following demands:

- A ceasefire agreement should be agreed by government on condition that there is improvement in the security situation throughout the country
- RUF should release all abductees without conditions
- No power-sharing with RUF
- Opposed to general amnesty
- That Sankoh should be allowed to consult with his people; but he must be tried for transgressing the laws of the country
- Liberia, Libya, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone should be involved in the peace process, and
- ECOMOG and foreign troops should stay in the country[25]

These meetings provided the basis for the Lomé peace process. Subsequently, on 18 April, Sankoh was flown to Lomé via Monrovia. The Lomé peace process involved several actors including the government of Sierra Leone, RUF/SL, AFRC, civil society representative, US, UK, UN, OAU, ECOWAS, Liberia, Libya, Commonwealth, Burkina Faso, Mali, Nigeria, Guinea, Ghana, and others.

From the onset, two key issues: release of Sankoh and inclusion of the RUF into a transitional government were raised. They RUF demanded 11 ministerial and 4 deputy ministerial posts, and the vice presidency. Further, they wanted ambassadorial posts to US, Nigeria and Liberia and deputy high commissioner to the High Commission in the UK. They also wanted the Governorship of the Bank of Sierra Leone, Director of the National Port Authority, Resident Minister of the Northern Province, Mayor of Freetown and head of the Commission on Post-war Reconstruction (Kabbah, 2010: 128-129).

The Government delegation found these demands by Sankoh and his people unacceptable. They were willing to only offer the RUF four ministerial and four deputy ministerial posts. Sankoh was not comfortable with this and so began to make even more unacceptable demands.[26]

After negotiations, the RUF team accepted an offer of the post of Chair of the *Commission for the Management of Strategic Mineral Resources, National Reconstruction and Development*, and signed the agreement on 7 July 1999. The agreement also gave the RUF four ministerial and four deputy ministerial posts and they were promised ambassadorial and other public service posts.[27] Interestingly, Sankoh was personally fooled into accepting the post of Vice President that was not provided for in the constitution. This exposed Sankoh as being greedy for power and merely seeking for access to natural resources. As Berewa would also say:

> From that moment, he and I were talking to each other like two Sierra Leoneans with the interest of Sierra Leone at heart. He was on one occasion even overheard addressing members of his delegation to the talks, whom he called 'my boys', and warning them that they were to refrain from doing anything or behaving in any way as to bring discredit to 'our country', Sierra Leone, and that they were to aim at achieving a peaceful settlement of the Talks.[28]

The Lomé talks were characterised by stick and carrot approach in the form of appeasement and threats of sanctions.

a) The Agreement

The Lomé Agreement was divided into eight parts and comprised thirty seven Articles covering a broad range of issues geared at ensuring peace and security in Sierra Leone. Compared with others, this was more comprehensive covering the following issues: cessation of hostilities; governance; other political issues; post-conflict military and security issues; humanitarian, human rights and socio-economic issues; implementation of the Agreement; and final provisions. The three key issues around which this agreement was crafted include political, humanitarian and military issues.

Part four covered broader post-conflict military and security issues such as: new mandates for ECOMOG and UNOMSIL; security guarantees for peace monitors; DDR, SSR, withdrawal of mercenaries; notifications to the Joint Monitoring Commission and the Military Commanders. The new mandate for ECOMOG was peacekeeping and provision of security for the Sierra Leonean state. Then the government of Sierra Leone and the RUF/SL would guarantee the security of UNOMSIL military observers so that they can move freely throughout the country.[29] It also provided for DDR and SSR processes.

The people of Sierra Leone received the agreement with mixed feelings; some rejoiced but others felt this was betrayal by the President and the international community of states. The US and UK issued a joint statement to congratulate the RUF/SL and Government of Sierra Leone for the agreement, which read as follows:

> The Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States of America would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone on the conclusion of the peace agreement signed today. We would also like to express our support for the agreement, which will bring to an end the tragic war in Sierra Leone. We encourage both parties to continue to demonstrate their commitment to long term peace. We will continue to encourage and support the implementation of this agreement as appropriate and beneficial to both parties, and will encourage other members of the international community to do same.[30]

As usual, implementation became a challenge because of lack of resources. The US Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, visited Sierra Leone pledging $55 million for the settlement of displaced persons and reintegration of former fighters. She also said that the US Government was prepared to forgive about $65 million in debt depending on whether the country would put in place an IMF programme.[31] But programmes like DDR suffered serious setbacks because the total amount of $40 million earmarked for it and contributions toward it were very slow.[32] This has been the perennial feature of the role of external actors, making promises, but then delaying or at times even refusing to make payments.

Similarly, the implementation of the other security element of the Agreement was challenging. The RUF refused to nominate two of their people to bodies responsible for the process of demilitarisation and security: Ceasefire Monitoring Committee, and the Joint Monitoring Commission. There were Inter-factional fights in some parts of the country and

both Sankoh and Johnny Paul Koroma only returned to Sierra Leone after three months of signing Lome agreement.

In order to ensure implementation of the Lomé Agreement, an Abuja Accord was signed in November of 2000 in which ceasefire was declared and the Lomé Agreement was deferred to as the framework for peace in the country. A new RUF leadership was welcomed and on 18 January 2002, at Lungi Airport, Kabbah declared the war over. About 3000 weapons were burnt to symbolise this declaration.[33]

In summary, it is important to note that while the origins of the civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, and the consequent interventions by ECOWAS are unique in many ways, there are cross-cutting issues that they share in common. On the specific issue of the origins of the conflict, it is evident that there are a combination of issues including poor natural resource management, socio-economic and political marginalisation of the vast majority of the people, personalisation and over-centralisation of power, ethnicity, political repression and authoritarianism that should be considered.

Concerning the intervention by ECOWAS, the mediation style applied the carrots and sticks methods. The lack of cohesion and regional solidarity played in the hands of the rebels; logistical issues as well as other strategic challenges emerged; and the reliance on external actors was evident.

Observations and Conclusions

Three key cross-cutting issues emerged out of the interventions. These were: *sovereignty* (legality and legitimacy of the interventions), *strategy* (relating means to an end), and *security outcomes* (alleviating immediate human suffering, and ultimately, addressing the underlying causes of the armed conflicts).

Sovereignty

In an environment in which African and global politics was still characterised by importance of sovereignty in dealing with matters that are domestic, how did ECOWAS reconcile the principle of non-interference with sovereignty as a strong basis for intervening on humanitarian grounds? This generated a plethora of debates among scholars on intervention. Some argued that it was illegal and others held that the politics of the intervention legitimised it. What made matters worse was that in the case of Liberia, ECOWAS was not authorised by the UNSC nor could it invoke its Protocol on Non-Aggression of 1978 or the Protocol on Mutual Assistance on Defence (PMAD) of 1981. While the latter was sufficient for intervention in Liberia, there was no institutional basis for it because the Allied Armed Forces of the Community (AAFC) that should have been established for this purpose was non-existent. Then when Samuel Doe made a request for support, this was made to Nigeria and not ECOWAS.[34] The intervention in Sierra Leone was also based on the Status of Force Agreement with Nigeria to defend and retrain the Sierra Leonean army.[35]

The basis for intervention in both countries therefore rested on humanitarian grounds – to save suffering humanity. Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, former President of Sierra Leone, best captures the humanitarian basis for intervention in Sierra Leone. He asserts that, "together with the loyal members of our army and our civil defence forces, ECOMOG was here to help protect innocent and defenceless Sierra Leoneans against further death, mutilation and atrocities by those who had chosen to wage a merciless war against the people of Sierra Leone."[36] Today, the argument of intervening on humanitarian basis would hold ground because of the existing legal frameworks and consensus on things like R2P but this was not the case then. Importantly, with hindsight, it is difficult to see how ECOWAS could not easily justify its interventions in both countries as pure and simple response to situations of threats to the peace and security of West Africa.

The issue of sovereignty is therefore about legitimacy and legality of the actions of the interventionist forces. Who sanctioned both interventions? Going strictly by the existing international legal instruments, the UNSC should have done so but it did not. Nonetheless, the UN did not condemn the interventions, but actually blessed them. Even though the armed factions did not accept the interventions in both countries, the vast majority of the people did. ECOMOG created safe havens and even through there was discipline problem within its ranks including abuse of human rights, the force helped to protect innocent and defenceless lives, to borrow Kabbah's words.

Strategy

The interventions in both countries clearly illustrate the need to get the strategic issues addressed in order for them to become successful. In both cases, there was lack of cohesion among the regional players as occasioned by the differences between the French speaking and English speaking countries, which weakened regional solidarity in Liberia. Taylor exploited this lack of regional cohesion and solidarity to pursue his military ambitions with the implicit and sometimes explicit support of some of the French speaking countries such as Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso. In the case of Sierra Leone, there were differences among the intervening countries as occasioned by the preferences for different approaches. For example, Ghana and Guinea were cautious and hence favoured a gradual approach whereas Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso were opposed to such intervention. In essence, the dynamics of regional politics in specific relation to solidarity and cohesion among the member states were undermined under such circumstances. As J.M. Taw and A. Grant-Thomas would argue, the potential to be successful in such interventions depended in part on political and military viability (Taw and Grant-Thomas: 57-58). "Political viability is measured here by an organisation's will to act, political cohesion, and legitimacy" (Taw and Grant-Thomas: 58). Hence, even though regional cohesion was threatened by the differences mentioned, ECOMOG was formed by a 'coalition-of-the-willing based on mutual local interests'. There were concerns about maintaining regional balance and ensuring that the instability associated with these conflicts did not spread throughout the region.[37]

There were also military issues raised by these interventions. These included but were not limited to the following: absence of common doctrine; lack of adequate equipment; lack of sufficient logistics (troops depend on supply lines); communication; professionalism (some were looting and black marketeering); force structure and training (infantry, support forces or special operation forces); command and control and other related strategic.[38] In the case of Sierra Leone, the intervention was shouldered by the Nigerian soldiers where as in Liberia, the troops contributing countries in ECOMOG played a collective role in rebuffing rebel attacks, although Nigeria's robust posturing and urge for peace enforcement was also visible in Liberia.

In addition to the issue of regional politics and the military aspect of the intervention, the other concern had to do with the economics of the intervention. Who shoulders the financial burden for the intervention and to what extent can they sustain it? The point is that interventions are costly exercises and it is difficult to know when exactly they can end. Interventions require long-term commitment and in an environment in which many of the countries intervening are not endowed with sufficient resources to keep the peace, certain compromises have to be reached. For example, in terms of cost, the weekly cost of ECOMOG operations in Sierra Leone was estimated at $3 million (Penfold: 61). It is also estimated that the involvement in Liberia cost Nigeria roughly $3 billion and over 500 soldiers were killed.[39] Therefore, in both countries, ECOMOG suffered serious casualties including deaths of peacekeeping troops.

In conditions of lack of resources and where there is pressure from home, troops contributing countries can make decisions that best suit their interests. Nigeria, as the regional hegemon, was a classic example. The country shouldered the burden of financing

the interventions, but with time, could not continue to do so because of its own internal challenges. By the time that Charles Taylor agreed to meet with General Sani Abacha, the country was already going through its own internal problems. As indicated earlier, Nigeria was declared a pariah state globally; then Abacha had to deal with growing pressure of the pro-democracy movement at home; and by the time of the Lomé Agreement between the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF, democratic elections were held in Nigeria that brought General Olusegun Obassanjo to power. Hence, the power dynamics changed in Nigeria as the President was now answerable to parliament and therefore could not make unilateral decisions on foreign interventions like his predecessors who were military leaders. Obassanjo sought to either urge the UN to replace ECOMOG in Sierra Leone or alternatively, for the UN to provide the necessary resources for ECOMOG to do the job.[40]

Like other interventions in the continent today, the ECOWAS interventions in Liberia and Sierra Leone also received the support (financial blessings) of external powers such as the US and UK. The latter even intervened militarily. Other countries and multilateral organisations like the AU, UN, EU and even international NGOs played participated in this process.

Given the prevailing national, regional and global situation, ECOWAS was forced to adopt a totally different approach to managing the conflicts in the region: appeasement for the rebels. Partly, the agreements reached with the Liberian armed factions in 1996, which paved the way for Taylor's elections in 1997, should be seeing within this context. Further, the fatigue of engaging in warfare in the region coincided with the elections in Nigeria, which helped to also create an enabling environment for the Lomé Agreement between the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF.

Security Outcomes

One of the challenges of intervention is that unless it can deal with the issue of security outcomes, success becomes difficult. Indeed, the ECOWAS interventions created corridors for the provision of humanitarian relief; for brokering several peace agreements in both countries; for the establishment of interim governments in Liberia and the return of President Kabbah to power in Sierra Leone; and for creating 'safe havens' that allowed unarmed citizens to move around. The elections in both countries were held thanks to the presence of ECOMOG.

In the case of Taylor, the brutal nature of his regime led to relapse into armed violence only two years after the elections that had brought him to power. The armed violence lasted from 1999 to 2003 when the Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed. After the signing the CPA, the situation in Liberia changed. Taylor resigned from office as President and fled into exile in Nigeria from where he was arrested under the claims that he was escaping into neighbouring Cameroon. He has since appeared before the Special Court for Sierra Leone and has been imprisoned for 50 years for his part in the war in Sierra Leone. Liberia has held two violence free elections in 2005 and 2011, but is the country out of the woods? There is no straight-forward yes or no answer to this question. Cautiously, there are signs to think that the country can move a step forward in the process of building peace but the underlying causes of the conflict must be addressed.

In the case of Sierra Leone, in addition to the two military coups d'état by Strasser and Johnny Paul Koroma, the RUF remained a troubling factor over a protracted period. However, the signing of the Lomé Agreement (1999) also altered the political and security landscape of the country. Even though the Agreement was not implemented smoothly, it created the basis for moving gradually towards peace in the country; it stabilised the situation and therefore providing the framework for peacebuilding or post-war reconstruction in the country. Thus, like Liberia there is reason to be optimistic about its future but caution must also be exercised in reaching a conclusion on this.

Against the backdrop of the above, both interventions did contribute to the process of linking the short-term security outcomes with the long-term ones. However, achieving the latter has been a tall order. Perhaps the point should also be made here that whatever has been achieved in terms of the short-term security outcomes feeding into the long-term ones should also be credited to the role of other external factors including AU, UN, EU, US, UK and others such as the Bretton Woods Institutions: IMF and World Bank. All of these have contributed immensely to the peacebuilding process in order to get at the point where these countries have found themselves. The process of consolidating and sustaining this process depends on local actors.

Conclusions: Lessons Learned

In conclusion, there is the need to reinforce the point that based upon the lessons learned from the ECOWAS interventions in Liberia and Sierra Leone, the issues of sovereignty, strategy and security outcomes should be factored into future planning process for interventions in intra-state conflicts. Even though intra-state conflicts have declined in recent years across the continent, Africa could still face similar conflicts in the future. The factors that produced conflicts in what is now referred to as post-war countries do exist in almost every African country; and the post-war countries can also relapse into conflicts in the future unless the underlying causes of conflicts have been addressed.

The experiences of ECOMOG in West Africa do have implications for the future of the African Standby Force (ASF), an integral element of the APSA. ECOWAS and other regions can learn from these lessons and ensure that the mission planning processes incorporate the issues of sovereignty, strategy and security outcome in order to undertake effective and successful interventions. Yes, the AU and its RECs have reached a consensus on moving away from 'non-interference' to 'non-indifference' but this does not suggest that sovereignty is irrelevant and anachronistic. The reality is that sovereignty is still with us and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future. Hence, it must be factored into the thinking about planning future missions for the standby forces. Over the years, using the sovereignty shield, Sudan has refused entry visas to peacekeepers deployed from African countries. There is the possibility that this will happen in the future in other countries when deemed necessary.

Recommendations

Going forward, the following recommendations would be relevant:

- When planning interventions within the framework of the APSA, the three key issues identified herein, namely, sovereignty, strategy and security outcomes should be factored in.
- Intervening forces should try to avoid meddling in the affairs of local groups because this prolongs the peace process and leads to untold human sufferings.
- While the AU and RECs may not possibly avoid extra-African support for interventions, excessive dependence or reliance on it is suicidal and hence should be avoided.
- AU and its RECs should develop strong financial and logistical capacity including air-lifting capability for future interventions
- As part of the APSA strategy, there is need to undertake research into how to sustain peace and stability after war situations. This will require developing or strengthening the research and analytical capacity of the AU Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development Unit.

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8 The Ivorian Conflict: An Assessment of the ECOWAS Mission in Côte d'Ivoire

Yusuf Abubakar Mamud and Danjuma Aku

Abstract

The chapter examines ECOWAS intervention in the conflict that erupted in Côte d'Ivoire between 2002 and 2004, which subsequently prompted the setting up of ECOWAS Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (ECOMICI). The Ivoirian conflict that broke out in October 2002 took the global community by surprise as the country was considered to be one of the most stable West Africa and often regarded as the bastion of democracy. The country was enmeshed in ethnic/identity dichotomy orchestrated by issues of economic deprivation and political discrimination (politics of exclusion). The roots of the conflict and the actors involved in the conflict are discussed as they form part of the indices for analysing the intervention efforts. An appraisal of the role of ECOWAS during the period under review, reveals that the intervention of ECOMICI prevented the conflict from escalation. It further reveals that ECOMICI created the ground for the United Nations peacekeeping deployment. The chapter identifies poor funding and logistics as critical challenges that ECOMICI had to grapple with during the intervention period. The chapter concludes that even though ECOMICI was not a complete success, its deployment was a positive contribution to human security in the sub-region. The need to develop a robust early warning system that would be proactive and implementable was therefore emphasised for ECOWAS.

Introduction: Background Issues to Côte d'Ivoire Conflict

The conflict that embroiled Côte d'Ivoire after the election in 2002 can be traced to the 1999 coup d'état that toppled President Henri Konan Bedié and installed General Robert Guei as president. Public reactions to the unconstitutional change in government saw internal political unrest in Côte d'Ivoire.[1] The quick progression with which tension mounted in the country, in the midst of poverty, disaffection and weak political structures quickly aroused international security concerns from France, ECOWAS and the UN. To many observers and analysts, the Ivoirian conflict was caused by ethno-cultural division in the country. In our opinion, after reviewing a series of literature and discussing with some participant observers of the conflict, we believe that ethnicity and identity only played a prominent role in escalating the crisis. The real issues were more related to economic deprivation, political discrimination (politics of exclusion) and as N'Diaye put it, a "flawed civil-military relations".[2] Maga Bovcon summarises the root cause of the conflict as simply "struggle for power".[3]

The Côte d'Ivoire crisis can also be linked to the power succession problem that surfaced on 7 December 1993 following the death of the founding President, Félix Houphouët-Boigny. His death triggered power struggle over the presidential succession bid between the then Prime Minister, Alassane Quattara and the then Speaker of the National Assembly

and designated constitutional successor, Henri Konan Bédié. Eventually, Quattara conceded to Bedié who emerged as the president.[4] The six-year leadership of Bédié was characterised by allegations of corruption, mismanagement, ethnicity and unfavourable economic climate.[5] The pervading poverty in the country then, growing disaffection and grievances among the populace over land ownership and the near non-existence or weak democratic structures, all combined within the socio-political milieu to give the elite power struggle an angle of ethnic division. This later formed the platform for xenophobic attacks and eventual violent armed conflicts across the country in 2002 that necessitated the need for intervention/mediation.

The United Nations (UN) Security Council is the body that authorises intervention since promotion of peace is part of the responsibility of the United Nations (UN).[6] The regional and sub-regional bodies like African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) also engages in intervention initiatives by negotiating peace processes in conflict-affected areas. For instance, the peace processes for Rwanda, the Arusha Agreement of 1993, the Democratic Republic of Congo's (DRC) Lusaka accord of 1999, the Algiers accords of 2000 that ended the Ethiopian-Eritrea conflict and the Sudan Humanitarian Ceasefire Agree of 2004 in N'djamena were all negotiated by the OAU/AU.[7] Similarly, ECOWAS initiated and negotiated peace processes in Mali, Guinea Bissau and Côte d'Ivoire among others. The common feature of these peace processes is that they were taken over by the UN even though the regional and sub-regional bodies initiated them. The foregoing therefore questions the capabilities of the AU and ECOWAS in conducting and sustaining peacekeeping operations in the region.

This chapter undertakes an evaluation of the intervention/mediation efforts initiated and negotiated by ECOWAS in the conflict that erupted in Côte d'Ivoire from 2002 and 2003 with a view to identifying gaps in operations and subsequently suggesting ways to improve ECOWAS peace support capabilities in the future. The intervention effort which was the first by ECOWAS in a Francophone country lasted from 2002 to 2003 before the UN took over and saw the country through the peace process till 2011. While being mindful that there were differing conflict resolution intervention efforts in Côte d'Ivoire during the period, ranging from French Licorne force (September 2002), ECOWAS Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (ECOMICI-September/October 2002), Linas Marcoussis Accord (January 2003), UN Missions in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI/UNOCI-May 2003) to the Ouagadougou Political Agreement (March 2007)[8], this chapter limits itself to the intervention roles of ECOWAS under ECOMICI which falls within the period 2002 and 2003. It appraises the roles ECOWAS played at both diplomatic and peace enforcement levels, highlighting the successes and challenges, and subsequently making suggestions on how to mitigate the challenges in future ECOWAS peace intervention endeavours. The chapter is divided into various sections. Following this introduction is a brief discussion on the background issues to the conflict. Thereafter an overview of the Ivorian conflict is presented before examining the multilateral intervention initiative in Côte d'Ivoire. An appraisal of ECOMICI is done as the final analysis before the suggested way forward and conclusion.

Overview of the Côte d'Ivoire Conflict

Côte d'Ivoire, once dubbed the most stable country in the West African region in terms of political stability and (relative) economic prosperity suddenly was brought to global spotlight following the outburst of post-election violence in 2002. The conflict all started with the Ouattara-Bédié power struggle in the mid-1990s after the death of the founding father and president - Félix Houphouët-Boigny. The struggle split the country's main political party *Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire* (Parti Democratique de la Côte d'Ivoire-

pdci) and the political class against each other. The Alassane Ouattara group joined the Rally of Republicans (Rassemblement des Republicans-RDR) formed and led by Djeni Kobina[9] while the Laurent Gbagbo group of Ivorian Patriotic Front *(Front patriotique ivorien-FPI)* maintained its opposition stand. By 1995, when it was time for elections, Quattara was chosen as the presidential candidate for the RDR, but was disqualified by a national birth right policy that bans any candidate with a foreign parentage. The controversial law according to critics within the country was enacted specifically to exclude Quattara.[10] Laurent Gbagbo also withdrew from the race over concerns of the credibility of the elections, which paved way for Bédié to emerge as President thus marking beginning of crisis of political legitimacy and political instability in the post-Houphouët era.

Political Instability

A country could be dubbed politically unstable when its socio-political and economic activities are dominated by factors that have the propensity to undermine state authority and by extension compromise national security. This was the situation in Côte d'Ivoire during the Bédié regime where ethnicity became the cause of group grievances, including several allegations of corruption and mismanagement. There were also reports of growing discontent and restlessness among the military personnel over issues of low pay, which also severed civil-military relations. Consequently, Bédié was overthrown on 24 December 1999 by some disgruntled soldiers who demanded for improved welfare package in the military. The mutineers invited General Robert Guei, former Chief of Army Staff who was already on retirement, to lead the country. In a statement on 24 December, 1999, Guei stated that the reasons for the coup were twofold. He said:

> There are problems which are strictly of military order which concern the restoration of their dignity; that is, the improvement of their equipment, salary increases and some problems peculiar to the military profession… the other problems are political, since they called for the unconditional release of elements currently imprisoned at the Abidjan central prison for political reasons.[11]

On assumption of office, Guei promised to usher ethnic unity, which he believed, would help stabilise the polity. As he put it, "whatever the duration of our mission, we will do our best to ensure that Ivoirians who want to engage in politics in the interest of the whole country can do so".[12] Subsequently, he initiated some grandiose reforms such as drafting of a new constitution and electoral laws in 2000 that won public confidence and a demonstration that his regime was moving towards political stability. However, ahead of the forthcoming elections of 2000, it became clear that Guei had political ambitions when he embraced the contentious Ivoirité-a policy that excluded certain people from politics. A constitutional referendum that was widely criticised was held, and the new constitution set new, stricter eligibility requirements for contesting public office. For example, there was now the constitutional requirement that both parents of anyone wishing to contest the presidential election had to have been born in Côte d'Ivoire. Quattara and some other candidates challenged the new requirements, but on 6 October 2000, the Supreme Court disqualified Ouattara and others from contesting the presidential elections on citizenship grounds.[13] As a result, only Guei and Laurent Gbagbo contested the presidential elections excluding Quattara and his supporters.[14] Guei declared he was the winner of the election even before the vote counting was completed. Guei had not learnt any lessons from the mistakes of Bédié; He was disgraced out of power when popular demonstrations by FPI members ultimately forced him to relinquish power, and Laurent Gbagbo was sworn in as the president in October 2000.

The Collapse of State Authority

Sustained political instability in a country is a criterion for state collapse. This was again the situation that Côte d'Ivoire witnessed when Gbagbo came into power. Immediately Gbagbo became the president, the Alassane Ouattara's RDR party and supporters which drew very large support from the north, began to advocate for fresh elections that would accommodate all interest groups. This served as an indication that the grievances that powered political instability in the previous regime were still active and needed immediate resolution. The activities of the RDR and its supporters started challenging the state authority leading to skirmishes and clashes between the FPI party supporters and State Security forces across Côte d'Ivoire. President Gbagbo in his bid to address the grievances that were brewing internal security problems in the country initiated a policy of national reconciliation aimed at preventing the country from imminent collapse.

Indeed, the Gbagbo national reconciliation initiative addressed the contentious issues polarizing the country, which included questions of nationality, land ownership, conditions of service of the security forces and disputed legitimacy of his government.[15] Subsequently, a broad-based government was formed in August 2002 where all of Côte d'Ivoire's main opposition political parties were included in the new cabinet. The issue of Ouattara's nationality was also resolved by a court order granting him a certificate of nationality on 22 July 2002.[16]

However, Gbagbo's failure to implement the nationality law and eligibility conditions to contest elections, which was agreed upon at the national reconciliation meeting, exacerbated the struggle for power in September 2002 with uprisings in different northern cities demanding for resignation of Gbagbo.[17] The already tensed situation was further aggravated when President Gbagbo decided to prematurely discharge some military officers from service. It is believed that when the list of those to be discharged leaked, they reacted by plotting a coup d'état on 19 September 2002. The coup unfortunately snowballed to a rebellion when the mutinying soldiers alongside other aggrieved elements in the north converged into the Patriotic Movement of Côte d'Ivoire *(Mouvement Patriotique de la Côte d'Ivoire-MPCI)* and captured and occupied northern cities of Bouaké and Korhogo. [18] These rebels (MPCI) even tried to shoot their way into the capital city Abidjan, but this however, failed.[19] The coup consumed General Robert Guei who was accused of masterminding the coup d'état,[20] wreaked havoc on the local population[21] with over 1000 battle-related deaths and a number of civilian casualties.[22] Both sides, the rebels as well as government forces and government-supported militias were reported to have committed serious human rights abuses.[23] The consequence was a total breakdown of law and order in the country which needed urgent intervention in order to avert the looming humanitarian disaster. As a result of the escalating conflict, Côte d'Ivoire had to play host to multilateral intervention actors from France, ECOWAS and the UN.

The Intervention Efforts in Côte d'Ivoire

The primary role of an intervener is to prevent or contain violent and destructive conflict through a variety of non-coercive political and diplomatic channels. The outbreak of violent conflict in Côte d'Ivoire on 19 September 2002 prompted the need for third party intervention. The intervention, which involved national, regional and international actors, makes it an example of "hybrid operations" in Africa.[24] The three actors included France, AU/ECOWAS and UN. The French represents the national actors because of its vested interest as its former colony and arrays of businesses. The AU/ECOWAS and the UN intervention was guided by the doctrine of "Responsibility to Protect" unanimously adopted by the United Nations (UN) at the 2005 World Summit. The doctrine states that sovereign states

have a responsibility to protect their own citizens from avoidable catastrophe-from mass murder and rape, from starvation-but that when they are unwilling or unable to do so, that responsibility must be borne by the broader community of states.[25]

As at the time the Ivoirian conflict erupted, the ECOWAS Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security (ECOWAS Security Mechanism) signed in December 1999 was already in place. This suggests that ECOWAS as at 1999 had started thinking towards preventive conflict resolution. Unfortunately the regime did not have the requisite structures for its enforcement and implementation. This perhaps explains why the Ivoirian conflict took the regional body by surprise. ECOWAS later addressed the critical weakness with the adoption of the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF) which is derived from the 1999 Protocol. Nevertheless, it is still important to note the gaps in the ECOWAS intervention initiative in Côte d'Ivoire between 2002 and 2003. The following paragraphs discuss the roles the French and ECOWAS played in the conflict.

French intervention

France, a former colonial master of Côte d'Ivoire was first to intervene.[26] Three days after the failed coup of 19 September 2002, France reinforced its 500 strong military presence in the country (as a result of a *defence agreement* signed on 24 April 1961)[27] with the deployment of Operation Licorne, a military operation initially mandated by the French government to secure, protect and evacuate the over 20,000 French nationals in Côte d'Ivoire as well as other Western foreign nationals in the country.[28] By 29 September 2002, France had completely evacuated foreigners who were based in Bouake and Korhogo in the northern half of the country where MPCI rebels led by Soro Guillaume had retreated after the failed coup that was developing into a rebellion.[29] The French force immediately established itself in Yamoussoukro by creating a buffer zone between north-based rebels and south-based government forces.[30]

Gbagbo expected direct military support from France but it never came. France argued that the crisis was an internal conflict hence France restricted itself to sustaining the buffer zone, thereby suppressing further violence between the rebels and the government forces.[31] This action helped to prevent further civilian causalities even though the warring parties accused France of being partial. It could therefore be argued that France timely presence averted an imminent civil war that could have caused the deaths of millions of Ivoirian citizens especially civilians, thus the action could be justified by the doctrine of responsibility to protect. When France noticed the challenges ECOWAS was grappling with in its bid to consolidate peace in the country, France again stepped in by facilitating and hosting the January 2003 peace agreement known as the Linas Marcoussis Accord (LMA). The LMA was signed in France at the request of the then French president Jacques Chirac.[32]

ECOWAS Intervention

ECOWAS was the second intervener in the conflict and represents the regional actor. ECOWAS diplomatic responses were intended to lead to cessation of hostilities and later bring the parties together to resolve the conflict. Immediately the crisis began, ECOWAS Chairperson, President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal through his Minister of Foreign Affairs, established contact with the rebels in their stronghold of Bouake. At the 29 September Summit in Accra (Accra Agreement), attended by eleven out of the fifteen ECOWAS member states, and observed by President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa (then Chairperson of AU), the ECOWAS Heads of State and Government reaffirmed their commitment to defend and protect democracy in the sub-region. They established a high level Contact Group composed of Ghana, Mali, Nigeria, Niger, Togo, and Guinea-Bissau to drive all activities towards resolving the Ivorian crisis. The Contact Group was to be coordinated by President Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo.[33] It was also at the 29 September Summit, that

ECOWAS Heads of State and Government decided to deploy a peacekeeping force to Côte d'Ivoire.

The ECOWAS Contact Group was able to persuade the MPCI to unilaterally sign a ceasefire agreement on 17 October 2002 before the Ivoirian government also accepted the principle of cessation of hostilities through a declaration by President Gbagbo.[34] The French troops were to monitor the 17th October 2002 agreement for the cessation of hostilities.[35] On 23 October 2002, the Gnassingbe led Contact Group in its Summit held in Lome (Togo) opened up negotiation between the Ivoirian Government and the MPCI rebels with the active support of the AU. The objective was to build upon the agreement of cessation of hostilities signed on 17 October 2002 (Lome Ceasefire Agreement).[36] While these were ongoing, ECOWAS decided to actualise its plans to deploy a peacekeeping force in Côte d'Ivoire. Consequently, the Defence and Security Commission, Mediation and Security Council, army Chiefs of staff of the troops contributing countries held different meetings between 25 October and 14 November to finalise plans on how to deploy an ECOWAS Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (ECOMICI).[37] The force was mandated to "monitor the cessation of hostilities; …and contribute to the implementation of the *Lomé* Cease-fire Agreement. On 29 October 2002, a meeting of the African Union (AU) in Addis Ababa finally approved ECOWAS decision to deploy ECOMICI as a peace monitoring group.

The conflict became even more complicated and the need for immediate intervention more imminent when two other rebel factions emerged from the west of the country bordering Liberia-region of former military leader, General Guei.[38] These factions namely the Ivorian Popular Movement of the Great West (Mouvement Populaire du Grand Ouest-MPIGO) and the Movement for Peace and Justice (Mouvement pour la Justice et la Paix-MPJ) joined forces with the MPCI to form the *Forces Nouvelles*, or "New Forces". ECOWAS at this point had concluded arrangements to deploy 1,264 military personnel under the auspices of ECOMICI to be drawn from Benin, Niger, Senegal, and Togo for an initial period of six months.[39] ECOWAS made a financial estimate of usd18.5 million for the deployment and functioning of the force during the period and planned the arrival of at least 1,000 troops by 23 November 2002.[40] A deadline of 31 December for the deployment of the force was announced and the first contingent (the Ghana Company) of ECOMICI troops to Abidjan arrived in January 2003 under the command of General Papa Khalilou Fall from Senegal. The first troops of ECOMICI were finally deployed in April 2003, eight months after the outbreak of conflict.[41] The implication was that it was the French forces that managed the situation till ECOMICI was able to arrive.

Another ECOWAS Summit after the 29 September Summit was held on 18 December 2002 to review the crisis in Côte d'Ivoire.[42] Only 3 Heads of State including the then President Gbagbo were in attendance, an indication that the solidarity and momentum that galvanised the diplomatic level support had begun to disappear. By this time in December 2002, the negotiation which began on 30 October 2002 was already facing several problems because of increasing distrust among the parties. In the meantime, a humanitarian crisis was building up as fighting continued in the Western part of the country. Consequently, negotiations were indefinitely suspended.[43]However, an advanced ECOWAS military team had arrived in Abidjan on 17 November 2002, but could not function due to lack of logistics.[44] It was at this point that the ECOWAS Heads of State at the Summit of 18 December 2002 decided to requests for the UN to assist in finding solutions to the crisis. The ECOWAS request was strongly backed by the French.[45] By January 2003, France, with the tacit agreement of ECOWAS and AU, had paved the way for a deeper engagement of the UN after the conclusion of a decisive round of peace talks in Linas-Marcoussis (France).[46]

Linas-Marcoussis Accord

The waning confidence in the capacity of ECOMICI to sustain the peace support operations in the midst of violent conflict in the country prompted France through its Minister of Foreign Affairs Dominique de Villepin[47]to initiate discreet talks with all the parties and groups in Côte d'Ivoire about the possibilities of fresh peace initiative in France. He subsequently secured the agreement of all Ivorian political groups to attend a round-table meeting in France in January 2003[48].France organised a round table meeting with all the parties in attendance in Linas-Marcoussis from 15-23 January 2003. The forum was chaired by Pierre Mazeaud who was the Chairman of the French Constitutional Commission[49]while representatives of the UN, AU and ECOWAS were in attendance. After several deliberations and considerations that led to a consensus, the various warring parties signed the Linas-Marcoussis Accord (LMA) in Paris, France on 23 January 2003. The LMA emphasised "strict compliance" with the ceasefire agreement, reiterated the need to "maintain the territorial integrity of Côte d'Ivoire and respect for the democratic institutions by providing for the establishment of a transitional Government of National Reconciliation with wide executive powers, comprising of ministers from the main political parties and the insurgent groups. This transitional government was meant to lead the country to general elections in 2005. The LMA outlined a nine-point programme on disarmament, security sector reform, human rights violations and media incitement to xenophobia and violence, the organisation and supervision of elections, and measures to end divisive policies on national identification, citizenship, foreign nationals, land tenure and eligibility for the presidency.[50]

The LMA made provision for the establishment of a monitoring committee that was to follow up the stages of implementation. The Committee, based in Abidjan was composed of representatives of the UN, AU, ECOWAS, European Commission, the International Organisation of la Francophonie, the Bretton Woods institutions, the Group of Eight countries, the European Union, a military representative of the troop-contributing countries and France. The meeting of all the actors was held on 25 and 26 January 2003 where the LMA was endorsed. All the parties agreed to a power sharing formula arrangement where the key portfolios of defence and the interior ministers were allocated to the rebel movements.[51] They also agreed to the appointment of the former Prime Minister, Seydou Diarra, to head the new government of national reconciliation. The LMA also provided for a UN Monitoring Committee to report on implementation of the agreement. The LMA was ratified by the UN Security Council Resolution 1464 on 4 February 2003.[52]

Implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement

The implementation of the LMA was faced with several obstacles from all the parties. The main issue was the disagreement over the power sharing formula, which led to an impasse in the implementation phase. Gbagbo's supporters were initially opposed to the LMA and subsequently resorted to open violence in Abidjan and nearby towns. They asserted that Gbagbo ceded too much power and made other concessions to the rebels.[53] The charged atmosphere consequently set the stage for new phase of violence in the country. By March 2003 the Government of National Reconciliation was already floundering[54]as public unrest continued to increase. There were also reports of government security forces' crack down on people presumed to be enemies of government. It was obvious that the country was sliding into another brutal war.[55]

During the period of impasse, diplomatic level consultations were initiated by ECOWAS with the bid to break the impasse. This culminated in a summit meeting in Yamoussoukro on 10 February 2003, attended by Presidents; Eyadéma of Togo, John Kufuor of Ghana and Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria. The Interim Chairman of the AU Commission Amara

Essy, and the Vice-President of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, with President Gbagbo were in attendance. It was at the summit that Mr. Diarra was finally installed as Prime Minister.[56] On 8 March 2003, in Accra, the signatories of the LMA finally agreed to create a 15-member National Security Council comprising representatives of each of the 10 signatories, as well as the army, the gendarmerie, the police, President Gbagbo and Prime Minister Diarra, to oversee the functioning of the disputed posts of defence and interior ministries.[57] Subsequently, on 10 March 2003, President Gbagbo through a decree pronouncement delegated authority to the Prime Minister to implement the LMA for a period of six months. The UN Security Council under Resolution 1479 (2003) of 13 May 2003 also established the UN Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI) with a mandate to facilitate the implementation of LMA by the Ivorian parties. The MINUCI was a political mission with a small military observer team to work with ECOMICI and French Licorne force in order to halt the hostilities and advance the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire. The three intervening actors had different mandates, with none assuming the leading role.

Marginal progress was made in the implementation of the LMA by the Government of National Reconciliation such as adoption of a plan for disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of all the parties; the opening of dialogue between the parties which resulted in a declaration on 4 July proclaiming the end of the war. However, when the concerns of the signatories of the LMA over the appointment of the ministers of defence and internal security were not met, they decided on the 23 September 2003 to pull out of the government which subsequently resulted in tension and violence in different parts of the country.[58] Again, the UN, through its Special Representative, alongside Special Representative of the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, Raph Uwechue on 19 October, met with the then Chairman of ECOWAS, the President of Ghana, John Kufuor, to find ways to keep the peace process on track. As the talks were ongoing at the diplomatic level, the security situation in Côte d'Ivoire was becoming precarious with increasing cases of violence and humanitarian disaster.

By November 2003, the UN Security Council had begun to express concerns over the stalemate in the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire and the increasing waves of violence in the country. By January 2004, the security situation had deteriorated so much that on 27 February 2004, the UN Security Council by resolution 1528 transformed MINUCI into a peacekeeping force.[59] The force which comprised some 6,000 UN blue helmets backed by 4,000 more heavily-armed French troops belonging to French Licorne force deployed on a one-year renewable mandate on April 4, 2004. They jointly patrolled the Zone of Confidence. The UN mission became known as the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) and it operated under Chapter VII of the U.N Charter with a mandate to "protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence, within its capabilities and its areas of deployment" and to oversee a programme of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) agreed to, by the two parties.[60]

It is important to note at this juncture that Côte d'Ivoire remained split in two throughout the period between 2004 and 2010 with the Forces Nouvelles controlling the north and the government controlling the south. Despite several reports of violations of the agreements, through the support of the UN, AU and ECOWAS, the country was able to hold elections in 2010 where Quattara emerged as the winner after a run-off election. The UN Secretary-General and Security Council endorsed Ouattara's victory, which was further recognised by the AU, ECOWAS, the EU, and the US. Gbagbo overturned the result of the election, declared himself as winner and quickly arranged to be sworn in on 3 December 2010. After several sanctions from the international community, including offensive attack, he was finally arrested on 11 April 2011. The arrest set the

stage for reconstruction and rebuilding of Côte d'Ivoire after almost 15 years of total state collapse despite the presence of intervention parties efforts to cease hostilities.

Appraisal of ECOMICI

Despite the timely intervention of ECOWAS in the Côte d'Ivoire conflict, it was not able to complete the peace process it negotiated and restore normalcy in the country. Does this suggest that ECOWAS lacks capacity despite having years of experience in peace support operations in the sub-region? More so, what did ECOWAS do wrongly that could be done better in the future in order for ECOWAS to sustain peace support operations in the sub-region. The discussion below attempts to answer these questions.

Political Support and Diplomatic level Response

Evidently, there were sufficient grounds to justify the deployment of ECOMICI given the situation in Côte d'Ivoire as at the time the conflict erupted. The coup of 19 September 2002 in Côte d'Ivoire was an unconstitutional attempt to seize power, which the ECOWAS Heads of State opposes, based on the provisions of the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance. ECOWAS leaders acted in unison in condemning the coup and took swift diplomatic level response that resulted in ceasefire negotiation process in Abidjan. However, the inability to deploy immediately the coup took place was a demonstration that ECOWAS strength as at then lay largely on diplomatic response to coups or other unconstitutional attempts to seize power, and not in its capacity to intervene militarily. Even after the Côte d'Ivoire coup d'état in 2002, the sub-region experienced about six other military coups-Guinea Bissau (2008), Mauritania (2008, though not a member anymore), Guinea (2008), Guinea Bissau again (2009), Niger (2010), and Mail (2012). Yet, most of ECOWAS responses to these cases were to condemn the unconstitutional change of government even when it has adopted the ECPF.

Legitimacy and Credibility of Mediation and Operation

ECOMICI enjoyed credibility as a relevant peace-broker, not only because it got the approval of the UN Security Council (under Chapter VII of the UN Charter), but also because of the presence and participation of credible dignitaries of the AU and ECOWAS in negotiating the entire peace process before deployment of troops, all of which gave the operation credibility. The credibility of a peacekeeping operation is critical to its success because opinion concerning humanitarian intervention authorised outside the UN Security Council sees it as illegal.[61] The controversial interventions in Sierra Leone (1997–2000) and Liberia (1990–99) that attracted widespread criticisms emphasises the importance of legitimacy of an intervention operation. However, at the later stage, both the rebel groups and government of Côte d'Ivoire began to question the credibility of ECOWAS and France. This could explain why the conflict became protracted. This goes to show that the credibility of a mediator is critical to the achievement of peace objective. The Ivoirian conflict was deep rooted in issues of ethnic affinity that is scattered across different countries in West Africa. Countries like Burkina Faso and Mali, which are the closest to Côte d'Ivoire and members of the mediation of ECOWAS were also some of the invisible actors of the conflict since most of the so called "non-Ivorians" were from these countries. The government of Côte d'Ivoire at some point even accused Burkina Faso of supplying arms to the rebels in fighting his government.[62] ECOWAS too, could not gain the trust of the parties, as reflected in the behaviours of some of the leaders. The absence of political will by some leaders affected ECOWAS enforcement capability in Côte d'Ivoire, which prompted the rebel leader to request for France and the UN to take over the process of mediating peace talks.

Preparatory Ground for the UN Peacekeeping Deployment

When the conflict erupted in Côte d'Ivoire, it could not have been possible for the UN to immediately deploy troops, which made ECOMICI indispensable to the long-term success of UNOCI. Like most of the other missions initiated by ECOWAS (the ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in the 1990s for peace enforcement in Liberia from 1990 to1998 and then again as ECOMIL in 2003, in Sierra Leone as ECOMOG II in 1997-2000 and in Guinea-Bissau 1998-1999), ECOMICI alongside with the French Licorne force greatly enhanced the peace processes and facilitated humanitarian access in the country, which is in line with the doctrine of responsibility to protect. ECOMICI with the support of Licorne force enabled a measure of order and stability within the framework of its mandate. However, we argue that ECOMICI should not have been limited to serving as preparatory ground for the UN to assemble and finally take over the operations in Côte d'Ivoire. Being an African problem, ECOWAS with its experience should begin to develop capabilities both to initiate and complete credible peace process.

ECOWAS Early Warning and Response System

ECOWAS experience in ECOMOG prompted the revision of its Treaty to provide for an Early Warning system that would enable it detect and predict conflict at an early stage throughout the region. As at the time the Ivoirian conflict erupted, the Observation and Monitoring Centres and Zones of the System were still evolving-a framework of the West African Network of Peacebuilding (WANEP). WANEP went into partnership with ECOWAS in 2002 to establish the sub-regional peace and security observation system known as ECOWAS Warning and Response Network (ECOWARN) to enable it predict conflicts. Unfortunately, ECOWARN structures were still evolving when the Ivoirian conflict started hence WANEP could not provide useful information which could lead to the early detection of the conflict. Even after the Early Warning system was repositioned, its set of indicators makes it complicated to have them properly understood by Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) who are supposed to drive ECOWARN. Hence, the system appears over-sophisticated and too cumbersome. Opoku[63] noted in 2007 that even with the reforms in the system, there was still no clarity regarding how ECOWAS would use the information gathered from Observation and Monitoring Centres or Zones. ECOWAS need to shift from intervention in conflicts to prevention of conflicts in the sub-region. This can only be achieved if the ECOWARN capacities are driven by CSOs from the grassroots and a proper channel of how information to be communicated to ECOWAS is established.

Challenges of ECOMICI

From the appraisal, we can see that ECOMICI made some contribution towards peace and security in the region by at least deploying troops to Côte d'Ivoire. However, ECOMICI faced a number of challenges, which limited its enforcement capabilities. It is our opinion that if these challenges are overcome by ECOWAS, there will be a lot of improvements in future peacekeeping operations conducted by ECOWAS. Some of these challenges are discussed below.

Financial Challenge

The main challenge ECOWAS faced in its bid to deploy ECOMICI was that of funding. It could not have been possible to deploy and sustain peacekeeping missions without proper funding. There was a great deal of financial uncertainty as ECOWAS had to wait for its donor organisations for financial support. The Force Commander did not have any control over the future of his finances; it was reported that he had to operate for

about two months without any funds. As we know, finance is the thrust of any successful operation. Without sustained financing system, an operation is bound to fail. This was demonstrated at the early stage of the operation when the Commander could hardly do anything because he did not have the means.

Logistical Challenge

ECOMICI also suffered a lot of setbacks as a result of very weak logistical support. The problems started with the advance party, which deployed at very short notice, and had to rely on the French for mobility and support. There was also a very long period of waiting before the first troops hit the ground. The Force Commander had to rely on the French Licorne force on ground to carry out most of his commitments. Even so, it took more than 100 days to set up a basic Force Headquarters. When the troops arrived in May 2003, ECOMICI had no vehicles to deploy them. It was mainly through the assistance of the French, the government of Côte d'Ivoire, and through personal contacts of the force commander that the force was able to build up slowly, to survive, and then eventually succeed. The dependence on both the French and Ivorian government for logistics could also contribute to the distrust that later developed against ECOMICI by the rebel groups. The lack of integrated logistic support also resulted in a laborious build-up of the force, which had to be stopped on several occasions to get the communications equipment operational and to await the arrival of more radios from France. There was also the issue of lack of standardisation of equipment, arms and ammunition, different training standards and doctrine.

Weak Capacity of Member State to fulfill their Pledges

As discussed above, no plan can work without the resources that are needed to implement it, but this has to be balanced against the ability of regional organisations to provide the necessary capability. From a military perspective, the numbers of troops proposed for a mission should be the result of a detailed troop to task analysis, not just the product of what can be generated, or afforded. However there are finite limits to what can be provided by troop contributors and thus the problem becomes one of balancing the capabilities that can be provided against the envisaged tasks until additional troops can be deployed either under regional or UN control. Whether by design, or force of circumstances, this means limiting the tasks in the early stages of deployment to those that can be realistically achieved and resisting the temptation to take on those that cannot be achieved given the said limitations.

Challenge of Regional Hegemon during the Conflict

Even though hegemony is a contentious issue in international relations, particularly as it concerns security realm, there is still a consensus among scholars that a hegemon can provide a collective good in conflict management. A hegemon is the state, which can effectively limit the escalation of conflict by use of military force. A regional hegemon is therefore a state, which can perform this function for its region.[64] In this regard, Nigeria is a driving force in establishing peace and security in West Africa. The country has played significant roles in most of the ECOWAS intervention efforts. The Guinea Bissau conflict was the first attempt by the Francophone states in West Africa to organise regional peacekeeping without the involvement of the dominant sub-regional player, Nigeria, and it is reported that the operation (ECOMOG IV) ended in failure. In the case of Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria's multiple internal conflicts that jeopardised her own security could not permit her to play the usual leading role in the Ivoirian conflict. Consequently, Nigeria limited her role in Côte d'Ivoire conflict to only diplomatic level support when the crisis erupted in Côte d'Ivoire in 2002. This could further explain why it took close to eight months before ECOMICI was finally deployed to Abidjan.

The Way Forward

The adoption of the 2008 ECPF means that ECOWAS is currently shifting towards building capacity in conflict prevention instead of conflict resolution model that obtained at the time the Ivoirian conflict erupted between 2002 and 2003. Institutions like the Mediation and Security Council (MSC), Early Warning System, Standby Force and a Conflict Prevention Framework have been evolving. The challenge for ECOWAS as at 2002-2003 in conflict prevention was a lack of strategy to engage in conflict prevention.[65] However, with the adoption of the ECPF, what is now needed to address the issue of conflict in the sub-region is the political will to apply and implement the framework.

Furthermore, ECOWAS needs to invest immensely on the implementation process for it to be effective. This investment should include ECOWAS institutions and CSOs working on the ground, in close proximity to the conflict. Thus, the ECOWAS Heads of State should consider it a priority to set up a conflict prevention fund to support "planned and unforeseen" interventions in conflict prevention.

Putting together a force that would be operationally ready from a given mission requires an effective means of political engagement to enable rapid response. This was visibly missing in the putting together of ECOMICI. Pulling together ad-hoc forces is greatly facilitated by existing relationships between or amongst the troop contributing nations. ECOWAS could initiate more international peacekeeping courses for the militaries of member states so as to improve their relationship with one another. Additionally, pledges of troops contributing nations could be reinforced with some formal national commitment regimes placed around them. This would go a long way to enable planning and certainty of response. However, in line with the conflict prevention model of ECOWAS, we make the case that the ECOWAS Commission should channel more investment in activating ECOWARN and make it functional, otherwise the framework will remain a mere rhetoric.

Conclusion

This chapter appraised ECOWAS role in Côte d'Ivoire conflict between 2002 and 2003. The conflict, which started as a struggle for power, degenerated into ethnic tension and later violent confrontations that undermined human security. Three actors intervened in the conflict namely, France, ECOWAS and the UN. The chapter detailed the roles of different actors and appraised ECOWAS efforts in the conflict. The chapter found that ECOWAS intervention dwelled mainly on diplomacy. It could not garner the requisite capabilities to deploy troops on time, which impacted negatively on ECOMICI operation. The legitimacy and credibility of the intervention was also found to be critical to the success or failure of any peacekeeping operation including ECOMICI.

ECOWAS intervention was found to have served as preparatory ground for the eventual UN intervention. This is considered a success because it was ECOWAS ability to contain escalation of violence that created the atmosphere for the UN to move in. ECOWAS relied on a combination of diplomatic response and military intervention to establish and monitor peace agreements in Côte d'Ivoire. As a result of several challenges, ECOMICI had to grapple with its bid to cease hostility in Côte d'Ivoire. Even after the UN took over the mission, ECOWAS was still involved at diplomatic levels in the conflict resolution bid that lasted till 2011. Even though the ECOMICI was not a complete success, its deployment was nevertheless, a positive contribution to human security. In future, ECOWAS needs to develop a robust early warning system that would be proactive and implementable.

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9 The Malian Armed Conflict of 2012: Regional Diplomatic and Military Interventions

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Abstract

This chapter looks at the recurrent crises in the north of Mali, with specific reference to the 2012 wave of these crises within the context of the diplomatic and military interventions of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union (AU). It finds that various authors try to explain the outbreak of and the turn that the 2012 crisis took through a combination of factors. These include (i) the question of governance and the management of ethnic diversities in the country, including issues of corruption and unequal distribution of resources; (ii) the weakness of the Malian state and its security capabilities; (iii) a purported "Tuareg" irredentism; (iv) the 2011 Libyan civil war and the logistical resources it allowed the armed groups to acquire; and (v) the subsequent military coup in Bamako in March 2012. In response to this crisis, ECOWAS and the AU – in coordination with other partners – adopted a double-pronged approach: diplomacy and military force. The two policy options complemented each other and led to the signing of two important peace agreements: the Ouagadougou agreement of June 2013, and the agreement issued from the Algiers Process in May and June 2015.

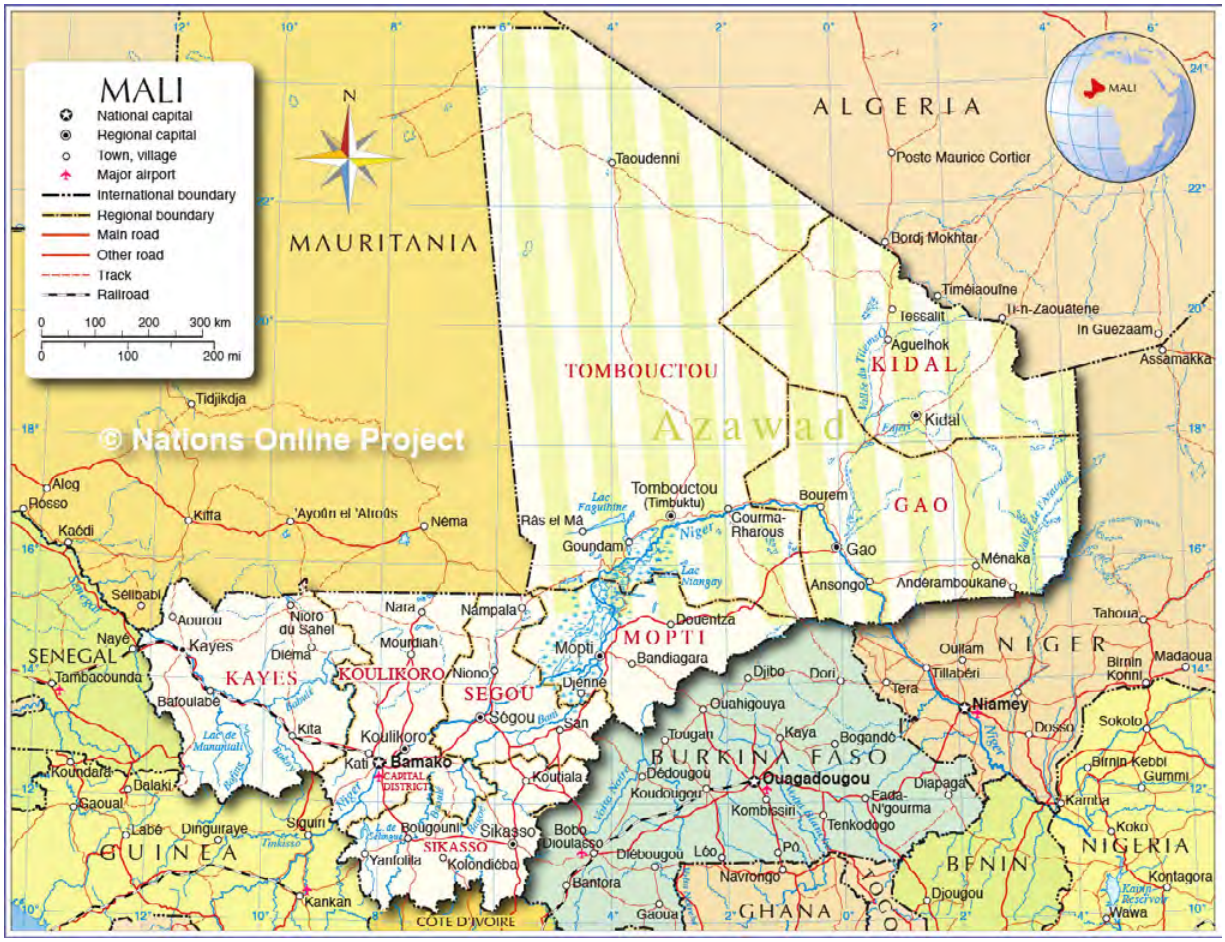
Introduction

From mid-January 2012, an armed rebellion broke out in northern Mali involving a number of armed groups, initially spearheaded by the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA). Other groups involved in the rebellion were Ansar Dine (the Defenders of the Faith) and the Movement for the Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), a splinter group of Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), is also present in the region. In the midst of this acute security crisis, a military coup registered on 22 March 2012 also brought about an institutional crisis in the capital, Bamako, as a group of military officers overthrew the elected president about a month before the end of his tenure and the holding of new presidential elections. The armed groups in the north of the country took advantage of the chaos created by this institutional crisis to make great strides in territorial conquests, eventually occupying all three northern regions of Mali, with the MNLA declaring an 'independent state of Azawad' on 6 April 2012 (see Figure 7). This Chapter looks at this twin crisis and how regional and international actors, particularly the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the AU, handled them.

The chapter begins by providing some background information on the crises through some key facts and figures, followed by a brief historical overview of the various waves of armed rebellion in northern Mali, and a critical look at what may be considered as the root causes of the recurring conflicts. In the second section, the chapter provides an overview of conflict resolution efforts by the sub-regional (ECOWAS) and regional (AU) actors, from the

Framework Agreement of April 2012 that facilitated the end of the institutional crisis, to the Algiers Process that started in mid-2014 and led to an inclusive peace agreement signed in Bamako on 15 May and 20 June 2015, also gleaning the preliminary Ouagadougou agreement of June 2013. The third section looks at military efforts deployed in support of diplomatic ones. Some observations and recommendations on the way forward are formulated in the concluding section.

Figure 7: *Regional illustration of Mali*



Source: *Nations Online Project (http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/mali_map.htm)*[331]

Table 3: *Key Timelines of the Mali Conflict*

Date	Event
7-23 December 2011	Joint AU-UN multidisciplinary mission in the Sahel region to assess the impact of the Libyan crisis on the countries of the region
Mid-January 2012	Outbreak of the MNLA-led rebellion in northern Mali
20 March 2012	Ministerial-level meeting of the Peace and Security Council of the AU in Bamako on the situation in Mali and the Sahel
22 March 2012	Military coup in Mali overthrows President Amadou Toumani Touré
2 April 2012	ECOWAS imposes a total embargo on Mali to force the military junta to relinquish power to civilians
4 April 2012	The military junta signs a framework agreement negotiated by Burkina Faso as ECOWAS mediator; the junta hands over power to the speaker of parliament

Date	Event
6 April 2012	MNLA declares an 'independent state of Azawad' in northern Mali. Both AU and ECOWAS reject it
11 January 2013	French 'Operation Serval' begins deployment against armed groups in northern Mali
15 January 2013	AFISMA troops begin their deployment in the country in support of Malian forces
18 June 2013	Malian government and armed groups sign a preliminary agreement in Ouagadougou
1 July 2013	AFISMA is transformed into MINUSMA, AU and ECOWAS hand over military operations to the UN
11 Aug 2013	IBK wins the second round of the presidential elections
16 July 2014	Malian government and armed groups begin inclusive peace talks in Algiers with the participation of AU and ECOWAS in the mediation team
15 May & 20 June 2015	The "Agreement for Peace and Reconciliation in Mali resulting from the Algiers Process" is signed in Bamako in two separate ceremonies

Table 4: AFISMA Leadership Structure

Description	Details
Head of Mission:	Pierre Buyoya (Burundi)
Deputy Head of Mission:	Aboudou Cheaka Touré (Togo)
Force Commander (FC):	General Abdulkader Shehu (Nigeria)
Deputy Force Commander:	Late Brigadier-General Yaya Garba (Niger)
Mission's peak strength:	6 438 (initial deployment)
Civilian component:	53 (30 June 2013)
Police component:	367 (30 June 2013)
Military component:	6 079 (30 June 2013)
Troops and police contributors:	Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Togo
Number of fatalities:	42 (including the Deputy Force Commander from Niger who died from a natural cause on 11 May 2013)

Background to the Conflict

This section provides a brief historical overview of the recurrent crises in northern Mali, focusing on the first three waves of these crises. It looks closely at the 2012 cycle of the armed rebellions, and ends with an analysis of the main explanatory factors for the recurrent crises.

Historical Overview

There have been four main cycles of armed rebellions in northern Mali since the independence of the country in September 1960. Many describe these rebellions as 'Tuareg rebellions', in reference to the fact that they originated from Tuareg-dominated areas and have been composed mainly, but not exclusively of elements of Tuareg origin.[2]

The first rebellion in northern Mali started in May 1963 and ended in August 1964. Some historical accounts argue that the aim of its instigators (i.e. Zeyd ag Attaher and Elledi ag Alla) was to obtain an independent state away from Mali.[3] Others see it as a mere 'revolt'. Those who argue that it was a rebellion for independence cite the popularly held belief in some Tuareg quarters that the French colonial administration had promised an independent Tuareg state and that the inclusion of areas considered as Tuareg zones in post-colonial Mali was either a betrayal of this promise or a temporary arrangement.[4] In any case, the Malian state managed to put an end to this rebellion, albeit in bloody manner, leaving no incentive for further revolt – in the short term.

The second rebellion was launched in June 1990. Spearheaded by the Popular Movement of Azawad (MPA of its French acronym) and the Arab Islamic Front of Azawad (FIAA), the leaders of this rebellion expressed a clear separatist agenda, calling for an independent territory that would be known as 'Azawad'. This can be surmised from their names. These movements and two others later merged to form the Unified Movements and Fronts of Azawad (MFUA). Many of the fighters of this movement had come from Libya and other countries of the region. They had left Mali partly due to severe droughts that afflicted the country in the 1970s and early 1980s. Against the backdrop of earlier discontents linked to the repression of the 1963-64 rebellion, many of those who had found themselves in Libya had joined Col. Muammar Qaddafi's revolutionary wars in many places, including in Chad, and had acquired military experience and skills.[5]

With these skills and new aptitudes in organisation, in addition to a relatively higher popular support in their areas of operation, the rebel movements recorded a series of military victories against the national army, forcing the government to engage in negotiations with them. It should be noted that this rebellion coincided with a serious political crisis at the hand of the Moussa Traoré regime, a crisis that eventually led to his overthrow in a military coup on 26 March 1991. The rebellion was ended through two main peace agreements facilitated by Algeria: the Tamanrasset Agreement of January 1991 and the National Pact of April 1992. With skirmishes continuing against the backdrop of splits within armed groups, it was only the 26 March 1996 'Flame of Peace' that marked the definitive end of the rebellion and the beginning of a process of national reconciliation.[6]

A renegade soldier called Ibrahim Ag Bahanga led the third wave of rebellion, by launching attacks against government troops and positions in the region of Kidal in mid-2006. Ag Bahanga had been reintegrated into the national army as part of the DDR process following the signing of the 1992 National Pact. His rebellion did not have the popular support of the previous one. On the contrary, the overwhelming majority of Tuareg population disowned his actions, considering him and his Democratic Alliance of 23 May for Change (*Alliance démocratique du 23 mai pour le changement*) as elements that did not represent the community or its interests.[7] It was nevertheless the subject of the Algiers Accords of July 2006.[8]

Despite this agreement, Ag Bahanga and his men resumed attacks against government positions in May 2007, claiming violations by government of the terms of the agreement and withdrawing from the peace process all together in September of that year. He continued these attacks until he was forced out of Mali in early 2009. Many analysts suggest that he fled to Libya where he remained until early 2011 when he returned to Mali. He died in a car accident in northern Mali in August 2011, shortly before the start of the 2012 wave of rebellion.[9]

Outbreak of the 2012 Crisis in the North

In the months preceding the outbreak of the armed rebellion in 2012, the situation in the north of Mali was characterised by the activities of a mix of transnational organised criminal groups, including terrorist movements and barons of drug traffickers, who had entrenched

themselves in the region over the past decade or so. These groups included Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), which, for many years, had engaged in various criminal activities in the region.[10]

This is what sets the current wave of rebellion apart from previous ones, making it a truly 'total' crisis, taking place at the local level in northern Mali, while having global ramifications related to its criminal aspects. With some variation in their declared strategic and ideological motivations, four groups constituted the main actors of the initial period of this rebellion: the MNLA, Ansar Dine, MUJAO and AQIM. These groups intensified their attacks and managed to occupy all the three northern regions of Mali (Gao, Timbuktu and Kidal) by mid-April 2012. Two important factors helped this quick victory of armed groups.

First, is the Libyan civil war and the logistical resources it allowed the groups to acquire. The MNLA that spearheaded the armed rebellion was composed mainly of combatants, many of whom had fought in Libya and had returned to Mali with their arms, following the downfall of the Qaddafi regime in October 2011. These returnees came with their sophisticated arms and other logistical resources. The Malian authorities had made little effort if any to disarm them, unlike neighbouring Niger.[11] In fact, in the conclusions of the joint AU-UN experts' meeting held in Addis Ababa on 14 and 15 March 2012, following their joint assessment mission in the Sahel region from 7-23 December 2011 on the potential regional ramifications of the Libyan crisis, the experts and other participants in the meeting noted that, "the human and operational capacity of terrorist and other non-state armed groups had dramatically increased [in the Sahel region] with the proliferation of all types of arms, explosives and ammunition, including surface-to-air-missiles and MANPADS (Man-portable air-defense systems), *as a direct consequence of the Libyan crisis*, through a well-organised network of illicit traffickers" (italics mine).[12]

A second factor in explaining this apparently easy victory of armed groups is the subsequent institutional crisis occasioned by the 22 March 2012 coup d'état in Bamako, which overthrew President Amadou Toumani Touré about a month before presidential elections in the country. The plotters of the coup organised themselves into a military junta called National Council for the Recovery of Democracy and the Restoration of State Authority (CNRDRE) and justified their action by claiming bad working conditions and lack of adequate equipment in the fight against armed groups in the north of the country. This claim gave them a lot of popular support and underpinned their declared 'road map' for the restoration of State authority.[13] However, this institutional crisis brought about disarray in the government's actions and disrupted the chain of command, particularly in the ranks of the Malian defence and security forces, which split into pro and anti-coup camps. Indeed, the structural weaknesses of the latter, even without the military coup, were an additional important factor in this regard. This is so, particularly when one considers the fact that the Malian defence forces lacked any airlift capabilities, not only for combat or surveillance of the vast northern desert territories, but even for transporting troops across this region, which is often planted with mines during crisis periods, making non armoured road transportation a very risky business.

This state of affairs and the vacuum that the military coup created allowed the armed groups to move quickly unopposed and occupy large swaths of territory in a matter of a few days following the coup. Over a few months, the armed groups had greater latitude to pursue their activities and consolidate their presence, leading to a daring attempt of some of them to extend their occupation southwards, in the first week of January 2013. This turned out to be a strategically miscalculated move. It led to the deployment of a French military operation called 'Serval' and accelerated the deployment of the African-led International Support Mission for Mali (AFISMA) from mid-January 2013. [14] By March 2013, two of the three northern regions had been liberated from armed groups. Kidal, however, became the bastion of the MNLA, as the French military operation that was at the forefront of the liberation drive spared this group from any attack, indirectly facilitating its strengthening to

the point that the group opposed the redeployment in Kidal of state authority, including the national armed forces. At the time, the French cited two main reasons for doing so. One was that there were some French nationals taken hostage by terrorist groups and that the MNLA had promised to help free these hostages. The second argument was that they feared reprisal attacks and human rights violations had they let the Malian armed forces enter Kidal, given the grudges they may have against the MNLA, which started the conflict and whose elements had killed several Malian soldiers in Aguel'hoc, in the extreme north of Mali in the Kidal region. Many Malians, however, came to suspect an apparent connivance between the French and the MNLA, particularly when hostages were not found, leading to public protests against the French in Gao and other localities in April/May 2013, and particularly in May 2014, including in Bamako.[15]

It is this situation that necessitated the negotiations that led to the Ouagadougou Agreement of June 2013, which will be discussed later.

Root Causes of the Recurrent Conflicts

Two quotes aptly represent the two main lines of discussion about the root causes of the recurring armed rebellions in northern Mali. One focuses on internal dynamics, including governance issues, while the other contends that the main problem comes from 'over-sand'.[16] The first quote opines that civil wars are 'violent reactions to the pervasive lack of democracy, the denial of human rights, the complete disregard of the sovereignty of the people, the lack of empowerment and accountability and, generally, bad governance.'[17] The other quote is attributed to Mohammed Sessay, a Sierra Leonean refugee complaining about the deadly effects of small arms in the civil war that was ravaging his country in the late 1990s. During a television interview with BBC journalist David Shukman, he said: 'We are really down on our knees, begging them to think twice, that we are the same human beings like them. Let them think twice by not sending this sort of thing to destroy our lives here'.[18]

No serious researcher would argue that the Malian conflict or similar ones anywhere in the world are caused by a single factor, either internal or external. The armed rebellion that broke out in northern Mali in early 2012 is not an exception to this rule. In trying to explain the recurrent armed rebellions in northern Mali, a number of factors, some contested, are regularly mentioned. At this point, it should be noted that a factor or an issue, even imagined, can cause a conflict as long as people believe in it. Such factors may include even partially abstract ones like perception.

First, to many, the crises in Mali are a matter of bad governance or poor management of ethnic diversities in the country. According to this view, the Tuareg community have been subjected to what Francis Stewart calls 'horizontal inequality' in the Malian state since independence. Stewart defines horizontal inequalities as 'inequalities between culturally defined groups or groups with shared identities', which 'may be formed by religion, ethnic ties or racial affiliations, or other salient factors which bind groups of people together.'[19] It is perhaps based on this view that Abdullah and Rashid argue that 'the Malian and Nigerian [secessionist] movements [in the 1990s] emerged mainly out of Tuareg disaffection with political and economic marginalisation in the two countries'.[20]Naturally, this is the main claim of successive armed movements in their attempts to justify their taking up arms. The incomplete implementation of some previous peace agreements that sought to put an end to this state of affairs, particularly the National Pact, lends more weight to this factor.

If one includes bad economic governance in this category, either in terms of policy or the transparent implementation of policy, issues of corruption and the equal distribution of resources become a factor here. But two important caveats are worth recalling. The first caveat is that practices of corruption and patronage in the use of public resources have been the work of functionaries both at the level of the central government in Bamako, and at the local level in northern Mali, where some local leaders, including from the Tuareg

community, engage in such practices.[21] The second caveat is that while the three northern regions of Mali account for about two-thirds of its landmass, they represent less than 20 per cent of its national population. Yet, in the southern regions of the country, where more than 80 per cent of the population lives, the soil is 4 to 5 times easier to develop than the northern regions, due to the desert nature of the terrain in the north. In fact, government officials often show, with convincing statistics, that there has been more investment in the three northern regions than any other region of the country if one considers the ratio between resources and the number of people benefiting from them.[22]

A second explanatory factor is the widely held view that many Tuareg resented the authorities of the newly independent Mali from the start. According to Lecocq, quoting one Tuareg individual he engaged with during his research in 1999: '[Tuareg] dissatisfaction with the [Modibo] Keita regime – as with other Malian regimes – is almost natural. They should never have been part of Mali in the first place'.[23] It indeed appears, in various historical accounts of the conflict, that some Tuareg did not appreciate some of the measures taken by the central authorities of the newly independent Mali, and the subsequent ones. Some of these measures had led to the alteration in the social structure they had cherished for centuries, as some people, including within the larger Kel Tamacheq group, who were otherwise considered as lower strata, becoming equal to, and at times, even rulers of 'noble' or higher classes. They also had to put up with being administered from Bamako, more than 1000 km away in the south.[24]

Related to this is another explanation often heard in the south of the country, which is a purported supremacist tendency of some Kel Tamacheq individuals who are said to resent being ruled by 'black' people whom they think they are superior to. This brings a racial element to the debate. This view is widely held in the south to explain the recurrence of rebellions in the north of Mali, particularly because the actors are more or less the same people across generations. Based on this claim, many southerners point at a purported 'natural Tuareg irredentism'.

A third explanatory factor for the 2012 wave of armed rebellion is clearly the fall of the Qaddafi regime and weapons and other logistical resources it allowed the armed movements to acquire and bring into Mali. While there could have been a rebellion in northern Mali without this factor, as illustrated by the 2006 one led by Ag Bahanga, the timing and, most importantly, the scale of the crisis would have most likely been substantially different without these weapons and logistical resources.

A fourth factor is the weakness of the Malian state. Given the desert nature of much of the northern regions and the fact that many parts of it, particularly in the Timbuktu and Kidal regions, are sparsely if at all populated, the lack of adequate financial and logistical resources at the disposal of the government makes it difficult to monitor these regions and ensure an effective state presence there, both in terms of defence and security forces. The same makes it difficult for the government to provide appropriate social and economic services to the populations in these regions. One could even argue that armed groups occupied some parts of the north that did not have any state presence, meaning that the State did not actually 'lose' control of these areas. The reaction of government can therefore be likened to that of a landlord who owns huge swaths of land, little of which he has the means to cultivate, yet the occupation of an inch by anyone else forces him to claim his ownership and authority over the land. Some observers have added an apparent complicity of some local communities or even some government agents with the criminal groups and traffickers.[25]

Westerfield adds what could be considered as a fifth explanatory factor. In his view, there is also the fact that successive Malian governments have favoured dialogue and making concessions over military option, in contrast to neighbouring Niger. To him, 'the consistent government compromise to Tuareg demands following violence surely did nothing to make rebellion less attractive'.[26] While this observation is true for successive Malian regimes

since 1991, it is questionable whether Mali has the means for a military option. If this was the case, the question can still be posed as to whether a military option can be proven to be more effective. Other unanswered questions would also need to be answered to prove Westerfield's position. Is the absence of armed rebellion in Niger following the downfall of Qaddafi due to a military effort by Niamey? Given that Niger has faced similar rebellions each time they broke out in Mali, both in the 1990s and in 2006, were those ones ended through only military action in Niger? Has Mali only and always engaged in diplomatic efforts and never tried military options? Such questions suggest that there is need for further critical analysis to confirm if a military option would be more favourable than dialogue.

Overview of diplomatic conflict resolution efforts

The Malian crises of 2012 attracted a great deal of regional and international attention. It seems that everyone wanted to do something about it. Although the focus here is on the efforts of ECOWAS and the AU, other actors are also discussed as the various efforts were complementary. We first look at diplomatic efforts, and then move to the military endeavours, although there are some overlaps with regard to the chronology of events.

The Framework Agreement with CNRDRE, April 2012

When the military coup was announced on 22 March 2012, the foreign ministers and other officials of some members of the Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the AU were still in Bamako, two days after a ministerial level meeting of this important conflict management institution of the continental body, held in the Malian capital, to discuss the crisis in the country and the wider Sahel region. Having concluded that the coup was in violation of some of their relevant instruments, ECOWAS and AU, along with other members of the international community, condemned the military coup and took a number of measures to ensure a swift return to constitutional order. Perhaps in regard to its effect on government action, the two organisations considered the resolution of the institutional crisis as deserving priority over the security situation in the north.[27] Thus, ECOWAS made efforts, through its official mediator in the Malian crisis, President Blaise Compaoré of Burkina Faso, backed by the AU. This effort resulted in the signing, with the CNRDRE, of the 6 April 2012 Framework Agreement for the restoration of constitutional order. In accordance with the Malian Constitution, this 10-point Agreement facilitated the transfer of power from the military junta to the Speaker of Parliament, Mr. Dioncounda Traoré.[28] This transfer of power contributed to a greater coherence of the transitional process, even if the road proved bumpy at times, with a number of challenges to be overcome. For example, on 20 August 2012, the Malian stakeholders established an inclusive national unity Government. This was a recommendation of the first meeting of the Support and Follow-up Group on the crisis in Mali, co-chaired by the AU, ECOWAS and the UN, and the ECOWAS Summit held in Yamoussoukro, on 28 and 29 June 2012, all of which called for a more inclusive transitional framework.[29]

This notwithstanding, the former military junta remained very active in the country's political life, albeit from behind curtains. Indeed, as Théroux-Bénoni noted, 'despite the formal handover of power to civilian authorities, some elements of the junta … continued to play a major role in the political scene, as shown by the conditions in which Prime Minister Cheick Modibo Diarra was forced to resign in December 2012.'[30] But here again, the positions of the AU and ECOWAS, backed by other actors, prevented the potential spoilers from stalling the process, as they feared the sanctions threatened by the international community.[31] The failure of the military junta to do anything about the security situation in the North further helped in discrediting it and strengthened the position of the civilian authorities of the transitional government of national unity.

Another challenge was the divergent views within the international community about the sequence of actions. Some, particularly the Americans, favoured the holding of elections over the liberation of the north, as they did not consider the transitional government as fully constitutional whereas their legislation restricts their direct support to such governments.

Others, like former Italian Prime Minister and Special Envoy of the UN Secretary General for the Sahel, Romani Prodi, were very sceptical about military intervention or the readiness of African countries to do so and made public pronouncements to this effect. The 28 November 2012 report of the Secretary General on Mali somehow echoed such sentiments. There were also media reports about the lack of readiness of many African countries to intervene militarily unless "partners' financially and logistically supported them. All this could be said to have gladdened armed movements that the international community was not ready to confront them militarily.

In the end, the transitional boat safely sailed through the stormy weathers typical of such political situations, culminating in the July and August 2013 presidential elections.

The Ouagadougou Peace Processes and Agreement, December 2012; June 2013

Building on the success of the Framework Agreement, Compaoré continued with efforts regarding negotiations with those armed groups in the north of Mali who were willing to engage in dialogue on the basis of the respect for the unity and territorial integrity of the country and the rejection of armed rebellion and terrorism. The ECOWAS Mediator held meetings with representatives of the MNLA and Ansar Dine in Ouagadougou, in June 2012, and dispatched his Foreign Minister to Gao and Kidal, in August 2012, to meet with representatives of Ansar Dine and MUJAO. The Burkinabe Foreign Minister, Djibril Bassolé, impressed upon his interlocutors the need to unequivocally disassociate themselves from terrorism and criminal acts.[32] After these two groups had indicated their readiness to dialogue under the mediation of ECOWAS, the Mediator urged them to clearly articulate their demands for dialogue with the Malian authorities. Other meetings were held in early December 2012 and the parties agreed to suspend and resume talks in early January 2013.[33] It is the January 2013 attacks on Kuna by some armed groups, who were parties to this process, particularly Ansar Dine, which put an end to these talks. The talks finally resumed only after military intervention.

As noted above in the discussion about the outbreak of the 2012 rebellion, the MNLA opposed the redeployment in Kidal of Malian state authority, including the army, following the French intervention. This situation necessitated the negotiations that led to the Ouagadougou Agreement of 18 June 2013. While Burkina Faso spearheaded the negotiation of this agreement, Nigeria, represented by its ambassadors in Bamako and Ouagadougou, served as associate mediator. Both Burkina Faso and Nigeria were designated in their respective roles by ECOWAS. The High Representative of the AU for Mali and the Sahel, former Burundian President Pierre Buyoya, and representatives of the UN and the EU also played an active role in the mediation within what was called 'the College of International Facilitators', while the AU and the UN had experts in the team that drafted the agreement.[34]

This agreement, entitled, is the 'Preliminary Agreement to Presidential Elections and Inclusive Peace Talks in Mali', allowed the holding of presidential and legislative elections throughout the country. Mr. Ibrahim Boubacar Keita (IBK) emerged victorious in the run-off of the presidential poll held on 11 August 2013. The Ouagadougou Agreement also permitted a timid and gradual redeployment of state authority in regions where it was absent because of the armed conflict in the north. It also called for the launch of inclusive peace talks sixty days after the formation of the new government following elections in order to address the root causes of the conflict. This brought about a lull in the conflict, as the armed movements awaited the launch of the inclusive talks. However, with the delay in the launch of this process, a visit by the Malian Prime Minister to Kidal on 16 May 2014, to which the MNLA, still armed and present in the city, was opposed, triggered violent confrontations between rebel forces and the national army, resulting in great loses in the governmental camp, as well as among civilians. The opposition of the MNLA to this visit was clearly in contradiction to the Ouagadougou agreement. An attempted attack by government forces

on 21 May 2014, aimed at regaining control of the situation, but ended in yet another rebel victory. However, this gave a renewed impetus to the peace process, leading to the Algiers process started on 16 June 2014.

From Ouagadougou to Algiers: the Inter-Malian Inclusive Peace Talks, 2014-2015

The Algiers process of inter-Malian inclusive peace talks effectively started on 16 June 2014, in the Algerian capital. It was during a state visit of the Malian president, Ibrahim Boubacar Keita, in Algeria in early 2013 that he asked the Algerian authorities to spearhead the peace process. The efforts made by Algeria enabled the actual launching of this process with the support of a number of regional and international organisations. Algeria served as lead mediator, while five countries of the region (i.e. Burkina Faso, Chad, Mauritania, Niger and Nigeria) and five regional and international organisations (i.e. AU, ECOWAS, UN, EU and the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC)) served in the mediation team. This inclusive approach helped to assuage concerns of some about what they called 'relocation' of the process from Burkina Faso, and thus ECOWAS mediation, to Algeria. It also reassured some parties that wanted a strong international involvement in the process. After several weeks of preliminary works, particularly with armed movements, the Algerian authorities assembled in Algiers, from 7 to 14 July 2014. Experts representing the afore-mentioned regional and international organisations and the countries of the region met to prepare the inclusive talks through a 'Draft Roadmap of Negotiations within the framework of the Algiers Process', which was signed by all the parties on 24 July 2014.[35]

This Roadmap spelled out the basic principles and references of the Talks. It also determined the different issues to be discussed to resolve the Malian conflict. It did this by indicating the format of the Talks, the composition of the Mediation team led by Algeria, but which included the representatives of the abovementioned five regional and international organisations and the four countries of the region. It also identified the parties to the Talks and laid down a calendar for the Talks that provided for a process lasting about 100 days, divided into different phases marked by periods of suspension or consultation on the ground in Mali. Indeed, after a pause in the process from 26 July, the phase of the actual talks was launched on 1st September 2014, starting with week-long exchanges with civil society organisations identified by all the parties. This move was a novelty compared to all the previous peace processes in Mali.

After five rounds of talks, the last one being held, still in Algiers, from 17 to 26 February 2015, the Mediation presented to the Parties the text of the "Agreement for Peace and Reconciliation in Mali resulting from the Algiers Process". On 1st March, the Malian government, and some armed groups referred to as the movements of the Platform and the Mediators initialled this document. Other groups assembled in what is called the Coordination of the movements of Azawad (CMA), including the MNLA, abstained from initialling the text, arguing that they needed more time to explain the agreement to their bases. It was only on 14 May 2015, after many efforts by the Mediation team that they initialled it. Still, others signed the agreement in the Malian capital, Bamako, on 15 May, in a grandiose ceremony attended by several African heads of states and high-level delegations from the AU and ECOWAS commissions.[36] It took more efforts by the Mediation team to convince the movements of the CMA to finally sign the agreement on 20 June 2015, thereby completing the signing process of the Agreement and allowing the start of its "consensual" implementation.

The agreement is divided into four main thematic areas: (i) political and institutional reforms; (ii) security and defence arrangements; (iii) development issues; and (iv) justice, reconciliation and humanitarian issues. Under the first thematic area, the agreement gives more powers to the regions and local authorities in the running of their own administrative affairs, and allows for an increased involvement of the populations in the decision-making. The second bloc provides for a restructuring and reform of the security sector as well as for a

demobilisation and reintegration process of former combatants of armed groups, including the creation of community security units. The thematic bloc concerning development provides for the creation of a special development zone for the northern regions such that more attention can be given to them in terms of development projects and initiatives. As for the fourth theme, a Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission as well as an International Commission of Inquiry into alleged human rights violations during the conflict are to be instituted to ensure justice for the victims and combat impunity.

The Establishment and Evolution of AFISMA

As noted above, the AU and ECOWAS had a two-pronged approach on the situation in Mali: giving priority to diplomatic and political efforts, while preparing for an eventual military intervention should the first option failed. This is what explains the preparations for a military deployment in parallel to diplomatic efforts. First, ECOWAS took steps towards the deployment of a stabilisation force in Mali (MICEMA) from early 2012. With an active involvement of the AU, UN and other partners, a number of planning meetings were convened for this. For example, the regional organisation dispatched technical assessment missions to Mali and convened a number of planning meetings. In September 2012, the Malian authorities addressed formal requests to ECOWAS and the UN for military assistance to end the rebellion and dismantle the terrorist and criminal networks operating in the north. This force, MICEMA, was to be composed of ECOWAS member states and be deployed within the framework of the West African component of the African Standby Force (ASF).

However, as time passed, and before MICEMA was deployed, it was decided to broaden the scope of the mission from the regional level to the continental one. Chad and other countries outside of West Africa had expressed readiness to contribute and it was observed that the inclusion of countries such as Mauritania and Algeria, which are also outside of the ECOWAS space, was crucial for the success of the efforts in Mali.[37]

In accordance with the relevant decisions of the ECOWAS, it was decided to 'continentalise' MICEMA through the establishment and deployment of AFISMA. Such decisions emanated from a series of ECOWAS deliberations: the communiqué of the 339th and 341st meetings of the PSC, held in Addis Ababa respectively on 24 October 2012 and 13 November 2012 the final communiqué of the Extraordinary Session of the authority of ECOWAS Heads of State and Government held in Abuja on 11 November 2012, and the UN Security Council Resolution 2085 (2012) of 20 December 2012,. AFISMA was mandated, among others, to support Mali in recovering its territories under the control of armed groups, and maintain security and consolidate State authority throughout the country. It was also tasked to support the Malian authorities to create a secure environment for the civilian-led delivery of humanitarian assistance and the voluntary return of internally displaced persons and refugees as well as to protect the civilian population. More specifically, the Mission was mandated, amongst others, to:

a. Contribute to the rebuilding of the capacity of the Malian Defence and Security Forces, in close coordination with other international multilateral and bilateral partners involved in the process,;

b. Support the Malian authorities in restoring the country's territorial integrity, securing and consolidating the areas in the north of its territory liberated from armed groups and in reducing the threat posed by terrorist organisations and associated extremist groups, while taking appropriate measures to reduce the impact of military actions upon the civilian population.

c. Support transition to stabilisation activities by supporting the Malian authorities in maintaining security and consolidating State authority through appropriate capacities;

d. Support the Malian authorities in their primary responsibility to protect the population;

e. Support the Malian authorities to create a secure environment for the civilian-led delivery of humanitarian assistance and the voluntary return of internally displaced persons and refugees, as requested, within its capabilities and in close coordination with humanitarian actors; and

f. Protect its personnel, facilities, premises, equipment and mission and to ensure the security and movement of its personnel.

In a bid to operate a well-integrated African mission based on the principle of complementarity between the AU and Regional Economic Communities (RECs), AU's High Representative for Mali and the Sahel was appointed as Head of AFISMA, while ECOWAS' Special Representative in Mali became his deputy. The civilian personnel of the Mission was deployed from both the AU and ECOWAS Commissions, while the two organiastions deployed a joint team of a dozen human rights observers.

AFISMA was deployed from mid-January 2013 and continued serving until it was transformed into the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) on 1 July 2013, as per UN Security Council Resolution 2100 (2013) of 25 April 2013. At the peak of its deployment, AFISMA comprised 53 civilian officers seconded from the AU and ECOWAS commissions, with a dozen locally recruited staff members, 367 individual and formed police personnel, and 6438 military personnel. Among these, some military personnel were returned to their countries, while 42 were recorded dead, including 35 Chadians (making Chad the TCC that registered the highest number of fatalities). The Deputy Force Commander also died, but from natural cause at his residence in Bamako on 11 May 2013. Thus, at the time it passed the baton to the UN, on 30 June 2013, AFISMA's military strength stood at 6 079 personnel. MINUSMA was deployed with an authorised troop ceiling of 11 200 military and 1 440 police personnel, including formed units. It basically absorbed the military and police personnel of AFISMA before integrating new elements. It was therefore a 're-hatting' process (a process involving the transfer of a mission's mandate to another, and therefore redeploying uniformed personnel with different uniforms and hats). Security Council Resolution 2164 (2014) of 25 June 2014 extended by one year the mandate of MINUSMA. It has almost the same mandate as AFISMA.

Challenges faced by the Mission

AFISMA encountered a number of challenges, pertaining mainly to the lack of financial resources and inadequate and insufficient logistical support. Strategically, it encountered problems of coordination with the multiple actors involved in the resolution of the Malian crisis. It should be noted that there were also some internal challenges in the coordination on the ground between the AU and ECOWAS.

With regard to its core mandate of supporting "the Malian authorities in restoring the country's territorial integrity, securing and consolidating the areas in the north of its territory liberated from armed groups", the wide range of its "Area of Operations" was a practical challenge. This is because the area (northern Mali) covers more than 600 000 Sq Km, representing about two-thirds of the 1 240 172 Sq km that is the landmass of Mali. This region is sparsely populated, and the population centres are linked by roads that are mainly in poor conditions. Deprived of any airlift capability, moving the military, police and civilian personnel of the mission between various duty stations was a daunting challenge. This was even more challenging to visits of the Mission's top leadership based in Bamako to the field, located more than 1, 200 km away. This forced the leadership to rely on the French for all their travels to the field in the north.

Related to the challenge of logistics, AFISMA was set up with the understanding that contingents would be self-sustained for the first 90 days. However, owing to some problems, the mission could not take over the sustainment of troops within this timeframe, forcing it to rely on the support of some partners like the US Government, who assisted with supplying troops with petroleum products and food ration. While supplying these products to units located near Bamako was easy, the lack of airlift capabilities rendered the regular supply to far-away locations such as Gao and Tessalit very difficult.

One could be tempted to think that such challenges should not have been encountered in view of the more than 400 million dollars that was pledged at the 29 January 2013 Donors' Conference held in Addis Ababa. But the fact of the matter is that sustaining a mission like AFISMA requires more funds than this. Secondly, only about a third of these funds were effectively paid by those that pledged them, the bulk having remained at the level of intention. Thirdly, because the funds were deposited into two different accounts, one managed by the AU and another by the UN, the latter withheld some of the funds in anticipation of the transformation of AFISMA into MINUSMA and only disbursed them after this transformation, some as late as 2014.

The lack of funding affected all other aspects of the Mission's operations, from its political mandate to the provision of humanitarian support. For example, given the context of the conflict, there was a strong need for the humanitarian unit of the Mission to constantly be in the field, but this was not possible given the lack of logistics and finances. Likewise, the deployment of human rights observers faced some challenges; not least of which was the lack of appropriate security and other related gear and unavailability of airlift facilities to take them to their respective locations of deployment.

Notwithstanding these challenges, the Mission performed generally well. For example, there was no single report about human rights violations on the part of any member of the personnel, military, police or civilian. Also, the troops contributed significantly to the security of their zones of deployment, at times playing mediation role between antagonistic communities. After all, this was the condition for the deployment of the UN peacekeeping force. All this suggests that with adequate funding and logistical support, AFISMA could have done far better. Because the transformation was premised on the idea that this would provide the mission with adequate funding, perhaps there would not have been any need for the transformation if the funds were made available to AFISMA. This is by no means a reproach to those who fund the UN mission, but it is an eye opener also to African countries that could have contributed more to a peacekeeping mission in another African country.

Conclusion

Northern Mali has been the theatre of recurring armed rebellions since the independence of the country in 1960. These crises have their roots in the question of political governance, particularly the issue of management of the ethnic diversity in the Malian society, economic governance, in that corruption has hindered many meaningful developmental projects to be undertaken, and the weakness and limited resources of the State. Any attempt to find a lasting solution to these recurrent crises must therefore address these issues. The criminal and terrorist dimension in the 2012 crisis added to its complexity.

Given the desert nature of much of northern Mali and the country's limited resources, regional cooperation seems to be an important strategy that Mali should adopt to overcome its limitations in its efforts to ensure greater security in this region. Good governance, both political and economic, should be adopted with a view of dealing with issues of real or perceived marginalisation by some segments of society.

Two important lessons for effective regional interventions in conflict resolution efforts in Africa should be drawn from the Malian experience. These are: (i) the need for more clarity and division of labour between the AU and RECs; and (ii) the importance of African financial autonomy for peacekeeping operations. On the first point, the 2002 Protocol establishing the PSC clearly defines various continental (AU) and regional (REC) Actors on conflict situations in Africa. The 2008 Memorandum of Understanding between the AU and RECs brought further clarification to this issue. AFISMA was perhaps one of the first experiences for a fully joint AU/REC peacekeeping operation; yet, the cooperation and division of labour could have been better.

The other point is related to the funding of AU peacekeeping/peace support operations. One could argue that the disproportionate dependency of the AU and ECOWAS on external partners for the funding of AFISMA, the serious logistical challenges this mission encountered on the ground when such support lacked and its eventual transformation into a UN peacekeeping mission indicate that this slogan of finding African solutions to African problems proved wanting in the deployment of AFISMA. This makes one wonder whether the translation of this slogan into reality is at all desirable to all member states or leaders of the AU, and if it was seen as necessary by all? About the need for it, some might question this, particularly on the ground that peacekeeping is UN's responsibility before it can become that of anyone else, and that rich countries should be expected to foot the bill, something they have been doing selectively. Those espousing this view ultimately point at Africa's 'poverty' and 'limited resources' that would not allow it to finance such an expensive enterprise as peacekeeping.

There is no denying the fact that issues of international peace and security fall squarely under the mandate of the UN and it is even the primary *raison d'être* of its Security Council. However, as this author has indicated elsewhere, it should be noted that the UN has a global mandate with limited resources and Africa is not the only region affected by conflict situations and humanitarian disasters. This means that Africans, if they have to rely on the UN, must sometimes expect the world body to prioritise its actions and thus overlook some African situations. Likewise, rich countries have many priorities, including their national priorities and others from their immediate neighbouring, which must at times take precedence over issues far-away in Africa. Moreover, and unlike the UN, rich countries do not have any responsibility towards Africa, strictly speaking, unless from a paternalistic perspective. Furthermore, policies in rich countries greatly depend on the political orientation of those in power. With the possible increasing victories of nationalistic and far right parties, such orientations are likely to be further inward looking. Some of the latter indeed support the idea of 'finding African solutions to African problems', which may mean a total disengagement of their countries from Africa. This is the current situation over which Africa has no control, making it equally unrealistic, perhaps more so than the call for African solutions under the prevailing conditions.

To make the slogan realistic, African countries must work towards economic independence for their countries and their regional organisations, such as the AU and ECOWAS. In the meantime, they have to be ready to finance various peacekeeping operations in addition to providing the necessary human resources, as some West African states did under Nigerian leadership in both Liberia and Sierra Leone in the 1990s and, what South Africa did in Burundi in the current decade.38 With great improvements in governance practices in the continent, which would lead to structural conflict prevention, the 'high cost' of peacekeeping would be substantially reduced, as there would be only a few cases necessitating such interventions. But even for African regional organisations to play an important role in the improvement of governance systems and practices on the continent, they need financial resources that would serve as their 'carrot and stick' powers vis-à-vis recalcitrant rulers.

(Endnotes)

1 The map is used merely for illustration purposes. The highlighting of the northern regions as 'Azawad' is considered here as a simple geographic illustration of the areas of interest to armed groups. This author fully stands by Mali's national unity and territorial integrity. The map is based on an original map, without the highlight on the northern regions, from the UN Geospatial Information Section (formerly known as UN Cartographic Section) at: http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/mali.pdf.

2 'Tuareg' is plural of the term 'Targui'. It should not therefore take 's' to signify plurality. Tuareg refer to themselves as Kel Tamacheq, meaning those that speak Tamacheq. Because of the fact that they are not exclusively Tuareg and that all Tuareg are not in support of rebellion, it is the view of this author that the term 'Tuareg rebellion' is erroneous and should be avoided.

3 B. Lococq, *Disputed Desert: Decolonisation, Competing Nationalisms and Tuareg Rebellions in Northern Mali*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, 143-158.

4 Ibid; S. Chena and A. Tisseron, Rupture d'équilibres au Mali: Entre instabilité et recompositions, *Afrique contemporaine*, 245:1, 2013, 75.

5 A. Tisseron, Rupture d'équilibres au Mali: Entre instabilité et recompositions, *Afrique contemporaine*, 245:1, 2013, 75-76; B. Lococq, *Disputed Desert: Decolonisation, Competing Nationalisms and Tuareg Rebellions in Northern Mali*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, 249-263.

6 During this event, about 3 000 weapons were symbolically burned in the marketplace of Timbuktu under the inspired leadership of President Alpha Oumar Konaré. See B. Lococq, *Disputed Desert: Decolonisation, Competing Nationalisms and Tuareg Rebellions in Northern Mali*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, 263-307.

7 Interviews of the author with many Tuareg personalities, including former rebel fighters of the 1990s, Gao, August 2008.

8 B. S. Westerfield, *Decentralisation, Counterinsurgency and Conflict Recurrence: A Study of the Tuareg Uprisings in Mali and Niger*, MA Thesis, Monterey, Cal.: Naval Postgraduate School, 2012, 3.

9 A. Tisseron, Rupture d'équilibres au Mali: Entre instabilité et recompositions, *Afrique contemporaine*, 245:1, 2013, 74.

10 I. K. Souaré, *A Critical Analysis of Security Challenges in West Africa*, Situation Report, Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2010; AU Peace and Security Council, *Report of the Chairperson of the Commission on the Strategic Concept for the Resolution of the Crises in Mali*, 339th meeting of the PSC, PSC/PR/3. (CCCXXXIX), Addis Ababa, 24 October 2012; A. Tisseron, Rupture d'équilibres au Mali: Entre instabilité et recompositions, *Afrique contemporaine*, 245:1, 2013, 77.

11 A. Tisseron, Rupture d'équilibres au Mali: Entre instabilité et recompositions, *Afrique contemporaine*, 245:1, 2013, 72, 78; B. S. Westerfield, *Decentralisation, Counterinsurgency and Conflict Recurrence: A Study of the Tuareg Uprisings in Mali and Niger*, MA Thesis, Monterey, Cal.: Naval Postgraduate School, 2012, 31.

12 African Union, Conclusions of the Experts' meeting on the situation in the Sahel region/Follow-up on the recommendations of the joint AU-UN Assessment mission, Addis Ababa, 14-15 March 2012 at www.peaceau.org.

13 B. Whitehouse, The force of action: legitimising the coup in Bamako, Mali, *Africa Spectrum*, 47:2-3, 2012, 93-100; L.A Théroux-Bénoni, Mali in the aftermath of the French military operation, *ISS Situation Report*, 25 February 2013.

14 There are some gray areas about public explanations regarding this move by armed groups. Two French authors go as far as to ask the question whether France or another power provoked it as a pretext for intervention. It seems clear, however, that the French intervention was not as spontaneous as it initially appeared, as some analysts have established that it had been in the making for at least six months prior. See I. Lasserre and T. Oberlé, *Notre guerre secrète au Mali: Les nouvelles menaces contre la France*, Paris: Fayard, 2013, 35-36. See also France in Mali: rapid reaction, *IISS Strategic Comments*, 19:1, 2013, iv-vi.

15 On 17 May 2014, the then Prime Minister of Mali, Moussa Mara, undertook a visit to Kidal, to which the MNLA was opposed. On the ground, fighting broke out between Malian defence forces that had returned to the city after the Ouagadougou Agreement and MNLA fighters, resulting in the killing and slaying of many Malian soldiers and officials. In the Prime Minister's account, the French forces, stationed in the town, refused to acquiesce to his appeal for them to come to his assistance to avoid what happened. This led to anti-French public protests in the streets of Bamako, with some people explicitly declaring that France was backing the MNLA. The author of this chapter witnessed these protests.

16 This is an analogy with the term 'oversea', since we're talking about a desert zone.

17 Professor Adebayo Adedeji, former Executive Secretary of UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), quoted in A. Adebajo, *Building Peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau*, Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002, 15.

18 As quoted by J. Simpson, *News From No Man's Land: Reporting the World*, London: Macmillan, 2002, 118 – 119.

19 F. Stewart, Horisontal Inequalities and Conflict: An Introduction and some Hypotheses, in F. Stewart (ed.), *Horisontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, 12-13.

20 I. Abdullah and I. Rashid, Rebel Movements, in A. Adebajo and I. Rashid (eds.), *West Africa's Security Challenges: Building Peace in a Troubled Region*, Boulder, Col.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004, 169.

21 MT Lindell and K. Mattsson, *Transnational Threats to Peace and Security in the Sahel: Consequences in Mali,* Stockholm: Swedish Defence Research Agency, 2014, 16.

22 Author's conversations with many government officials, 2013-2014.

23 B. Lococq, *Disputed Desert: Decolonisation, Competing Nationalisms and Tuareg Rebellions in Northern Mali*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, 152.

24 Ibid, 143, 158.

25 A. Tisseron, Rupture d'équilibres au Mali: Entre instabilité et recompositions, *Afrique contemporaine*, 245:1, 2013, 77.

26 B. S. Westerfield, *Decentralisation, Counterinsurgency and Conflict Recurrence: A Study of the Tuareg Uprisings in Mali and Niger*, MA Thesis, Monterey, Cal.: Naval Postgraduate School, 2012, 23-25.

27 This view was also shared by the United States whose policies did not allow it to provide certain support necessary for the efforts of securing the north while there was an unconstitutional government in place in Bamako.

28 The 10-point agreement also provided for the holding of new presidential elections in 40 days, the extension of the tenure of members of parliament until the end of the transition, the vote, by Parliament, of an amnesty law to all members of CNRDRE, and the formation of a government of national unity. See *Accord cadre de mise en oeuvre de l'engagement solennel du 1er avril 2012*, Bamako, 6 April 2012.

29 The Conclusions of the inaugural meeting of the Support and Follow-up Group on the Situation in Mali, Abidjan, 20-21 June 2012; the Communiqué of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS, Yamoussoukro, 28-29 June, 2012.

30 *L.A Théroux-Bénoni,* Mali in the aftermath of the French military operation*, ISS Situation Report*, 25 February 2013, 2.

31 On these threats, see the Conclusions of the 4th meeting of the Support and Follow-up Group on the Situation in Mali, Bamako, 19 April 2013.

32 P. Buyoya, The Recurrent Security Crisis in Mali and the Role of the African Union, *Prism*, 5:2, 2015: 61-71.

33 The communiqué of the 4 December 2012 meeting between the mediator and armed groups served as one of the basis of the Ouagadougou Agreement. See the 13th paragraph of the Preamble to the Ouagadougou Agreement of 18 June 2013.

34 The present author had the honour to represent the AU in this technical team.

35 Buyoya, The Recurrent Security Crisis in Mali and the Role of the African Union, *Prism*, 5:2, 2015: 67-68.

36 African Union, The AU rejoices over the signing of the Agreement for Peace and Reconciliation in Mali, *Press Release* [in French], 16 May 2015 at http://www.peaceau.org/fr/article/l-union-africaine-se-rejouit-de-la-signature-de-l-accord-pour-la-paix-et-la-reconciliation-au-mali <20 May 2015>.

37 Some could argue that such external (outside of the ECOWAS zone) contributions could have still been made while leaving the leadership to the ECOWAS, since the ASF doctrine provides for African countries contributing troops to the regional brigade of another region.

38 IK Souaré, Between acceptable and unacceptable foreign interventions in Africa, *AU Herald*, Vol. 2, 2012, 103-112; IK Souaré, *Africa in the United Nations System, 1945-2005*, London: Adonis & Abbey Publishers, 2006, 208-216.

Conflict Overviews: The Great Lakes Region Conflicts

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10 The Rwanda Crisis: the Watershed for Robust African Interventions

Christian Ichite & Ugwumba Egbuta

Abstract

This chapter reviews the Rwandan genocide experience and its critical influence on the subsequent development of Africa's collective security framework. The defunct Organisation of African Unity (OAU) had operated on the principle of "non-interference" in internal affairs of Member States, and absolute respect for their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence. Moreover, the conflict handling structures of OAU were largely dormant before 1990. Between April and July 1994, African and the entire world was shocked as they witnessed one of the most gruesome murder and massacre of close to 800,000 Rwandans within a short period of about 100 days.. Yet, the nations that matter most within the UN Security Council, for unstated reasons, declined commitment to accord the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda UNAMIR the required resources for its mission in Rwanda. Instead, Rwanda and the international community became seized with the politics and debate regarding the concept of genocide. The controversy hinged on the most politically correct nomenclature for the events of April-July 1994 in Rwanda, as major culprits frantically sought self-exoneration. The UN finally accepted to call it 'genocide against the Tutsis' almost two decades afterwards. Rwanda on the other hand remains embroiled in a genocide revisionist debate. The chapter is focused not on these debates, but on the critical influence of the Rwanda crisis, on the mindset within the OAU, which hassled to the renewal of the continent's apparatus for collective security. Most importantly, the Rwanda experience should facilitate expedited action on operationalising the ASF and the ACIRC as planned.

Introduction

This chapter reviews the Rwandan genocide experience and its critical influence on the subsequent development of Africa's collective security framework. The defunct Organisation of African Unity (OAU) had operated on the principle of "non-interference" in internal affairs of Member States, and absolute respect for their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence.[1] Moreover, the conflict handling structures of OAU were largely dormant before 1990. For instance, the Commission for Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration provided for in the OAU Charter was never operational, while the 1977 Ad Hoc Committee on Inter-African Disputes remained dormant. The organisation had relied instead, on ad hoc committees and prominent personalities of Member States to mediate disputes.[2]

Moreover, OAU's few attempts at resolving conflicts in Africa before 1990 largely failed, except perhaps its intervention in Chad (1981-82), in which France played a leading role. The OAU's ineptitude in conflict resolution was epitomised by its failure to resolve the Nigerian civil war (1967-70). However, in 1990, after the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) sortie in Rwanda, OAU Secretary General, quickly mobilised regional leaders and representatives

of the RPF and Government of Rwanda (GoR) to map out plans for the deployment of military observers to assist in ending hostilities and facilitating reconciliation. Thus, with considerable success, the organisation arranged a military observer team (MOT), but later agreed in March 1991 to deploy instead, a neutral military observer group (NMOG), expanded in August 1992 into NMOG II. This effort successfully engaged the United Nations (UN), which integrated NMOG II into the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) in November 1993.

The chapter is focused not on these debates, but on the critical influence of the Rwanda crisis, on mindsets within the OAU, which have led to the renewal of the continent's apparatus for collective security. In the wake of the genocide, Africa appeared to have learned two key lessons. First, OAU appeared not to fully realise its blatant lack of capacity to address either the conflicts or the consequences of conflicts in the continent. Second, the continent could no longer rely entirely on external assistance to resolve conflicts within the territories of its Member States, and must now do all in its power to say 'never again' to cases such as the Rwandan tragedy. Saddled with this experience, the OAU embarked on a decade-long journey of rebirth and transformation into the African Union (AU) with adequate capacity for the collective security of all Africans and stability in the continent.

This chapter presents the account of this transformation in four main parts. The first part, after the introduction describes the Rwandan crisis. The second part provides an overview of the peace process and OAU's role. The third part captures the influence of the crisis in the emergence of new structures and the revitalisation of dormant dispute resolution structures within the OAU. The fourth part draws some key lessons and recommendations from the experience, while the conclusion underscores the need to facilitate the evolution of the AU Peace and Security Architecture through concerted efforts at eliminating 'false necessities'.

Background to the Crisis

The history of Rwanda suggests that Bantu people were the earliest settlers in this territory, although Rwandans are currently distinguished into Hutus, Tutsis and Twa. The Hutus and Twa are perceived to be of Bantu origin, while the Tutsis are hypothetically considered to be of Cushite origin[3], largely on the basis of the fantasy of the Hamitic hypothesis. Tutsi kings are said to have ruled other kingdoms and clans (*Ubwoko*), especially from the mid-eighteenth century, among which King Mwami Kwabugiri stands out, because under his monarchy, inter-group differences and animosity, between Tutsis and Hutus, gained prominence. This was more due to perceived oppression by the ruling class, than to a purported ancient inter-tribal hatred between groups.

Under colonialism, Rwanda became part of German East Africa, but later got integrated into the Belgian colony in 1919 at the end of World War I. [4] Belgium introduced the national identity cards in 1935, officially classifying Rwandans into Hutu, Tutsi, Twa and naturalised. This further entrenched inter-group differences that would later be employed during the genocide to identify targets. Group identification on the basis of the identity cards showed that Hutus make up over 70 per cent of the population, while Tutsis and Twa were about 15 per cent and 2 per cent of the population respectively. It is noteworthy that classification into different groups was somewhat arbitrary before the Cards. For instance, it had been possible for a wealthy Hutu to become an honourary Tutsi before the identity cards were introduced.[5]

The Cards consolidated group differences however, and pre-independent Rwanda became characterised by tensions between groups, especially between the ruling class and the oppressed masses. It was within this context that the *Mouvement Democratique rwandais/Parti du Mouvement de l'emancipation Hutu* or the ParmeHutu emerged under Grégoire Kayibanda. In 1959, tensions degenerated into the Rwandan revolution. The

clashes forced more than 100,000 Tutsis into exile as refugees in neighbouring countries, especially Uganda[6]. The revolution, however, had targeted the rich and powerful, and not just all Tutsis.[7] Therefore, it was not perceived as a prelude to genocide.[8]

In 1961, the monarchy crumbled through referendum. Rwanda gained independence in 1962. Gregoire Kayibanda's movement replaced the Tutsi-dominated monarchy, and the Belgians shifted support to the new administration.[9] Hutu solidarity was strengthened against the background of frequent attacks by Tutsi refugee warriors, the "***Inyenzi***" or cockroaches, who operated from their base in Uganda especially between 1961 and 1967 (Figure 8).[10] In reprisals, the Tutsi minority government in Burundi reportedly clamped down on Hutus, such that in 1972, it was estimated that "almost every educated Hutu was either dead or in exile".[11] Thus, reprisal attacks between Hutus and Tutsis spread in the Great Lakes region and became institutionalised.[12]

In 1973, Juvénal Habyarimana, a Hutu, replaced the Kayibanda regime in Rwanda, through a coup. President Habyarimana has been described as obsessed with control.[13] He had a firm grip on the administrative circumscriptions which ended in cells or "collines", and personally appointed administrators at the local level.[14] He collaborated with other members of the Francophonie and France itself.[15] However, during his regime, for about 17 years, there were no massacres of Tutsi. A few Tutsis were even integrated in his cabinet, and also held a couple of seats in parliament.[16] The larger Tutsi community is said to have excelled in business, even though discrimination continued against them. The country's population increased from 1.6 million people in 1934 to 7.1million people in 1989. The World Bank considered his regime to be significantly successful before the economic crisis of the late 1980s.[17]

Perhaps for Rwanda, the most destructive impact of the economic crisis was the drastic reduction in the spoils of office. This notably encouraged the emergence of an inner clique around the President - the "Akazu" ("little house") or sometimes "*le Clan de Madame*". The President's wife, family and close associates formed the nucleus of the group. They exclusively controlled state resources and the spoils of office, and were characterised by flagrant nepotism and favouritism.[18] This is despite the fact that the country now relied increasingly on foreign aid than the usual revenues from coffee and tea, which had been badly reduced by the glut in tea and coffee prices in the global market.

The regime succumbed to pressure from foreign aid donors and was forced in 1990 into a coalition with some factions of the local opposition. The pressure also ushered in 15 new political parties. One of the new parties, the Liberal Party was dominated by the Tutsis, while another, the *Coalition pour la Defense de la Republique* (CDR), was a radical anti-Tutsi group. Notably, the right wing of the Mouvement républicain national pour la démocratie et le développement (MRND) had close ties with the CDR and used it for extremist Hutu propaganda.[19]

On 1st of October 1990, the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), largely composed of Tutsis and some moderate Hutu launched an attack on northern Rwanda from Uganda (Figure 8). Jean-Pierre Chrétien, Gérard Prunier and Phillip Gourevitch among others have argued that this event marked the definitive start of the civil war in Rwanda. The event further polarised Rwanda.[20] Most of the RPF soldiers were Rwandans that had been out of the country as refugees for more than ten years.[21] Unfortunately, successive regimes had neglected questions of the return and re-settlement of Rwandan refugees while the refugee-warriors claimed they were Rwandans with an inalienable right to return to Rwanda.[22]

In April 1992, President Habyarimana formed a coalition government in which the Cabinet consisted of a Prime Minister from the largest opposition party.[23] The regime was further coerced to negotiate with the RPF and the opposition in the peace process leading up to the Arusha Accords.. The ceasefire, however, again ended abruptly on 6 April 1994 when Habyarimana's plane was shot down near Kigali Airport, killing him, and the President of

Burundi, also a Hutu. The shocking pogroms of April-July 1994 ensued the following day, resulting in the massacre of about one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus within a short period of about 100 days. Estimates suggest that as many as three quarters of the Tutsi population were killed.[24] The killings were considered planned and systematic, and it appeared that the Tutsi were mostly targeted[25].

The RPF's counter offensive resulted in a definitive capture of the capital – Kigali, by mid-July 1994 and the entire country by August, including the area protected by Operation Turquoise of the French forces. This area initially sheltered the Hutu-Power belligerents, who escaped from Rwanda through this area as refugees into the camps in the Kivu region of eastern Zaire. The RPF troops were also accused of committing crimes against humanity as they advanced through the country.[26] Paul Kagame's repeated request for the official dismantling of the camps in Kivu were largely ignored. He eventually attacked and dismantled the camps with the support of his anti-Mobutu coalition in 1996. However, his action catalysed the 'African World War', fought largely on the soils of Zaire in the Great Lakes region.

Figure 8: *Map of Rwanda showing its regions and neighbours in the GLR*



Source: *Rwanda: The Wake of a Genocide - http://www.rwanda-genocide.org/background.html*

Overview of Rwanda Peace Process and the Role of the OAU

The Peace Process for Rwanda has been popularly adjudged an African initiative (Table 5).[27] The OAU brokered the ceasefire agreement between the RPF and the GoR, at the start of the civil war in 1990 by means of several high level meetings, including in both Tanzania and Zaire[28]. The President of Tanzania facilitated the process, with the main actors being Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire and Burundi from the sub-region; Belgium, Germany, France, and USA as the main western nations; the UN, UNHCR and especially the OAU, as international organisations.

The ceasefire signed in Arusha in July 1992 under the auspices of the OAU became effective from 31 July 1992 and initiated the process, while political talks began on 30 September 1992. The process consisted of negotiations on power-sharing within the framework of a Broad-Based Transitional Government; formation of a single National Army and a New National Gendarmerie from forces of the two warring parties through integration; and a definitive solution to the problem of Rwandese refugees (and displaced persons). Their return was considered a crucial factor for peace, national unity and reconciliation. The final Accords consisted of six integral documents, as listed in Article 2 of the final Arusha Accords.[29] They are as follows:

a. The N'SELE Ceasefire Agreement of 29th March 1991 between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front, as amended in GBADOLITE on 16th September, 1991 and at Arusha on 12 July 1992.

b. The Protocols of Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front on the Rule of Law, signed at Arusha on 18th September 1992.

c. The Protocols of Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front on Power-Sharing within the framework of a Broad-Based Transitional Government signed at Arusha respectively on 30th October 1992 and on 9th January 1993.

d. The Protocol of Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front on the Repatriation of Refugees and the Resettlement of Displaced Persons, signed at Arusha on 9th June 1993.

e. The Protocol of Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the RPF on the integration of Armed Forces of the two parties, signed at Arusha on 3rd August 1993.

f. The Protocol of Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front on Miscellaneous Issues and Final Provisions signed on 3rd August 1993.

The N'SELE Ceasefire Agreement emphasised the priority need for a ceasefire.[30] It noted the adoption of the Declaration of 19 February 1991 by the Presidents of Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda and the Prime Minister of Zaire, assisted by the Secretary General of the OAU and a delegate of the UN High Commission for Refugees. The Cease-fire became effective on 31st of July 1992, which was at the same time as OAU's planned deployment of its Neutral Military Observer Group (NMOG I), and the withdrawal of all foreign troops. The verification and control of the Cease-fire was entrusted to the NMOG under the supervision of the OAU Secretary-General. The composition NMOG I is shown in Table 5.[31]

The Mandate of NMOG I included reporting any violation of the Cease-fire to the Secretary-General of OAU and to a Joint Political Military Commission (JPMC). The NMOG I drafted its own rules of procedure, and was accorded a status that would enable it perform its mission as provided in the Cease-fire Agreement, including privileges and immunities accorded OAU personnel. The NMOG officers and personnel were to have specific uniforms with insignia

for easy identification and light weapons for self-defence[32]. The JPMC was composed of five representatives each from the GoR and from the RPF. The OAU, together with Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire, Belgium, France and the USA were invited to participate as observers in the JPMC. It was mandated to ensure follow-up on the implementation of the Cease-fire Agreement, and was located at the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia[33].

The Protocols each addressed specific issues. The protocol on the Rule of Law elaborated the principles of Rule of Law, National Unity, Democracy, Pluralism and Human Rights[34]. The Protocols on Power-Sharing within the Framework of a Broad-Based Transitional Government**,** provided for the setting up of Transitional Institutions including the Presidency, and the Transitional National Assembly.[35] In the presence of representatives of the OAU and the UN, and others, the two main parties to the conflict agreed on the appointment of Mr Twagiramungu Faustin as Prime Minister of the Broad-Based Transitional Government (BBTG) in accordance with the Protocol on Power-sharing.

The **MNRD** was given the Presidency and ministries of Defence, Education, Public Service, Planning and Family Affairs; the **RPF** was given the portfolio of Deputy Prime Minister and the ministries of Interior and Communal Development, Transport and Communication, Health, Youth and Associative Movement, and the Secretariat of State for Rehabilitation and Social Integration.[36] The 70 member Transitional National Assembly seats were distributed among these main political parties with almost all having 11 seats each.[37]

The Protocol on the Repatriation of Refugees and the Resettlement of Displaced Persons included a provision for the UNHCR and OAU to organise a donor conference on the financing of repatriation programme, within 6 months after the establishment of the BBTG. The Protocol also espoused details of the repatriation of refugees and humanitarian assistance both to refugees and displaced persons.[38] The Protocol on the integration of Armed Forces of the two parties contained sections on mission, principles, size, structure and organisation of the National Army and the National Gendarmerie. Elements of both armies that had not been retained among the 19,000 servicemen and gendarmes were to be demobilised.[39]The strength of the new National Army, was put at 13,000 men, with a National Gendarmerie force of six thousand (6000) men.

This protocol also envisaged the composition of a Neutral International Force (NIF), for which the UN would be responsible and control, and into which the NMOG would be integrated. The NMOG also performed certain duties entrusted to the NIF. The NIF was expected to assist in the implementation of the Peace Agreement, through the Protocol of Agreement on the Integration of the Armed Forces. It was also to cater for security in general, for the establishment of Transitional Institutions, but in case of delay in its deployment, the expanded NMOG (or NMOG II) would provide such security, of which the UN assumed responsibility. The protocol also provided for RPF to bring to Kigali, one Infantry Battalion of six hundred (600) troops.[40] The protocol stipulated that elements of the two forces – Rwandese Armed Forces and the RPF, which were not retained among the 19,000 servicemen and gendarmes, would be demobilised.[41]

The Protocol on Miscellaneous Issues and Final Provisions notably underscored the need to delete references to ethnic groups in official documents. The entire transition period was put at twenty-two (22) months, effective from the date of establishment of the BBTG, and included conditions for extension if necessary. The major stakeholders in the peace process were all present or represented at the signing of the final accords (see Table 5).[42]

Unfortunately, the Accord was never given full implementation. First, President Habyarimana, was repeatedly reluctant to implement the accords. Second, there were repeated outbreaks of hostilities between the two belligerent parties. Finally, the assassination of President Habyarimana on 6th April 1994 definitively destroyed any further hope for implementation. His death was followed by the genocide and the subsequent RPF counter-offensive, leading to the definitive victory of the RPF and its strategy.[43] In the end, the otherwise

laudable efforts by the OAU to resolve the Rwanda crisis became compromised largely by the lack of a continental capacity for peace enforcement.

Table 5: Overview of Rwanda Crisis and Peace Process

Date	Event
1954	Emergence of Bahutu Manifesto as basis for cooperation of groups within Rwanda. The Parmehutu movement gained prominence under the leadership of Gregoire Kayibanda
1959	Tensions increased between the Parmehutu movement and the ruling elite leading to the revolution in which some Tutsi elites were killed and over 100,000 others were forced to seek refuge in neighboring countries especially Uganda
1961	Rwanda referendum voted in a referendum to abolish monarchy and be separated from Burundi
1962	Rwanda gained independence, – Tutsi dominated monarchy under colonial rule was replaced with a Hutu-led independent republic under Gregoire Kayibanda
1972	Hutus were massively massacred by the Tutsi minority government in Burundi; this triggered wave of anti Tutsi terror in Rwanda
1973	The regime of Gregoire Kayibanda and the Parmehutu was terminated by Juvenal Habyarimana, another Hutu who seized power in Rwanda through a bloodless coup. He ruled for 21 years (1973-1994)
1990	Anti-government demonstration and strikes occurred, and under pressure, President Habyarimana's one party dictatorship was joined by 15 political parties
1 Oct 1990	Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front largely composed of Tutsi refugees and some moderate Hutus attacked northern Rwanda from Uganda, thus initiating the Rwandan civil war
1991/92	OAU facilitated a ceasefire agreement signed resulted in the establishment of a Neutral Military Observer Group (NMOG I) to monitor the agreement under the supervision of OAU Secretary General. NMOG 1 was deployed inside Rwanda; and was reconstituted in September 1991. NMOG is composed as follows: 10 Officers each from Nigeria, Senegal, Zimbabwe, and an African country chosen by OAU Chairman and the Tanzanian President; and 5 officers each from GoR and RPF
1992/93	Tanzania, The issues of power-sharing, Broad Based Transitional Government, Integration of the Armed forces, Return & Rehabilitation of refugees, were negotiated in Arusha
March 1993	Signing of the Arusha Accords - a comprehensive agreement to create a power sharing government. The two main parties to the conflict: the RPF and GoR requested UN assistance; NMOG II was replaced by UNAMIR I established by SC on 5 October 1993
22 June 1993	UNSC approved the establishment of UN Observer Mission for Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR) to deploy along Uganda side of the border
August 1993	The final Arusha Peace Agreement signed; the peace talks were facilitated by Ali Hassan MWINYI, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, and mediated by Mobutu Sese Seko, President of the Republic of Zaire; Present at the signing were Representatives of the Chairmen of the OAU, Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic of Senegal, and Hosni Mubarak, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt were present. The Secretary General of the OAU, Dr Salim Ahmed Salim; the Secretary General of the United Nations, Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali, and observers representing the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, Burundi, the United States of America, France, Nigeria, Uganda and Zimbabwe were all present. The Accords were signed by Major-General Juvenal Habyarimana, President of the Republic of Rwanda, and Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe, Chairman of the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF). NMOG 1 was replaced with NMOG II, reconstituted with 130 members in preparation for UN-led peacekeeping force

Date	Event
January 1994	President Habyarimana avoided implementing the BBTG as agreed in Arusha; UNAMIR Force Commander sent telegram to UNDPKO on alleged plan of a genocide in Rwanda
March 1994	Meeting of ambassadors of Belgium, France, Germany, Tanzania, USA; and representatives of the OAU, UN and RPF, held in Rwanda
Early April 1994	President of Tanzania convened a regional summit in Dar Es Salaam after consultation with OAU Secretary General; President Habyarimana reassured all of his determination to implement the Arusha Accords
6 April 1994	President Habyarimana dies in a plane crash along with Burundi's President
April/July1994	Close to 1 million Rwandans were gruesomely massacred in a period of about 100 days
July 1994	An estimated 1.2 million Rwandan refugees fled to camps in North Kivu province of DRC. Their movement precipitated conflicts in eastern Zaire
October 1996	Great Lake War commenced

Towards the Rebirth of OAU and African Interventions

The Charter of OAU explicitly lacked a collective security capacity. This gap was amply demonstrated by the organisations failures on many occasions before 1990, and was further emphasised by the genocide. The organisation's dispute resolution structures, largely dormant before the genocide, began to get reactivated and improved during the Rwandan conflict. The Charter had provided for a Commission on Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration, but this was never operational; neither was the 1977 Ad Hoc Committee on Inter-African Disputes. The organisation had relied more on Ad Hoc committees of Member States, and prominent personalities to mediate disputes.[44]

Indeed, the organisation had recorded failures in most of its previous attempts at intervention before 1990. In 1963, it sent military officers to supervise the ceasefire, withdrawal of troops and the creation of a demilitarised zone, to address conflict between Algeria and Monrovia, but these were never acted upon, and the matter was settled bilaterally without the OAU. [45] In 1964, it was left out in the efforts to resolve the conflicts between Ethiopia and Somalia, and the civil war in the Congo. Its failure in resolving the Nigerian civil war (1967 - 1970) seemed the definitive confirmation of its ineptitude in conflict resolution. Even its apparent success in the multinational Neutral Force in Chad (1981-1982) was undermined by the lead role played by France. In despair therefore, Member States turned to external help for their security needs.[46]

It was within this context that the Heads of State and Government emphasised the need for peaceful resolution of conflicts in the continent during the OAU Summit of July 1990 in Addis Ababa. The OAU's decision to send a peacekeeping mission to Rwanda in 1990 demonstrated this new mindset.[47]Thus, a couple of weeks after the RPF sortie in October 1990, the Secretary General in consultation with the OAU Chairman contacted regional leaders and the representatives of the RPF and GoR to develop an agreement targeted at deploying a military observers team (MOT) to assist in reconciliation and end of hostilities. Burundi, Uganda and Zaire, agreed to participate, but had vested interest. Therefore, before the MOT was deployed in April 1991, another agreement was reached in March 1991 in N'sele, Zaire, to deploy a neutral military observer group (NMOG) of 50 military observers from Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal and Zimbabwe, to replace the MOT.[48]

The council of Ministers, in June 1992, decided to enlarge the mission with a second deployment of neutral military observer group (NMOG II), comprising a total of 240

personnel of all ranks. The mandate of NMOG I ended in July. The NMOG II became operational in August 1992, and was composed of 70 military officers from Congo (Brazaville), Nigeria, Senegal and Tunisia. Maj-Gen Ekundayo Opaleye of Nigeria was the Force Commander, and the RPF and GoR each provided 5 liaison officers as a confidence building measure.[49]

This effort attracted UN approval of a small peacekeeping operation of 81 military observers – the United Nations Observer Mission for Uganda and Rwanda (UNOMUR) to deploy along the Rwanda/Uganda border. In addition, the SC on 5th October 1993 established the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), with a force of 2,217 troops and staff officers, 331 military observers and 60 civilian police, to deploy inside Rwanda. On 1st November 1993, a day after its mandate expired, NMOG II was integrated into UNAMIR.[50] In effect, NMOG II was replaced with UNAMIR I, earlier established on 5th October 1993 by SC Resolution 872 (1993).

The OAU Summit in Cairo in June 1993 formally adopted the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention Management and Resolution. However, the focus was on conflict prevention rather than conflict management or resolution, but the Mechanism contained novel structures for conflict management. Its structure included a Central Organ and a Peace Fund. It also included the Conflict Management Division (CMD), earlier created in March 1992, and located in the Conflict Management Centre. The Central Organ established two significant operations: the observer mission in Burundi (OMIB 1993 – 1996) and the observer mission in the Comoros (OMIC, 1997 - 1999). Although OAU recorded some failures in these missions, the Central Organ, however, had become an important foundation upon which to build.

The OAU Charter of 25 May 1963 did not anticipate collective security to the extent required in Rwanda. Furthermore, in the course of six years between 1990 and 1996, OAU witnessed the spread of the conflict from Rwanda to the Great Lakes region. The resource-strapped OAU in 1993, at the Summit of Heads of State in Cairo, established the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. The Chiefs of Staff recommended the development of peacekeeping capacity, alongside early warning systems, negotiation/ mediation skills, and stronger links with sub-regional organisations.

On the 9th of September, 1994, the OAU, UNHCR, regional leaders and non-African donors held a meeting in Addis Ababa that deliberated on the challenge of armed-refugees on the loose throughout the Great Lakes region as a danger to stability of the entire area, but no concrete steps were taken to implement the recommendations of the meeting. In early 1995, another conference in Bujumbura, Burundi, attended by regional states and the international community gave rise to the Bujumbura Plan of Action to tackle the refugee crisis, but again, there was no adequate follow-up, and the international community also failed to honour their pledges. Therefore this Plan also failed. Again in 1995, the OAU's group of 'Wise Men' met in Cairo with Heads of State of the Great Lakes Region to address the Kivu refugee camp challenge. They also met again in March 1996 in Tunis, but no resources were committed to support these regional initiatives, and they ended up in futility.

In n 1996, Paul Kagame led the Rwandan Army and an anti-Mobutu coalition that violently cleaned out the refugee camps of eastern Kivu and even facilitated the overthrow of Mobutu. This action remarkably catalysed conflicts and instability in the entire Great Lakes region, which dragged many other African countries into the fray. The organisation had little impact on the anti-Mobutu coalition, which eventually ousted Mobutu in May 1997, and ushered in Laurent Kabila as President. The Organisation, from late 1996 to mid-1997, facilitated a series of meetings, consultations, missions, and summits, involving much of the continent at one stage, and the UN Secretariat and the Security Council at other stages.

In 1998, a second war broke out in the Congo, which enmeshed a number of governments, rebel groups, commercial interests, gunrunners, mercenaries, among others. Again, the OAU attempted to facilitate the negotiation of a peace agreement, which led to a DRC regional peace process with active support from regional leaders. In 1999, the Lusaka Agreement was developed for Central Africa. It created a Joint Military Commission to cover military aspects. The OAU appointed the chair for the Commission and also appointed the neutral facilitator for a renewed political dialogue within the DRC.

In 1999, OAU organised the first Ministerial Conference on Human Rights in Africa. Participants pledged the promotion and protection of human rights as a priority, and all Member States were urged to establish national human rights institutions, with adequate financial resources and independence. However, even the African Commission on Human and People's Rights has been criticised for failing to actively pursue human rights abuses in Rwanda.

Finally, on the 9th of September 1999, the 4th Extraordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State in Sirte, the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, adopted the declaration to establish an African Union. The Constitutive Act of the Union notably included, among others, an Article 4(h) espousing the "right to intervene in a Member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances namely war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity".[51] The AU was born, equipped with a robust peace and security architecture.

Lessons and Recommendations

The Rwanda crisis generated some critical lessons for the continent, some of which substantively challenged the *raison d'etre* of the OAU and led to its gradual transformation beginning from the 1990s. The crisis also facilitated a rethinking on the extent of the organisation's involvement in conflicts within the territories of Member States. In the end, the OAU transcended its principle of non-interference during the crisis, as it became obvious that it could no longer remain indifferent to pervasive events and actions on the continent that constitute crimes against humanity or violations of human right. The crucial lessons identified in this review are summarised in four critical areas as follows:

The continent could no longer rely entirely on external assistance to resolve its conflicts

First, Africa's apparent incapacity to address conflicts within the continent is often blamed on lack of resources. Ironically, African protagonists of these crises hardly seek external resources to prosecute them. They largely rely on the resources found within their territories.[52] Moreover, in the past, OAU's failure has often been blamed on lack of resources and capacity, which also explains Member states loss of confidence in the organisation's capacity to intervene, and a mindset of frequent recourse to external assistance. It would be recalled that GoR and RPF resorted to a meeting in Paris from 6th to 8th June 1992, to reaffirm their political will to negotiate a solution to the conflict.

Second, UN assistance remains dangerously precarious as it is largely predicated on the interests, whim and caprices of powerful nations especially within the Security Council.[53] African countries are certainly not unaware of Western hypocrisy, yet they feel trapped in the vicious cycle of dependence on external aid in almost all spheres of their politico-economic existence, although this mindset is gradually changing. In 1996 for instance, the new Rwandese Government affirmed the failure of UNAMIR in its mission and the UN withdrew the mission on 8 March 1996. The OAU was left to address the consequences of the crisis including the Rwanda-induced emerging civil wars in the Great Lakes region.

The continent repeatedly neglected early warnings to its collective detriment

Rwanda, between 1960 and 1994, epitomised the trends and dynamics of conflict situations in the continent: inter-group – often seen as inter- ethnic identity conflicts, arising from group marginalisation and exclusion, manipulation of identities, elite fragmentation and struggles over access to political power and resource control, among others. Gourevitch for instance sees the Hutu/Tutsi differences as socially and politically constructed.[54] The three key stakeholders in RPF, were not all Tutsis. Stereotypically, two were Hutus – Alexis Kanyarengwe and Pasteur Bizimungu, while only Paul Kagame is Tutsi.[55] Yet the RPF was considered an ethnic Tutsi movement. The continent previously has failed to act at the onset, when such differences begin to consolidate and get polarised.

The outcomes of Africa-brokered Peace Processes and Accords appear to be determined more through power relations than by equity as typified by Rwanda

First, the GoR was coerced by international donor community to negotiate in the peace process under terms and conditions that were largely inequitable to them. Habyarimana's 35,000 Forces Armees Rwandaises (FAR) and the RPFs 20,000 Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) were to be integrated into a single force of 19,000 in the ratio 60 per cent FAR and 40 per cent RPA, while the officer corps was to be split in half, that is, 50 per cent FAR and 50 per cent RPF. This meant that two thirds of FAR would automatically face demobilisation, while the RPF composed mainly of Tutsi who are about 15 per cent of the population of Rwanda would have a 50 per cent share of the officer corps positions in the new integrated army of Rwanda.[56] Second, due to coercion, the GoR team was led by a member of the opposition and therefore lacked coherence and clear leadership. Yet neither the OAU nor the UN appeared to have noticed this, until President Habyarimana began to show reluctance in implementing the accords.

Third, the RPF relied on the perceived superiority of its military might describing it as its "best alternative to a negotiated agreement (BATNA)"[57]. It therefore maintained a zero-sum approach to negotiation which largely polarised the process, which had begun with three less-polarised positions – the ruling party, the new parties and the RPF party. As a result, positions coalesced into a two highly polarised positions – the ruling party with the Hutu power and the RPF with their sympathisers.[58] It also catalysed President Habyarimana patent contempt for the accords.[59] The President perceived his inferiority in power relative to the RPF.

Absence of continental capacity for criminal justice and its consequences

The peace and reconciliation process in the aftermath of the Rwanda crisis raised concerns about the absence of a continental capacity and framework for criminal justice. The continent lacks the capability to deter high level violations of human rights and crimes against humanity especially by errant African presidents and other political stalwarts. It was the UN that established the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), but due to its slow pace, President Kagame introduced the Gacaca courts in 2001, a traditional village court system to expedite action on the trial of cases of genocide against Tutsis.[60] The ICTR has been busy with several cases though at snail pace.[61] It has indicted some perpetrators of the genocide.[62] However, both ICTR and the Gacaca have been criticised for neglecting equity in their indictments, as only Hutu offenders appear to be the primary target. Moreover, the African Commission on Human Rights has not been able to fill this gap.

Recommendations

Recommendation 1: ***addressing resource scarcity and building confidence in AU's capacity*** - The AU could device the means through policies to minimise the cost of its interventions in conflict situations within the continent through the application of Unger's proto-theory on 'False Necessities'.[63] These would entail judicious use of its limited resources, strategic planning and deployment, more use of host nation's available resources and improved rapid deployment by Member States contiguous to conflict theatres. These could be factored into the development of the ASF and ACIRC and should further boost confidence in continental capacity for timely intervention.

Recommendation 2: ***managing divisive ethnic identity conflicts*** - African countries still caught up in the divisive ethnic identity dilemma should develop policies to encourage the supremacy of citizenship and patriotism, with governance emphasis on development. Such policies should also encourage multi-party democracy. The AU could encourage Rwanda to further de-emphasise the use of the term 'genocide' in preference for may be 'civil war', to complement its efforts in eliminating official references to ethnicity. Rwanda would have to harmonise its history into one mutually acceptable version for the sake of national unity, to counter the existence of conflicting versions of its history and the account of the genocide.

Recommendation 3: ***mediating the development of equitable accords*** - The AU, unlike OAU should strive to facilitate more equitable accords between parties in conflict, and minimise external influence on peace processes. This will significantly increase the chances of implementation of accords and reduce relapse into conflicts. Accords are useless if they are comprehensive but not implementable.

Recommendation 4: instituting a continental criminal justice capacity – the AU remains averse to the indictment of sitting African Presidents by the ICC, but does not yet possess any effective continental capacity for criminal justice that could deter impunity, high level violations of human rights and crimes against humanity within the continent. The human rights commission lacks the capacity to fill this gap, while the APSA does not yet explicitly make provisions for it, but could be incorporated on the basis of Art.4 (h, m, n, o and p) of the AU Constitutive Act.

Recommendation 5: Leveraging Objectives of the International Day of Reflection on the 1994 Genocide – The chapter has underscored the need for the evolving African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) to leverage for two key objectives, the UN General Assembly resolution A/RES/58/234of 23rd December 2003, which mandates the observance of the International Day of Reflection on the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda on 7th of April every year. First, it could serve as reference for a commitment to the non-repeat the Rwanda experience in the continent. Second. It should facilitate and expedite actions on the necessary steps towards making the ASF and or ACIRC, and the regional brigades operational as planned, including the concerted efforts at eliminating the myriad of 'false necessities' that tend to viciously obfuscate such efforts.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the Rwanda crisis from the perspective of its critical influence in the rebirth of the OAU and the emergence of the AU. It identified the root causes of the Rwanda crisis, especially identity manipulations through an elusive hypothesis, reinforced by the colonialists and elite fragmentation, within the context of demographic democracy as practiced in Rwanda and most other African countries. The review further established that ancient tribal hatred appeared as a non-issue, but rather, inter-dynastic conflicts were more common in pre-colonial times in Rwanda. Moreover, there continues to co-exist two conflicting versions of the account of the crisis, to the detriment of peace and stability in the country.

The chapter also explored the role played by the OAU in resolving the crisis and the reciprocal influence that this experience exerted on the organisation and its subsequent rebirth and transformation over a period of one decade. The review enumerated four key areas of lessons from the Rwanda experience. These included the consequences of excessive reliance on external assistance for conflict resolution, notorious neglect of early warning, inequitable accords and the absence of continental capacity for criminal justice capable of deterring high level crimes against humanity and human rights violations. The Review also enumerated some corresponding recommendations on the way forward both for the AU and Rwanda.

(Endnotes)

1 See OAU Constitutive Act, Art.III

2 See Berman Eric G. and Sams Katie E. (2000). *Peacekeeping in Africa: Capacities and Culpabilities*. Geneva: United Nations; 45 – 46.

3 See Prunier, Gerard (1995). *The Rwanda Crisis, 1959 – 1994: History of a Genocide (2nd Ed.).* London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers; 16.

4 See Chrétien, Jean-Pierre (2003). *The Great Lakes of Africa: Two Thousand Years of History*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press; 160 and 217.

5 See Gourevitch, Phillip (2000). *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families. (Reprinted ed.).* London, New York, N.Y.: Picador; 56-57.

6 See Rwanda by René Lemarchand; http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/514402/Rwanda.

7 See Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide; Chapter 3, Paragraph 3.11.; available at http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/report-rowanda-genocide.pdf.

See United Human Rights Council, "Genocide in Rwanda". Available at http://www.unitedhumanrights.org/Genocide/genocide_in_rwanda.htm.

8 See Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide Paragraph 3.11.

9 Ibid. Chapter 3.

10 Ibid, paragraph 3.11.

11 See Lemarchand 322 as cited in Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide, paragraph 3.28.

12 Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide paragraph 3.26.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid, paragraph 4.2.

17 See Peter Uvin (1998). *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda* .West Hartford, Conn.: Kumarian Press 35; Filip Reytjens interview; as cited in Rwanda: A Preventable Genocide, paragraph 4.20.

18 Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide, paragraph 5.17.

19 Ibid, paragraph 5.23.

20 See African Rights, 1062 as cited in Rwanda: the Preventable Genocide, paragraph 6.1.

21 Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide, paragraph 6.10.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 See United Human Rights Council, "Genocide in Rwanda"; available at http://www.unitedhumanrights.org/Genocide/genocide_in_rwanda.htm.

25 Romeo Dallaire (2003): *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*. Canada: Random House.

26 See Des Forges, 701; Rapport de la Commission international d'enquete; as cited in Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide, paragraph 6.23.

27 Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide, Chapter 8.

28 Ibid.

29 The Peace Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and Rwandese Patriotic Front; available at http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/services/cds/agreements/pdf/rwan1.pdf.

30 N'sele Cease-fire Agreement between the Government of the Rwandese Republic and the Rwandese Patriotic Front, The Peace Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and Rwandese Patriotic Front; available at http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/services/cds/agreements/pdf/rwan1.pdf.

31 Ibid, Article III.

32 Ibid, Article III.

33 Ibid, Article IV.

34 Protocol of Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front on the Rule of Law, The Peace Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and Rwandese Patriotic Front; available at http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/services/cds/agreements/pdf/rwan1.pdf.

35 Ibid, Article 3.

36 Ibid, Article 56.

37 Ibid, Articles 60 – 75.

38 See "The Protocol of Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front on the Repatriation of Refugees and the Resettlement of Displaced Persons, signed at Arusha on 9th June 1993", The Peace Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and Rwandese Patriotic Front; http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/services/cds/agreements/pdf/rwan1.pdf.

39 See "The Protocol of Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the RPF on the integration of Armed Forces of the two parties, signed at Arusha on 3rd August 1993" The Peace Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and Rwandese Patriotic Front; http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/services/cds/agreements/pdf/rwan1.pdf.

40 Ibid, Article 72.

41 Ibid, Article 147.

42 Ibid.

43 Lindsay Scorgie *Op Cit.*

44 See Berman Eric G. and Sams Katie E. (2000). *Peacekeeping in Africa: Capacities and Culpabilities*. Geneva: United Nations.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.

51 See Constitutive Act of the African Union, Article 4 (h).

52 See Berman Eric G. and Sams Katie E. *Op Cit.*

53 Romeo Dallaire (2003): *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*. Canada: Random House.

54 See Gourevitch, P. (1998): *We wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our Families: Stories from Rwanda*. New York: Picador USA; as cited in Lindsay Scorgie, "Rwanda's Arusha Accords: A Missed Opportunity"; **Undercurrent**, Volume 1, No.1, 2004.

55 See Romeo Dallaire (2003): *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*. Canada: Random House. 65/66.

56 Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide ,Paragraph 8.11.

57 Lindsay Scorgie, "Rwanda's Arusha Accords: A Missed Opportunity", **Undercurrent**, Volume 1, No. 1, 2004; 70.

58 Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide ,Paragraph 8.16.

59 Ibid.

60 See Rwanda; available at https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rw.html.

61 Rule of Law in Armed Conflicts (RULAC), Rwanda, International Judicial Decision; available at http://www.geneva-academy.ch/RULAC/international_judicial_decisions.php?id_state=185.

62 See "Rwanda: how to deal with a million genocide suspects"; http://theconversation.com/rwanda-how-to-deal-with-a-million-genocide-suspects-38642.

63 See Unger Roberto Mangabeira (1987). *False Necessity: Anti-Necessitarian Social Theory in the Service of Radical Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

11 The Eastern DRC Conflict and the UN-Mandated Force Intervention Brigade: Insights for Africa's Framework for Responding to Crisis

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Abstract

This chapter argues that the UN-mandated Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) is a necessary component of efforts to stabilise the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). However, the FIB is also a testament to absence of a robust continental capacity to respond to crisis, as well as an indication of the lack of political commitment at the level of the African Union (AU) to project a rapid deployment capability. In order to make the argument, this chapter will briefly assess the FIB's engagements in the eastern DRC, a region, which is characterised by unstable and shifting alliances between militia forces. The chapter will illustrate how the FIB finds itself caught up in a web of entanglements in the region due to the shifting nature of alliances in the formation and reformulation of armed militia. The core argument of this chapter is that African countries will increasingly have to bear the burden of intervening in crisis situations across the continent. The rapid deployment framework developed and implemented by the FIB, can serve as an interim model until the continental collective system becomes more robust and able to intervene effectively. The chapter will argue that the FIB provides important insights for the African continent, and that, given the cyclical nature of conflicts, governments should adopt regional reconciliation as a strategic objective of their foreign policy.

Introduction: The Regional Dimension of Violent Conflict

Contemporary conflict dynamics defy simple explanations and are not confined neatly to borders. These conflicts are often complex, messy and all have cross-border dimensions. International relations analysts define regionalism in terms of "patterns and networks of interdependence" and underscore the extent to which that interdependence can pose costs on insiders and outsiders.[1] These networks of interdependence replicate themselves in the majority of conflicts affecting the African continent. Intra-state conflicts more often than not have an inter-state or regional dimension, in the way that they are resourced and executed. Studies show that more than half of violent conflicts in Africa can be linked to conflicts in neighbouring states.[2] Conflicts do not stop at the border, but in fact spill over; these linkages are evident in a range of "interconnected political, socio-economic and cultural factors."[3] Specifically, transnational conflicts that form mutually reinforcing linkages with each other across state borders, suggest that these regional linkages are so strong and interdependent, that a change in dynamics in one conflict often affects neighbouring ones.[4] Consequently, "seemingly unrelated conflicts become interconnected through alliances, enmity and opportunism."[5] Specifically, networks of interdependence are evident in the cross-border supply routes for arms and illicit trade. In some instance co-

ethnic groups living in different countries can serve as a network of illicit trade, which can contribute towards fuelling conflicts. In effect, regional conflict systems have become a persistent feature, and are at the heart of Africa's peace and security challenges.

The Crisis in the DRC: A Troubled Trajectory

The Democratic Republic of the Congo has had a troubled history defined by political contestation since its independence from Belgium. The legacy of King Leopold II of Belgium, the megalomaniac colonial profiteer of the Congo, was to entrench a debilitating destructive pattern of conquest and exploitation.[6] The consequences of Leopold's reign of terror in the Congo reverberate in the struggle for power that continues to define the country. Following a brutal colonial period, the Congo attained independence, and was briefly led by the enigmatic Patrice Lumumba, the country's inaugural Prime Minister. The Congo's transition to independence was not left to the impulses of its own people, rather the Belgium and the USA, a global superpower at the time, persistently interfered in moulding the post-colonial political and economic dispensation of the country. This was perhaps motivated by the fact that the Congo is vastly endowed with natural resources, and in the historical context of the Cold War, the US and its western client states in the NATO alliance were wary of the potential encroachment of the communist east under the tutelage of the Soviet Union and its client states in the Warsaw Pact. Subsequently, in 1960, Congo was plunged into a crisis and a civil war, which caused the fragmentation of the country.

The Congo was a trampling ground for Cold War warriors who only had their self-interests in mind, and not the needs of the citizens of the country. Adam Hochschild describes how in 1961, he overheard the boasts of an inebriated Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operative describing 'with satisfaction exactly how and where the newly independent country's first prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, had been killed a few months earlier'.[7] Subsequently, Belgian sociologist Lude de Witte published a seminal book entitled *The Assassination of Lumumba* in which he exposed the complicity of the Belgian government and the CIA in executing the murder of the Congolese leader, based on fear that he posed a threat to Belgian and US "national interests".[8] The assassination of Lumumba demonstrated that the continuity between Belgium's colonial system, and the de facto control and dominion imposed by the US-led west implanted a treacherous logic of war and power politics in the perpetually embattled nation.

In 1965, Mobutu Sese Seko assumed power as the self-proclaimed dictator of Congo, which he renamed Zaire. Following almost three decades of misrule, corruption and the profligate extraction of mineral resources to serve the ravenous appetites of his US and western clients, Mobutu, was ousted in an armed militia movement, which swept through the country between 1997 and 1998, led by Laurent Kabilia. Far from instituting a culture of the rule of law and democratic governance, Kabilia continued to dominate the country and exploit it for his own self-serving interests, which led to his assassination in his mansion in Kinshasa. Following a period of instability, his son Joseph Kabila was installed with the support of regional players. He instituted a logic of instability which continues to persist. From 1997 to 2003, the DRC endured persistent conflict which ultimately drew in several neighbouring African states.

Peace Initiatives in the DRC

There have been a number of peace initiatives in the DRC which have sought to find a lasting political solution to the crisis, notably in the east of the country. The Lusaka Peace Agreement, which was signed in July 1999, included the six countries that were involved in the crisis that paved the way for peacekeeping processes. In April 2002,

the DRC government signed a peace agreement with Ugandan backed armed militia, in South Africa. In July 2002, the DRC government signed a peace deal with Rwanda, stipulating conditions under which the Rwandan-backed militia would cease operations. In September 2002, a similar deal was signed between the DRC and Uganda stipulating the conditions under which the Ugandan-backed militia would cease operations in the DRC. In December 2002, the DRC government signed a peace agreement with the main armed militia groups notably in the eastern DRC.

The Eastern DRC: The Persistence of Instability

The period after 2003 came to be defined by the persistence of instability. Case studies from across the continent have provided insights into the regionalisation of violent conflict and how this can generate new disputes and enflame pre-existing tensions. For instance, the Rwandan genocide, although often viewed in isolation, is a contributing and exacerbating factor to the conflicts and violence in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).[9] In April 2012, former members of the DRC national army (FARDC) mutinied and subsequently established the M23 armed militia group. In 2014, the Burundian government troops were engaged in quelling an insurrection believed to have originated from the multitude of armed militia that are camped in the eastern DRC. Consequently, increasingly conflicts in the Great Lakes region have a tendency to spill across borders, affecting communities in more than one country.[10]In effect, intra-state conflicts have a regional dimension, as they include more than one state as either the primary or secondary actor.

The Great Lakes region is defined by unparalleled and unbridled illicit extraction and insidious trade of natural resources, driven by a nefarious collusion between local actors and foreign actors with links across Africa and into Europe and North America. A key factor in the absence of stability in the region is the deprivation that is precipitated by these extractive forces, which usurp resources that should be utilised for the socio-economic benefit of societies in the affected countries. Aligned to this fleecing of state resources is the devastating trafficking of arms, which essentially provides multitude of militia groups with an unlimited supply of tools of violence. In addition, the Great Lakes region is the theatre for incidents of harm and violations to innocent civilians, including incidents of gender-based violence. For example, a February 2015 UN background paper, which was presented to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), observed that 'attacks involving sexual violence against teachers and girls in educational facilities or during the journey to or from them have been reported in the DRC.'[11] Consequently, the Great Lakes regional conflict systems has proved to be notoriously difficult to stabilise, as the implicated state actors and societies do not adopt a coordinated regional strategy to promote and consolidate peace.[12]

A Culture of Ad-hocery: African Union Interventions in Context

The African continent has been afflicted by a pervasive culture of ad-hoc interventionism when faced with the emergence of multiple security threats. This is evidence of a lack of genuine commitment to actualise institutions to which the AU has committed, and, which are clearly stipulated in the *Protocol Establishing the Peace and Security Council of the African Union*, of 2002. As far as the operationalisation of the African Standby Force, the political concerns relate to an infringement of their sovereignty, and the fear of creating a genuine checks-and-balances system to restrain and restrict the excesses of internal state repression. Consequently, the ASF is now suspend in a state of (in)animation, and caught up in a series of perpetual training exercises. There has been a reluctance to pronounce the operationalisation of the ASF, and deploy continental forces to the

numerous trouble spots across the continent. The inability of the AU to operationalise peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations on a large scale has meant that the challenges of the eastern DRC have been addressed primarily through the intervention of the United Nations, which is appropriate since it has the primary responsibility to maintain international peace and security.

The Establishment and Metamorphosis of MONUC

The persistence of instability in eastern DRC has precipitated recurring efforts to stabilise the region. In July 1999, the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement was signed between the DRC and five regional countries, paving the way for a peacekeeping mission. On 30 November 1999, the UN Security Council adopted resolution 1279, which reiterated 'its concern at the severe consequences of the conflict for the security and well-being of the civilian population throughout the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.'[13] The resolution went on to decide on the establishment of 'the United Nations Organisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC).'[14] The mission would include a multi-disciplinary staff component which would be headed by a Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General, and would include human rights, humanitarian affairs, public information, medical support, child protection, political affairs and administrative support. MONUC's main mandate as a peacekeeping mission was to ensure the implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement through liaison with key stakeholders in the region. This included monitoring the ceasefire and maintaining liaison with all of the parties.

For the duration of its decade-long existence, the UNSC assigned additional tasks related to stabilising the region. However, the failure of MONUC to protect civilians, humanitarian personnel and human rights defenders, called for a more robust presence to deter physical violence and support the government of the DRC in its stabilisation and peace consolidation efforts.

The Emergence of MONUSCO

On 1 July 2010, the United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), took over from MONUC, through UNSC resolution 1925 (2010), to reposition the organisation to take on and address the realities of cyclical violence in the DRC.[15]MONUSCO was established with a troop ceiling of 19,815 personnel including three infantry battalions, one artillery and one Special force and Reconnaissance Company. Thus, another one of the UN's adventures into aggressive enforcement was launched. On 28 March 2014, UN Security Council Resolution 2147 extended MONUSCO's mandate to 31 March 2015, and reiterated its focus on the protection of civilians and the promotion of stabilisation. As of 31 January 2015, MONUSCO had a total of 21,060 uniformed personnel, including 19,475 military personnel, 484 military observers, 1,101 police, 920 international civilian personnel, 2,751 local civilian staff and 429 UN Volunteers drawn from a broad range of countries. The approved budget for the 2014/2015 fiscal year was USD 1.3 billion. On this basis, MONUSCO is one of the largest and most robust mission's in the history of the United Nations. MONUSCO is currently under the tutelage of Martin Kobler from Germany, who is the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General, and Lieutenant General Carlos Alberto dos Santos Cruz, from Brazil, who is the Force Commander.

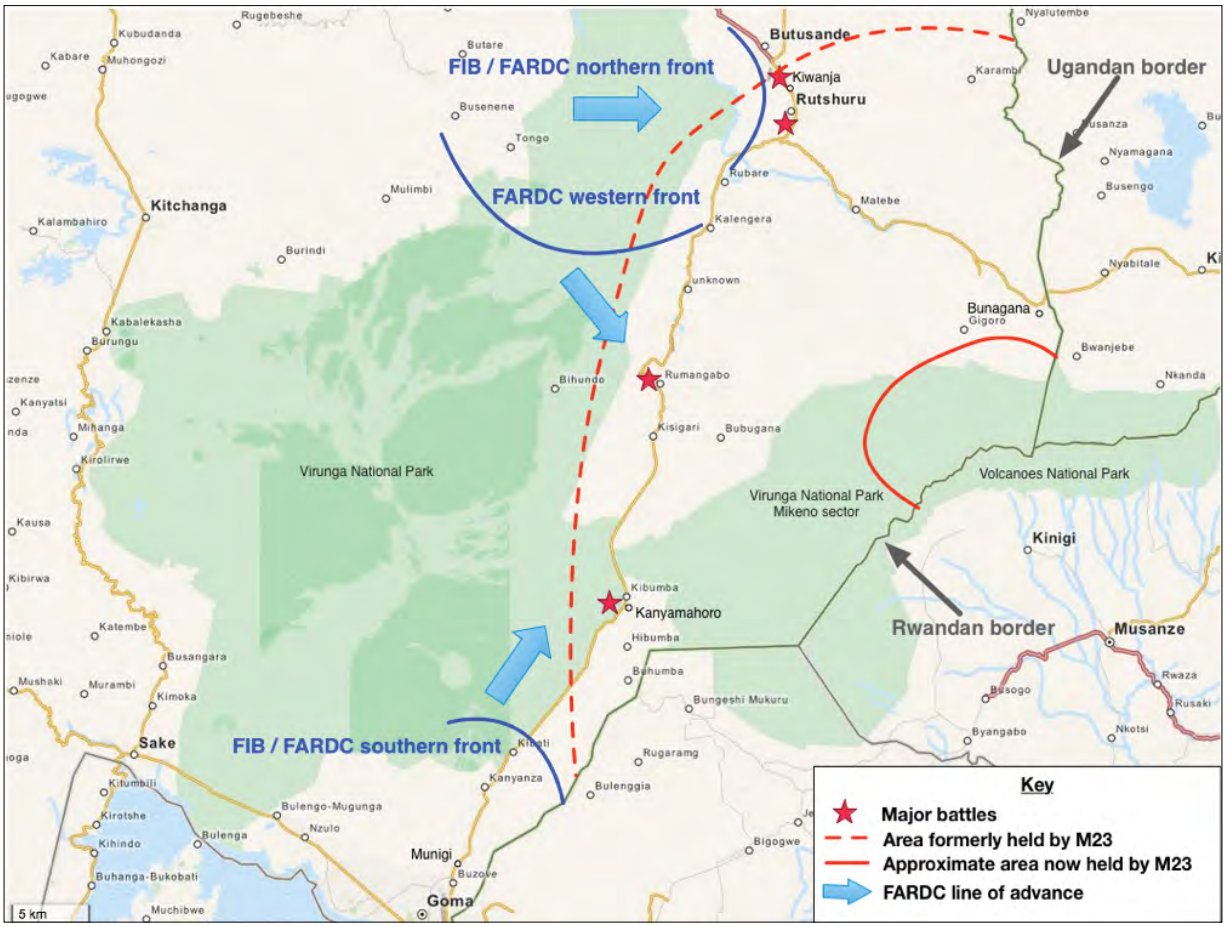
UN member states have incurred real costs in terms of lost lives in the implementation of the mission's mandate. To date MONUSCO has incurred 86 fatalities in total, including 52 troops, 7 police, 3 military observers, 13 international civilian and 11 local civilian casualties.

The MONUSCO Force Intervention Brigade: African Boots and UN Brawn

Criticism mounted when MONUSCO was unable to quell the rampant violence projected by the multitude of armed militia formations in the eastern DRC. Specifically, it was when Goma, the capital of the province of North Kivu, was captured by the self-styled M23 militia, without so much as a riposte from MONUSCO, that the impetus to create an interventionist force escalated.

On 20 November 2012, Goma, the regional Congolese capital, was captured by the March 23 Movement (M23), an armed militia operating in the eastern DRC. As a result, the UN Security Council through Resolution 2098 of March 2013, decided to establish an "intervention Brigade consisting of three infantry battalions, one artillery and one Special Force and Reconnaissance company with headquarters in Goma. This was under the direct command of the United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO) Force Commander".[16] The UN Security Council initiated this Force Intervention Brigade (FIB), under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter. It was established with 3,069 troops from South Africa, Tanzania and Malawi, which in effect made it an African-populated regional intervention brigade (see Figure 9).

Figure 9: *United Nations Force Intervention Brigade Operations*



Source: *DEFESA - http://defesa.forums-free.com/brasil-e-convidado-para-comandar-missao-de-paz-no-congo-t410s30.html*

FIB's Mandate, Command and Control Structure

FIB's initial mandate was granted for one year, from 2013 to 2014, with a command and control structure that was linked directly to MONUSCO. As such it is ultimately responsive to the UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and through him to the UN Security Council. The FIB was initially established with troops from South Africa, Tanzania and Malawi (all SADC member states, who to some degree have an interest in the stabilisation of the DRC), and was led initially by the Tanzanian Brigadier-General James Mwakibolwa. He handed over authority in March 2014. This composition did result in African boots on the ground being 'guided' by the UN system, which has had implications in terms of the ability to turn around decisions in a quick and timely manner.

Ostensibly, the FIB was mandated to utilize "coercive measures", under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter. Its objective was to stabilise the Kivus and Orientale province in eastern DRC and neutralise its plethora of armed groups including: the erstwhile M23, the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), the remnants of post-genocide former Hutu militia who have persisted in the region for 20 years, Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) and APCLS. In addition, the intervention was mandated to support the DRC FARDC in jointly planned operations. This intervention was authorised with a view, "to reducing the threat posed by armed groups to state authority and civilian security in eastern DRC and to make space for stabilisation activities".[17] The presence of the FDLR in the eastern DRC, has provided the Rwandan government with a cover story to continue its intervention and support to insurgency militia in the region. Due to the gargantuan UN bureaucracy that is required to operationalise such an interventionist force, the Force Intervention Brigade only became operational in July 2013.

The FIB's Interventions

In effect, the FIB became an adjunct force to the DRC national army FARDC. This located the United Nations in an unenviable role of buttressing and reinforcing a government whose legitimacy remains contested by the mosaic of armed militias that perforate the eastern DRC landscape.

Engaging the M23

From July to November 2013, the Intervention Brigade's first engagement was in partnership with the national government's FARDC units to quell the M23 armed militia, which through a prism of military operations was achieved in a relatively short period of time. Analysts suggest that this relatively quick turn-around was due to the superior professionalism of both the FARDC and FIB well-trained personnel and effective supply chains for equipment, logistic and nutritional supplements. In addition, FIB had superiority in terms of the array of tactical operations it could deploy including artillery, aerial attacks, and snipers. Specifically, the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) battalion in the FIB enhanced its effectiveness, as did the Rooivalk attack helicopters which gave cover to the FARDC-FIB joint initiative.

Given the fact that its leadership managed to flee to exile in Uganda and some to Rwanda, the M23 might morph into new militia formations in the future. This is an indication of the failure of addressing the underlying causes of conflict in the region, which will require the asking difficult policy questions.

Engaging the Allied Democratic Forces

The rapid quelling of the M23 enabled the IB to focus and concentrate its attention on the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), a quasi-religious armed militia with Ugandan origins,

operating in eastern DRC. On 25 December 2013, the ADF attacked the FARDC contingent stationed in Kamango, seeking a counter-insurgent victory. However, FIB intervened by utilizing attack helicopters, which provided the FARDC with the aerial support that it required to expel the ADF from Kamango. Between January and June 2014, the initial indications were that the IB succeeded in subduing the ADF and capturing or eliminating its operating bases. However, more recently humanitarian actors in Beni, situated north of Goma in North Kivu, as well as FIB troops have been targeted by unidentified forces through guerrilla tactics that are presumed to be carried out by the remnants of the ADF. In total, 200 civilians are believed to have been killed in Beni. This would suggest that the militia might seek to maintain a low profile as it regroups and strengthens its forces to make a more concerted incursion in the region.

Engaging the APCLS

In April 2014, the IB joined the FARDC to take on the APCLS, a Masisi-based militia that emerged from the off-shoot of Coalition of Congolese Patriotic Resistance (PARECO). The IB utilised its aerial supremacy to effectively support ground operations, notably against APCLS positions in Nyabiondo and Lukweti. This initiative illustrated that the IB has to operate in situations in which the DRC government grants its assent. The issue of what to do with the other multiple militias operating in the region, which might have a relationship with, if not tacit support from the government, remains a perplexing issue.

The Challenge of Engaging the FDLR

The FIB's reluctance to engage the FDLR can be attributed to the politics of intervention where state interests are concerned. In early 2014, the FDLR indicated that it would voluntarily disarm and withdraw from the theatre of war in eastern DRC. However, by May 2014, it was evident that the FDLR was only paying lip-service to this commitment and was in fact still constituted. In July 2014, SADC and International Conference for the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) set a deadline of 2 January 2015, for the FDLR to surrender or face a range of consequences. On 29 January 2015, the UN Security Council noted that the FDLR had 'not only failed to unconditionally and fully surrender and demobilise, but has also continued to recruit new fighters in their ranks.'[18] Consequently, the UNSC renewed its sanctions on the DRC 'to prevent the supply, sale or transfer of arms, training and financing, to armed groups.'[19]

Criticisms of the FIB

The Impartiality of the FIB

The main criticism levelled against the FIB relates to its UN-initiated origins, even though it is technically manned by African countries. This raises questions about the impartiality of the United Nations when it is seemingly aligned to a government whose legitimacy is contested in parts of its territory. The impartiality of the FIB has been questioned, particularly given the fact that the national government's FARDC has a history of establishing alliances with the motley crews of armed militia in the eastern DRC as proxy forces against their opponents.[20]

The Precarious Nature of Regional Diplomacy and the Conundrum of TCCs

In addition, the role of SADC countries in intervening in the eastern DRC remains controversial, due to the vested self-interests that neighbouring countries harbour towards the resource-rich country. Individual countries have not hesitated to issue instructions to their personnel and soldiers within the FIB, with standing orders not to deviate from their national interests, despite its clearly defined UN command and control structure.

Perpetuating a Humanitarian Catastrophe

Another criticism levelled at the FIB is that its' multiple interventions against several armed groups at the same time may increase the humanitarian challenges faced by societies in eastern Congo. War-fighting has a tendency to generate more 'collateral damage', including civilian deaths, than is initially anticipated when planning operations. The local populations in the affected region have not hesitated to show their displeasure to FIB and MONUSCO for failing to protect them from the ravages of the armed militia. In Beni, which had endured the targeting and killing of more than 200 civilians, Congolese citizens protested and physically confronted MONUSCO bases for the atrocities that were being committed by the armed militia.

The Prospects for Africa's Intervention Capability

As illustrated by the cases above, African countries will increasingly have to bear the burden of intervening in crisis situations across the continent. The deployment framework developed and implemented by the FIB, provides insights into the evolving continental collective security system, which ultimately needs to become more robust and able to intervene effectively.

The insights from the FIB generate interesting issues and challenges. The scope and robust nature of MONUSCO's mission and the FIB capability suggests that the only way for the African continent to replicate such an intervention is through a declaration of the operationalisation of the African Stand-by Force (ASF) (see Okeke and Murithi in chapter 5). The ASF can be reinforced with a commitment to gradually build up its capacity to become the primary vehicle for intervening in crisis situations across the continent, given the fact that it has a central and pivotal role in the AU's APSA.

The Elusiveness of an Exit Strategy: The Advent of Regional Reconciliation in the Great Lakes

So far, the discussion has delved exclusively into the military and security aspects of stabilisation on the African continent. However, a security approach is necessary, but not sufficient, for the gradual stabilisation of war-affected regions across the continent. The challenging work of winning the hearts and minds of local populations through the transformation of societies is equally important, and is a vital complement to the security initiatives in these war-affected regions.

The cyclical nature of conflicts points to the critical need to move beyond temporary stalemates and ceasefires, peacekeeping deployments and military operations that are so common in this era, towards a regional policy informed by intentionally confronting the underlying grievances that have fuelled decades of animosity and violence on the continent. On the main, we have sought national solutions or inward looking state-centric solutions, to problems that require an adaptation to a more expansive regional perspective.

As the foregoing discussion has illustrated, the precarious levels of instability in the Great Lakes region, with the eastern DRC as the focal point of crisis, demands for a coordinated regional approach to peacebuilding and reconciliation if these countries and their communities are to be stabilised. The UN Security Council resolution 1925, which established MONUSCO, reiterated 'the importance of supporting peacebuilding efforts in order to consolidate and achieve further progress in the stabilisation of the country.'[21]

Even though the link between peacekeeping and peacebuilding through reconciliation is self-evident at the conceptual level, this does not translate into concrete complementarity

on the ground. There is a troubled nexus between peacekeeping and peacebuilding through reconciliation at the institutional level both within the UN and the AU. Specifically, there is a lack of effective institutional interface at the level of decision-making within the UN in New York. While all staff agree on inter-departmental collaboration, with a number of concrete initiatives to operationalise this, the effects on the ground has as yet not translated into a coordinated strategy to 'deliver as one' in a coherent manner.

This lack of effective inter-face reveals the perils of actualising inter-departmental collaboration on the ground. Well-intentioned platitudes at the policy and decision-making levels, about the urgency of promoting synergy between peacekeeping and peacebuilding process have become routine and banal. This is not unique to the FIB interventions in the eastern DRC, but is replicated elsewhere across the African continent, as well as around the world in other UN peace operations. Ultimately, despite the rhetoric of the need for synergy between peacekeeping and peacebuilding, both the UN and AU struggle to effect this on the ground. Consequently, this creates a silo effect when it comes to interventions, with the peacekeepers and peacebuilders virtually operating in isolation from each other, even when they are in the same vicinity.

Paradoxically, implementing effective peacebuilding processes is a necessary pre-requisite to any exit strategy for a military intervention. In the case of the eastern DRC, the absence of well-grounded peacebuilding interventions means that the phenomenon of shifting alliances among armed militia will continue unabated. If the underlying societal drivers of conflict in a particular country or region are not addressed through processes of reconciliation, violence will remain a feature within this territory.

Political Reconciliation as a Vehicle for an Exit Strategy

Political reconciliation requires that the affected parties i) recognise their interdependence as pre-requisite to consolidating peace ii) engage in genuine dialogue about questions that have caused deep divisions in the past iii) embrace a democratic attitude to creating spaces where they can disagree; and iv;) work jointly to implement processes to address the legacies of socio-economic exploitation and injustices. At the heart of reconciliation is justice and equity. Traditionally, the focus has been on national reconciliation. The question is whether we should scale up national reconciliation to begin to talk about regional reconciliation?

Regional Reconciliation in the Great Lakes

Since conflicts, atrocities and violations are situated across borders, we have to determine how reconciliation can also take place across border.. This would require implementing processes of truth recovery, accountability and redress across borders as preliminary processes to the pursuit of regional reconciliation. The practicalities of how we operationalise regional reconciliation are challenging, but not impossible to institute. The reluctance of nation-states to devolve their sovereignty and to adopt processes that will operate outside of their sphere of authority and control - through the establishment of cross-border institutions - will be the primary obstacle to implementing regional reconciliation. Articulating the compelling case for a policy of regional reconciliation exposes the limitations of retaining a state-centric approach towards dealing with the past and ensuring redress and accountability. However, these are processes for which we do not have any precedent through Africa's international relations, or even through Pan-African transitional justice and reconciliation processes. Consequently, despite the growing acknowledgment of regional conflicts, regional reconciliation has *not* been the norm. Regions have to find collective solutions to the conflicts contained in their sphere of influence through a new policy framework of regional political reconciliation.

When we apply a regional lens to reconciliation, it requires that the war-affected states and communities in close proximity to each other recognise their regional interdependence. Furthermore, these states and communities need to engage in a genuine regional dialogue, based on a democratic attitude, in order to identify the issues that have caused deep divisions and generated violence in the past. Ultimately, the states and communities need to actively work in a collaborative manner to address the legacies of socio-economic exploitation. Like in processes for promoting reconciliation nationally or locally, regional reconciliation mechanisms require the creation of spaces to develop inclusive narratives on the past and shared visions for the future. There is a need to move beyond transitional justice and reconciliation processes, which have been largely state-led and restricted to national borders.

It is however increasing evident that regional reconciliation is required to ensure consolidated peace. Even though Africa has a growing number of regional and sub-regional organisations, the absence of a coordinated approach to regional reconciliation, as well as the lack of resources and capacity means that these mechanisms remain incapable of promoting and sustaining regional peace, justice and reconciliation.

It is necessary to interrogate the strategies that governmental, inter-governmental and civil society institutions can adopt and implement to more effectively promote and consolidate regional reconciliation in Africa. Specifically, regional reconciliation initiatives in the eastern DRC should also focus on transforming the unequal power structures based on gender ascriptions, as well as confronting the discriminatory cultural and social attitudes and practices which undermine the status of women and girls in the region.

The question however still remains as to whether regional reconciliation can in fact be operationalised across borders.

Infrastructure for Regional Reconciliation

Regional reconciliation cannot proceed without the establishment of carefully constructed and coordinated infrastructure for promoting peace. We can make the distinction between *formal* and *informal* mechanisms for promoting regional reconciliation.

Formal Regional Reconciliation Processes and Mechanisms

Formal regional reconciliation processes would be facilitated by the state. Typically, state institutions would be utilized in promoting regional reconciliation across borders. These institutions would derive their legitimacy, and hence formality, from the authority of the sovereign states that constitute them.

Informal Regional Reconciliation Processes and Mechanisms

Informal regional reconciliation processes would operate outside state structures. This would include civil society interventions in regional reconciliation. In addition, the Diaspora can also play a role in actively participating and supporting regional reconciliation initiatives. Typically, informal regional reconciliation processes can complement the more formal process, and ideally they should proceed without the sanction and imprimatur of the affected states. In practice, state-actors will want to be informed of potential informal regional reconciliation process due to their claim of sovereignty over their territory.

There might be an argument made that reconciliation cannot proceed through regional mechanisms, without the presence of national mechanisms. However, it might be useful to interrogate how national mechanisms can be enhanced by regional mechanisms. Regional institutions are necessary to oversee regional or cross-border reconciliation

processes. This is predicated on the realisation of regional interdependence, the need for regional dialogue and the pursuit of regional socio-economic justice. Regional mechanisms can function as catalysts of national reconciliation, through their ability to reinforce a sense of interdependence and their capacity to facilitate regional dialogue. Regional reconciliation infrastructures can also promote shared economic interests as a means of creating wealth and eliminating poverty.

There are a number of regional mechanisms that seek to promote peace, security and economic development, notably those of the UN, AU, the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR), but they do not have definitive policies on how to promote regional reconciliation. Most regional organisations like the AU, ICGLR, and SADC already have the mandate to promote regional socio-economic development. So there is a convergence between the need for regional reconciliation and the ongoing efforts to promote regional socio-economic development.

The issue of whether regional reconciliation mechanisms should be stand-alone institutions or if they can be constituted through already existing regional economic communities such as ECOWAS or EAC is an issue that requires further policy analysis. For example, would it be necessary to establish a:

- Great Lakes Regional Reconciliation Commission
- Horn of Africa Regional Reconciliation Commission
- Southern Africa Regional Reconciliation Commission

Or, can these be 'housed' within the ICGLR, IGAD or SADC respectively?

The Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region

There have been a number of strategic collaborative efforts to secure regional peace. In February 2013, ten African countries – including Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Congo, DRC, Rwanda, South Africa, South Sudan, Uganda and Tanzania – signed the *UN-brokered Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region*, which aimed at stabilising the DRC and surrounding region.[22] The idea behind this regional initiative is ostensibly to end the decades of conflict in the Great Lakes region. This Peace, Security and Cooperation (PSC) Framework however only provides limited guidance on strategies for forging regional stability. In particular, the PSC Framework limits the commitment to furthering the agenda of reconciliation, tolerance and democratisation to the DRC. The PSC Framework does acknowledge the linkages between regional actors and conflict in the DRC and renews regional and international commitments to facilitating the administration of justice and strengthening regional cooperation and economic integration.[23] However, the PSC Framework is short on specifics about how to achieve this. Specifically, this approach neglects the necessity to acknowledge the need for an approach that seeks to promote regional reconciliation, rather than limiting the effort exclusively to the DRC.

Going forward, the UN PSC Framework should be utilized to discourage leaders in the region from undermining the constitutionalism of their countries as they seek to cling to power. In January 2015, Kinshasa was the scene of protests by citizens who objected to the draft electoral law which was under review by the National Assembly. The law, they believed, would be to the advantage of the incumbent, President Joseph Kabila, whose intention has been to position himself to continue in power.

Exit Strategy for the FIB

Uganda and Rwanda were initially supportive of the Force Intervention Brigade, but subsequently they issued diplomatic criticisms against the military operation. Undoubtedly, both countries want to openly demonstrate that they are in favour of contributing to stability in the eastern DRC. However, due to their long-standing political, economic and military interests in the region, these countries approach the situation and on-going external interventions with the janus face of duplicity. In addition, Tanzania as a troop-contributing country to the FIB has been open about the limits of how far it is prepared to commit its forces. Tanzania's reluctance to sanction the pursuit of the FDLR in effect handicaps the Brigade from fully implementing its mandate in the region. In spite of being wrapped up in a political strait-jacket, the FIB's mission is far from over. Achieving genuine stability in the region is necessary for the FIB's exit strategy, yet this does not seem to be well thought out. It will ultimately require Kampala and Kigali, as well as Dar es Salaam and potentially Bujumbura to adopt a regional reconciliation strategy and to acquiesce to the emerging framework of peace operations, peacekeeping and ultimately peacebuilding.

In terms of enhancing peacebuilding initiatives, genuine acceptance of the DRC government's engagement in the eastern part of the country can only be achieved by a root and branch commitment to security sector reform (SSR), in a manner that transforms the military and police services into platforms for ethnic inclusion and accommodation. Concretely, this requires undertaking an across the board ethnic audit of the military forces to provide the necessary data, which is required to transform the armed forces. In particular, the senior leadership of the national forces should reflect a commitment to ethnic inclusion. This is an essential requirement to laying the foundation for a more pronounced root and branch transformation of the Congolese military. In addition, the DRC is vast and consideration should be given as to how it might be administered through more pronounced decentralised systems of governance.

The Nexus between Stabilisation and Reconciliation: The Way Forward

The cyclical nature of conflict points to the critical need to move beyond temporary stalemates and ceasefires, peacekeeping deployments and military operations, that are so common in this era, towards a regional policy informed by intentionally confronting, the underlying grievances that have fuelled decades of animosity and violence on the continent. Yet we seek national solutions or inward looking state-centric solutions, to problems that require us to adopt a more expansive regional perspective. Consequently, governments and inter-governmental organisations could adopt regional reconciliation as a strategic objective of their foreign policy.

In particular, the nexus between stabilisation and reconciliation needs to be reiterated and emphasised as the policy planning and pre-mission design phase. Specifically, the challenge of how reconciliation process will be initiated and superimposed on the stabilisation processes needs to be clear at the outset, so that the target and referent communities can take ownership for consolidating peace.

Conclusion

The UN-mandated FIB, is a necessary operation despite its numerous flaws and limitations. The need to deploy the FIB is symptomatic of a more systemic failure in operationalising a coherent continental military capability to respond to crisis. Consequently, there was a strong case for operationalising the FIB in the absence of any efficacy on the part of

the still moribund ASF. The Force Intervention Brigade illustrates that what is ultimately required across the African continent, is a well-resourced and sustained as well as politically supported and fully operational continental peace operations command, including an effective civilian component, which is vital towards addressing Africa's multiple security challenges.

The obvious challenge for the FIB is that it cannot remain operational endlessly; eventually it has to end its operations. The conundrum of how to maintain stability in eastern DRC would still persist. This amplifies the importance of transcending the banal debate relating to the nexus between peacekeeping and peacebuilding, and operationalising this in practice on the ground. The notion of regional reconciliation offers some alternatives on the way forward. Efforts to address the historical sources of the perpetual cycles of violence in eastern DRC, have to focus on the transformation of the societies in the region through reconciliation. In particular, the nexus between stabilisation and reconciliation needs to be emphasised and reiterated at the strategic and policy planning level. In turn, this implies the need for a concomitant fundamental transformation of how states in the region interact with each other to bring the seemingly perpetual conflict in the eastern DRC to a definitive end.

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12 African Peace Operations in Burundi: A Decade of Re-Hatting Experiences

Gustavo de Carvalho[1]

Abstract

This chapter aims at presenting multiple deployments of peace operations between 2001 and 2008 by different international and regional organisations, as well as through bilateral arrangements. In order to do so, it argues that the different deployments in Burundi were part of an emerging division of labour between the United Nations and regional organisations in Africa. This led to deployments that were based on contextual needs and comparative advantages, often leading to fraught and uncoordinated responses.

Introduction

> *The last decade has witnessed a strengthened relationship, at different levels, between the United Nations and regional organisations. With the increase in the interface and synergies between the United Nations and regional organisations, particularly the African Union, there appears to be recognition that regionalism as a component of multilateralism is necessary and feasible. There is now the possibility of a shared role for maintaining international peace and security.*[2]

The above quote, from one of the reports by the United Nations (UN) Secretary-General on the relationship between the UN and regional organisations, depicts some of the current challenges and opportunities faced by international organisations in Africa. As presented in the report, the use of peace operations[3] has diversified in such a way that traditional actors like the UN have increasingly shared its responsibilities for maintaining peace and security with other organisations. The resultant complex relations between the UN and regional organisations have been particularly relevant in Burundi, and it shows how the international communities have attempted to develop new ways and mechanisms to manage attempts of solving conflicts.

While the UN under its Charter maintains primacy in the maintenance of international peace and security[4], it is now increasingly common to deploy regional peace operations in conflict-affected zones. This issue has raised debates over the role of regional organisations in peace operations around the world. In Africa, for instance, regional (or sub-regional) peacekeeping operations have been frequently preceded by UN peace operations, and, at times, UN peace operations have also been replaced by regional initiatives.

In this regard, the Burundian experience of deployment and re-deployment of peace operation highlights a broad perspective of situations and events that are characteristic of the emerging division of labour between the UN and AU, towards the creation of more effective mechanisms and responses to conflicts. It is recognised that as the Burundian case was the AU's first experience in the deployment of peace operations, many of the activities reflected the limited understanding of needs and lack of the AUs own capacity

to undertake this pioneering enterprise. Also, as the Burundi experience was AU's first opportunity to implement a large-scale initiative under the newly created APSA, its lessons have been used in different peace operations that were deployed in subsequent years.

The engagement between the AU and UN has shown, in the past 10 years, creative and adaptive responses based on the needs and the conditions on the ground. The Burundi experiment shows, on the one hand, a lack of a systematic approach by the continental organisation, and, on the other hand, an inventive understanding on how the challenges could be addressed within existing limited capacity and complex political environment.

This article aims at presenting the case of Burundi and the context that led to multiple deployments of peace operations under the AU and the UN mandates. It shows the process of how the two organisations, between 2001 and 2008, consistently shared the responsibility of maintaining peace and security in the African landlocked country. Also, it presents evidence that finding solutions to this situation has often been fraught, and highlights how contextual needs and comparative advantages between institutions affected the way in which each of these organisations performed its duties.

International and Regional Regionalism as a Response to the Burundi Conflict

In order to understand the relationship between the UN and the AU in Burundi, it is important to place it under the emerging context of regionalism and how the relations and partnerships between the UN and regional organisations have emerged.

The Burundian conflict can be traced to the country's post-independence period. The country became independent from Belgium in 1962. From that period, an escalation of tension in the country occurred, increasingly making the political struggle assume ethnic proportions, in which Tutsi and Hutu groups fought for the control of positions of power.[5] In 1972, a large-scale conflict emerged in the country, where a large number of Hutus were exterminated (projections range from 150,000 to 300,000).[6] The following decades show a Tutsi dominated government and army, with increased tension between the Tutsi minority and the Hutu majority.

The current conflict began in 1993 and draws heavily from the decades of tension in the country, as well as similarities from neighbouring countries, especially Rwanda. In 1993, Melchior Ndadaye, from the *Hutu Front pour la Democratie au Burundi* (FRODEBU), was elected as Burundi's first democratically elected president. After many decades of political domination of Tutsi governments, the creation of a government that would include representation of both ethnic groups created a short period of optimism.

Ndadaye began a process of implementing reforms, including the reform of the long-time Tutsi dominated army, economic inequality between the groups, dismissal of government officials, and repatriation of Hutu refugees from neighbouring countries.[7] These reforms led to fears among the Tutsi groups of losing its privileges that they had maintained for decades, and increased competition around the distribution and control of the state and resources. As a result, a coup occurred in October 1993, killing President Ndadaye,[8] with thousands of Tutsi and even Hutus of Union for National Progress (UPRONA) being killed as reprisal.[9]

Unlike the previous conflicts in Burundi, the army failed to repress the Hutu rebellion, leading to a decade of continuous conflict.[10] In 1994, the situation deteriorated after the killing of the successor of Ndadaye, Cyprien Ntaryamira, in the plane crash that also

killed Rwanda's President Juvenal Habyarimana, sparking the Rwandan genocide. In 1996, Buyoya 's UPRONA returned to power after a coup that installed military control. In this period, three main rebel groups emerged: the National Council for the Defence of Democracy–Forces for the Defence of Democracy (CNDD-FDD), the National Forces of Liberation formerly Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People (PALIPEHUTU-FNL) and the National Liberation Front (FROLINA). Throughout these years, these groups were splitting into other groups and also Tutsi militias were created as well.

The conflict generated a grave situation of forced displacement, refugees and internally displaced persons. Most of the refugees fled to camps in Tanzania and former Zaire (Democratic Republic of the Congo, today). The presence of the CNDD-FDD in the eastern Zaire was identified as one of the motivations for the participation of Burundian government in the conflict against Mobutu Sese Seko. This shows the importance that regional dynamics have had in the Burundian conflict.

International Presence: 1993-1996

In the following years, many regional and international conflict management initiatives were undertaken in the country. Some attempts were made to initiate negotiations through mediation and also through sending of an OAU small contingent of military observers from 1993 to 1997. While the OAU intended to deploy a larger peacekeeping contingent, this fact was undermined by government refusal.[11] The Mission was part of the newly created Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution of the OAU. It had the core mandate to help the country to restore peace, particularly in relation to supporting the country in avoiding a relapse into conflict. The mission however, had, limited results, as noted at the time by the OAU Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salim.[12] In that occasion, Salim shared that the OAU mission was not in a position to avoid or contain a tragedy in that country if it were to erupt. Many reasons can be identified to explain its limitations. These included the lack of experience of the organisation to deploy in such conditions, but also, and most importantly, its own capacity to adapt the role, mandate, size and composition of the mission.[13]

Other actors from the international community engaged to assist with the process, for example, through the opening of the UN political office in Burundi, as well as the appointment of the EU and US special representatives.[14] However, the crisis in Rwanda and Somalia undermined the propensity of an increased international presence in the country.

Experiences like the one of the OAU in Burundi in the 1990s show the kind of challenges that peacekeeping operations faced during that decade, particularly in relation to its capacity to implement mandates that could match the reality on the ground. It also provided the OAU, and subsequently, the AU, with the understanding that in order to achieve political solutions to conflicts in the continent, it had to size-up its presence with a capacity to support political processes and monitor developments in the country beyond military observer tasks. Subsequent years in the country were, thus, focused on the mediation process in the country, which opened the space for larger and more complex missions deployed by both the newly created AU in 2002 and the UN in the mid-2000s.

Only after 1996, following Buyoya's takeover, did the international community increase efforts to achieve peace in Burundi. Earlier in 1996, the OAU had considered deploying a larger peacekeeping operation to the country, but was refused by the Burundian government.[15] The imposition of sanctions by neighbouring countries and the withdrawal of international aid to the Burundian government were more effective, and enabled both

government and rebels to join the negotiation table.[16] As a result of these negotiations, Julius Nyerere, former president of Tanzania, was appointed as the UN facilitator for Burundi.

The Arusha Peace Process

The peace negotiations in the country officially started in 1998 by an initiative of the Tanzanian government and neighbouring states, concerned about the destabilising impact on the region of the Burundian conflict.[17] While Nyerere had an important role in the negotiations, many perceived him as a partial negotiator. Since Tanzania hosted most of the refugees from Burundi, they had clear political interest, which was seen to shape their facilitation of the talks.[18]

The negotiations included UPRONA and FRODEBU, as well as other smaller parties, comprising 18 groups, all known as the "Arusha Parties".[19] Both CNDD and PALIPEHUTU-FNL did not feel bound by the Arusha agreement as they were out of the negotiation at this time, which brought important challenges during the implementation of the peace process.[20]

After Nyerere's death in 1999, he was succeeded as facilitator of the process by the former South African president, Nelson Mandela, which would alter the entire Burundian peace process and shape the South African participation in the conflict.[21] In this regard, this type of engagement was an important example of how future AU approaches would be developed in Africa, particularly in relation to the role played by regional powers. In Burundi, for instance, the political support of South Africa, led to a critical future role in the different peacekeeping deployments that would occur in the 2000s.

As a result of the mediation process, the Arusha Reconciliation and Peace Agreement was finally signed by 17 Burundian political parties, the government and the National Assembly in 28 August 2000. The process aimed at addressing most of the underlying causes identified over the peace process and aimed to create an environment for "reconciliation, democracy and reconstruction."[22]

However, the way in which the Agreement was signed brought many challenges. Reyntjens argues that Arusha was in effect a non-accord.[23] Disagreements among the parties were not resolved and, as Oketch and Polzer state, the peace process had become another arena for Burundi's elite to compete for the control of the state.[24]

The international pressure to sign the agreement meant that six of the Tutsi parties signed with reservations, fearing loss of political influence within the political structure designed by the agreement. The Hutu armed groups CNDD-FDD and the PALIPEHUTU-FNL were also not part of the discussions. Moreover, some of the Tutsi parties that signed the agreement expressed reservations on essential provisions.[25] With all those constant disagreements, it is not surprising that the agreement was signed without a ceasefire in place.

All these challenges necessitated further negotiations after the signing of the agreement. The mediation efforts continued and in July 2001, the parties met again in Arusha to discuss the terms in which the transition would be held, including the involvement of the remaining Tutsi parties that had expressed reservations in the Arusha agreement.

These discussions opened the space for the deployment of peacekeepers in the country by calling for of an international military force that would protect political leaders coming from exile. However, countries such as Senegal, Nigeria and Ghana would not deploy without a

UN mandate.[26] The UN on its part refused to deploy troops to monitor the transition period without a cease-fire agreement in place. All this created only minimal security conditions for the deployment of UN peacekeepers.[27]

South African Protection Service Detachment

The lack of a cease-fire agreement, as a consequence of the so-called non-accord, was a major factor that could not allow the UN to deploy peacekeeping operation to Burundi, and thus pressured internal and external parties to find a new mechanism to deal with securing the agreement. With the refusal of the international community to engage in peace operations, the South African Protection Service Detachment (SAPSD) was approved as part of an agreement with the transitional government. SAPSD consisted of a military protection force and was deployed on 29 October 2001, after Buyoya took his place as President. With the deployment, efforts were made to secure approval by the UN Security Council, for the SAPSD, which happened on the same 29 October 2001, under the UN resolution 1375.[28]

Although the mission can be considered successful in terms of achieving its mandate, this force had a very limited role and was strictly based in Bujumbura. However, South Africa managed to initiate a call to donors to secure a regional peace operation in Burundi, mandated by the AU.[29] This deployment shows the strong role played by South Africa in supporting the political process in Burundi, as well as providing means and mechanisms that would assist the implementation of the peace process.

Ceasefire in 2002 and the deployment of the African Mission in Burundi (AMIB)

On 2 December 2002, the Transitional Government of Burundi and the CNDD-FDD signed a Ceasefire Agreement, requesting the deployment of an African mission in Burundi. A statement by the President of the UN Security Council on 18 December 2002, requested "expertise and advice which the UN could provide to facilitate the definition of the mandate, facilitation of logistical assistance to the deployment of this mission, mobilisation and coordination of donors contribution and designation of a person to chair the Joint Cease Fire Commission".[30] Furthermore, it sought "to encourage the donor community to mobilise to help the countries to set up the mission, in liaison with the UN, and the African Mission".[31]

The signing of the October 2002 ceasefire and the establishment of the AU with its new peace and security landscape opened the space for a renewed continental approach to the Burundian conflict. Since it was not considered to be a fully inclusive agreement, as not all parties signed it, the UN still argued that there was no peace to keep for them to be able to deploy.

As a result, on 3 February 2003, despite strong resistance from Tutsi parties, the African Mission in Burundi (AMIB) was approved for a period of one year. On 2 April 2003, the Central Organ of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution of the AU approved the *communiqué* that would delineate the main mandate of AMIB.[32] The *communiqué* stated that the mission would be deployed for a one-year period, pending the deployment of the UN peacekeeping force to be mandated by the UN Security Council, as envisaged in the ceasefire agreements.[33] The deployment provided the opportunity for the AU to show that it as was an effective and viable organisation, highlighting differences with the approaches previously taken by the OAU.[34]

The mission had the following main goals, as per the Communiqué of the Central Organ of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution of the African Union:[35]

- Oversee the implementation of the ceasefire agreements
- Support disarmament and demobilisation initiatives and advise on the reintegration of combatants
- Strive towards ensuring that conditions were favourable for the establishment of a UN peacekeeping mission
- Contribute to political and economic stability in Burundi

AMIB was mandated to perform the following tasks, according to the same communiqué: [36]

- Establish and maintain liaison between the Parties.
- Monitor and verify the implementation of the Ceasefire Agreements.
- Facilitate the activities of the Joint Ceasefire Commission (JCC) and Technical Committees for the establishment and restructuring of the National defence and Police Forces
- Secure identified assembly and disengagement areas. ·
- Facilitate safe passage for the Parties during planned movements to designated assembly areas
- Facilitate and provide technical assistance to the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) process
- Facilitate the delivery of the humanitarian assistance, including to refugees and internally displaced persons
- Coordinate mission activities with UN presence in Burundi
- Provide VIP protection for designated returning leaders

The following months were marked by challenges in financing the Mozambican and Ethiopian contingents that would join South African troops on the ground, as well as challenges in terms of equipment and training of those troops. Finally, in October 2003, the mission commenced officially. While its mandate authorised the deployment of up to 3,500 troops, the mission could only gather around 2,500 troops, mostly from South Africa, but also contingents from Ethiopia and Mozambique. Burkina Faso, Gabon, Mali, Togo and Tunisia also contributed by providing military observers. South Africa was responsible for the appointment of the Force Commander while Ethiopia appointed the Deputy Force Commander.

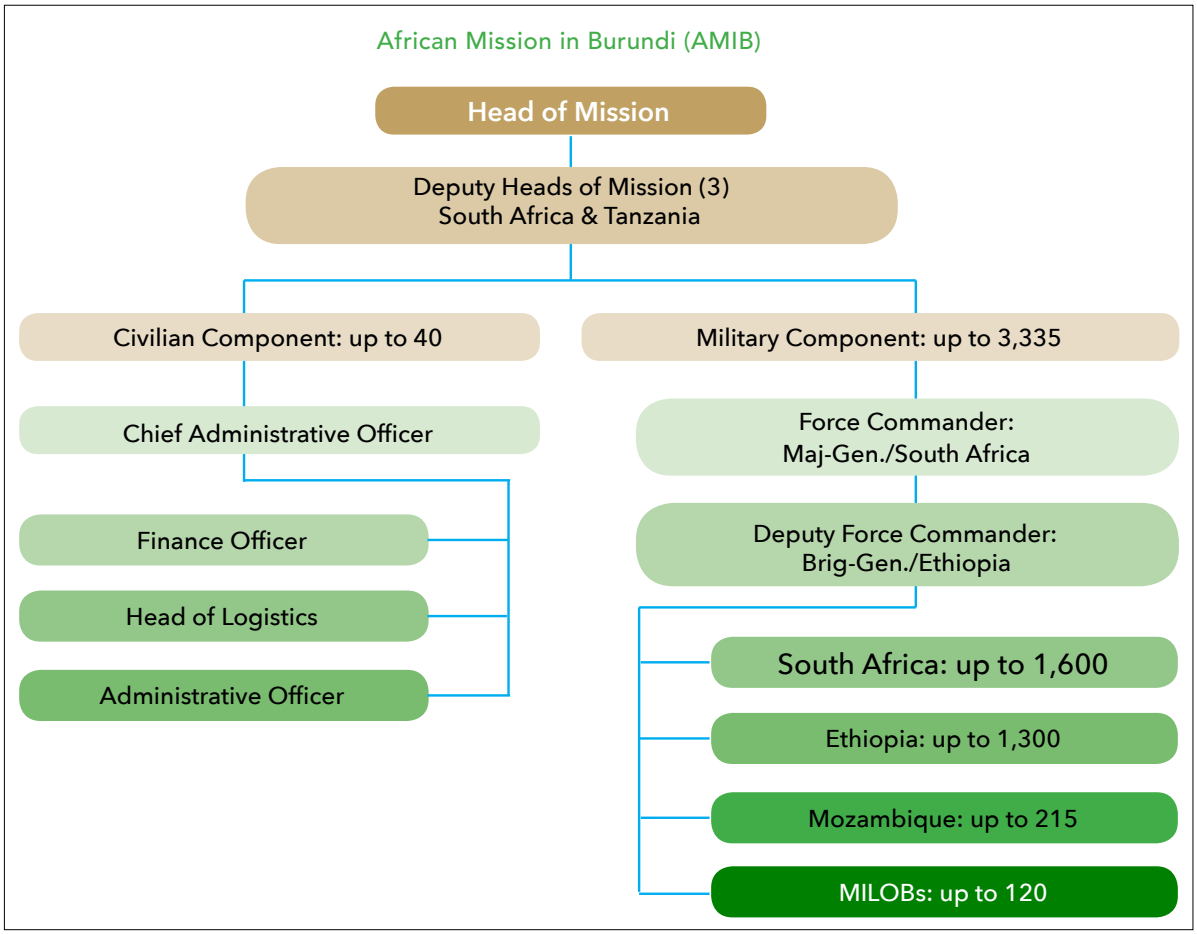
South Africa invested substantially in the deployment of its troops, while the deployment of Mozambican and Ethiopian contingents was made viable due to the financial and logistical support of countries such as the United Kingdom, France, South Africa and the United States. AMIB's cost was estimated at US$ 110 million.[37]

While many logistical and financial challenges arose, the mission can be considered to have been partially successful in terms of its mandates. It began to work on the DDR process, and increased the overall security situation in the country. Apart from the remaining actions of factions of the CNDD-FDD and PALIPEHUTU-FNL, it created the first pre-assembly and disarmament area, and facilitated the delivery of humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons (IDPs).[38]

The biggest challenges however, remained logistical and, more importantly, financial. Jackson states that by September 2003, the international support to AMIB was minimal, increasing the burden on the mission,[39] despite the AUs attempts to increase donor support to the mission. Furthermore, while the mandate encompassed many activities, there was a lack of clarity regarding the DDR process, as well as problems within the command and control structure.[40] These show some of the challenges that the AU would continue having in the future, where often the withdrawal of missions became less dependent on the achievement of target benchmarks, but rather on the inability of the organisation to continue maintaining the mission on the ground.

Figure 10 below provides a general overview on the structure of AMIB:[41]

Figure 10: *Structure of AMIB*



Source: Conflict Trends, ACCORD

UN Operation in Burundi (ONUB)

In 2003, the CNDD-FDD finally signed a cease-fire agreement with the government. This agreement established a power-sharing structure under the transitional government. However, one of the PALIPEHUTU-FNL factions, led by Agathon Rwasa, still refused to participate in the peace process. Although the ceasefire did not include all of the conflicting parties, it assisted in stabilising the situation and opened the space for the UN presence in the country. In the early months of 2004, the perceived unsustainability of AMIB forced the AU to request the UN to take over the peacekeeping mission after AMIB's mandate expired.

In May 2004, through the Security Council resolution 1545, ONUB was deployed under the UN Charter, Chapter VII, with an approved contingent of 5,650 troops on the ground, incorporating AMIB troops as well as absorbing the civilian staff that was previously in the UN political mission in the country.[42] In the same year, a re-hatting ceremony took place, in which South African soldiers that were deployed under AMIB changed their green AU helmets to UN blue helmets. In doing so, both the UN and the AU wanted to show that there was coordination and continuity in their work.[43]

Having a more robust and stronger peacekeeping operation than AMIB, the new mission was designed to guarantee the implementation of the Arusha Agreement, although it had to work within a volatile and complex environment. While the Arusha agreement and the other subsequent agreements stated that the transition would end on 1 November 2004, this schedule was not fulfilled. [44]

In the course of 2004, a new agreement was signed in Pretoria creating a framework for a new constitution, which would be included in the post-transition objectives. Again, competition for the control of the state was a key element. Tutsi parties[45] opposed many of the provisions of the agreement, fearing that Hutu parties, CNDD-FDD and FRODEBU, would have much more power than they would and that Tutsi parties would be under-represented in the power-sharing structure. Filip Reyntjens argues that South Africa, through the then Vice-President Jacob Zuma as the mediator, resisted the position of creating a structure that preferred political-ethnic affiliations, it pressured the parties to accept the desired power-sharing agreement.[46]

AMIB, and more importantly ONUB, had an important role in supporting a peaceful transition. Reyntjens says that in the past, the army and Tutsi political parties always refused the deployment of international troops to Burundi. In an increasingly multi-polar political system (in opposition to a bipolar configuration in 1993), and less political influence of the army, the acceptance of international troops, even if pressured by the regional leaders was more accepted.[47] In fact, troops provided logistics and security, which allowed the parties and the population to engage in the elections with relatively minor incidents[48].

It is clear that ONUB's mandate allowed for a more robust approach than AMIB's. South Africa had a decisive role again in the new re-hatted mission, being the biggest contributing country, with 1,500 troops in 2004.[49] Despite this, ONUB received more criticism than AMIB. As AMIB was much smaller and had a less visual presence in Burundi, it could have created a sense that the AU was less invasive[50] than the UN.

The holding of elections and new prospects for peace

Across the years, most armed groups considerably decreased their actions from 2004 to 2006. Even the PALIPEHUTU-FNL, from Agathon Rwasa, which had refused to sign a peace agreement in this period, was losing its military and political strengths. Their position was particularly weakened after the massacre of over 150 Congolese refugees in the Gatumba camp, in August 2004, and their marginalisation by both domestic and regional leaders, which pressured the group to engage in negotiations for a ceasefire. The UN was criticised for not being capable of protecting the civilians in the camp, as required by its mandate.

In 2005, Burundi held municipal, parliamentary and presidential elections. In all the spheres, the CNDD-FDD, which had abandoned the conflict in 2003, emerged as the major victor over its closest competitors, FRODEBU, UPRONA and CNDD. With the election of a new government in Burundi, the incoming regime exerted pressure for the scaling down of the UN peacekeeping in Burundi and, and to shift the focus of the UN presence in areas

like education and health.[51] A letter from the *Chargé d'Affaires* of the Permanent Mission of Burundi to the UN, addressed to the President of the Security Council, acknowledged the support that ONUB had provided during the electoral and transitional process, but also requested for a gradual withdrawal of the mission from March 2006.[52]

However, the government's request for ONUB to leave can be explained by several factors. First, the official position relied on having international troops in the country, and suggested that the peace process had failed in Burundi. Furthermore, the recently elected government's relationship with the UN mission was extremely difficult. The government, on the one hand, was anxious to exert its sovereignty, but the UN, on the other hand, exerted a powerful role that rivalled CNDD-FDD's ownership of its government and political processes.[53] The difficult relationship between the UN and the Burundian government, thus, was a critical factor for another re-hatting of peacekeeping operations, now leading to a dual engagement from both the AU (with a small military presence) and the UN (with a transition to a peacebuilding office).

New missions: UN Integrated Office in Burundi and the AU Special Task Force

While many governments were worried about a premature exit of ONUB, the mission was gradually decreasing in size by January 2007. As part of the redefinition of the UN's role in Burundi in the post-transition period, the UN Security Council created the UN Integrated Office in Burundi (*Bureau Integre des Nations Unies au Burundi* – BINUB), which would assume ONUB's political role.[54] This mission would have as its main duties, the provision of support to the Burundian peacebuilding process in creating peace and stability and ensuring coherence and coordination of the UN agencies in Burundi through the strengthening capacity of national institutions, DDR and SSR, promotion and protection of human rights, donor and UN agency coordination.[55] It was thus an opportunity for the UN to engage on longer-term processes under its peacebuilding architecture, created in 2005.

The military side of the mission was intrinsically linked to the evolution of the negotiations with Palipehutu-FNL and would give another opportunity to the AU to perform its duties. Within this context, and resulting from a regional initiative in Burundi on 7 September 2006, in Dar es Salam, a Comprehensive Ceasefire Agreement was signed between the government of Burundi and the Palipehutu-FNL from Agathon Rwasa. As its main implementation tools, it requested the verification and control of the Ceasefire by the Joint Verification and Monitoring Mechanisms[56], involving the parties, the UN and the AU and requested the AU to establish a Special Task Force for the protection of the returning leadership and combatants of PALIPEHUTU-FNL.[57]

During this process, the UN tried to negotiate with the government for an extension of the troops, so that it would be able to monitor the new agreement with FNL, thus securing the stability of the situation in Burundi. However, the already difficult relations with the government at that point did not allow the presence of UN troops on the ground.[58] As a result of internal challenges, the AU represented again a viable solution to the deployment of handling the very specific mandate regarding the return of the FNL leaders. Thus, the AU Special Task Force took over the UN military role, using, again, a South African battalion. This re-hatted battalion, which was previously deployed with ONUB, remained under the AU force and additional 1,100 South African troops, as approved by the AU.[59]

While the transition of AMIB to ONUB occurred due to the institutional incapacity to maintain peacekeepers for a longer period, the new re-hatting to African Union troops is a product of the relationship between internal (government) and external (UN) actors. Thus,

it is clear that since the UN military presence was seen as a burden to local government; it recognised the need for monitoring the new ceasefire and internal parties saw the AU as a legitimate actor to conduct such task.

Although the overall situation was improving, issues like DDR, transitional justice and human rights abuse still remained as a challenge to the country. This was because of the PALIPEHUTU-FNL demands on the modalities of its inclusion in national institutions before disarming and demobilising its combatants, as well as splits within the group, which eroded the ceasefire agreement between the FNL and the Burundian government.[60]

New demands from the FNL in terms of amnesty and political representation challenged the demobilisation of the group. In earlier 2008, some attacks led by the PALIPEHUTU-FNL in the outskirts of Bujumbura, created tension and increasing uncertainty over the success of the peace process. In terms of effectiveness of its peacekeeping presence, the AU and UN could do very little to avoid the clashes. Being part of the agreement that led the drawdown of the UN in 2007, the reduced military presence under the AU Special Task Force mandate was too specific.

Conclusion

The Burundian multiple re-hatting experiences are clear examples of how both the AU and the UN dealt with the challenges of coordination in a complex conflict situation. As such, these re-hatting experiences show that while both organisations worked to improve the situation in the country, they still faced many challenges in this process. Both the AU and the UN deployed and re-deployed peace operations in the country, which has been important in enhancing Africa's capabilities in this area.

Moreover, the *ad hoc* nature in which this relationship was constructed can be useful, on the one hand, because it gives the engagement between the UN and the AU the necessary flexibility to adapt to difficult and constantly changing situations as the one faced in Burundi circumstances. On the other hand, this situation shows that the division of labour of peacekeeping operations in Africa still requires further institutionalisation and clarity from both organisations and a better understanding of the different needs, opportunities and challenges for deployment. These lessons would inform further understandings of the AU deployment, within increasingly complex types of engagements which developed in the following years, including Hybrid experience in Sudan and the support package developed for Somalia. These experiences led the two organisations to seek a stronger common understanding of roles and responsibilities and what eventually became called, the "Burundi Model of Deployment", which assisted in understanding the different shortfalls and strengths of each of these two institutions.

While it wasn't the focus of this article, it may be relevant to note that some of the challenges faced by Burundi in 2015 with the constitutional crisis and the discussion on President Nkurunziza's third term, may have had their origins in the convoluted implementation of the Arusha peace process. It shows that several peace operations deployed in Burundi provided opportunities for strengthening the engagement between the UN and regional mechanisms, but without a longer-term focus in their design. This can be seen through the short-term nature of the different mission's mandates and the specific nature of their tasks.

In this regard, while peacekeeping was prioritised in the country, peacebuilding efforts were less effective, even with the engagement of the UN peacebuilding architecture. Thus, Burundi, on the one hand, can be seen as a pioneer model in the development of partnerships in peacekeeping operations, but, on the other hand, shows that those efforts should not be done without a clear long-term strategy of support.

African peacekeeping, as a mechanism that takes part within the global governance process, is not an African problem only. If peace and security are seen to be global public goods, the international community as a whole need to be engaged in enhancing whichever existing mechanisms that aim to provide those goods, either in a global or in a regional context. This will support Africa to strengthen its peacekeeping capabilities and allow a better coordination with the UN. Achieving this will enable Africans to actively engage in their own conflicts, and to truly facilitate African solutions to African problems.

(Endnotes)

1 This chapter is partially based on unpublished thesis developed by the author during his MSc in African Studies at the University of Oxford, under the title of *The politics of 're-hatting' peace operations in Africa: the case of Burundi, 2008*.

2 UN document, Report of the Secretary-General on the relationship between the UN and regional organisations, in particular the AU, in the maintenance of international peace and security, UN Security Council, 7 April 2008, S/2008/186**

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13 From MISAB to MISCA: Protracted Conflicts and the Unending Regional Response to the Crises in Central African Republic

Akpasom, Yvonne & Okeke, Jide Martyns PhD

Abstract

Since the time of its liberation, the Central African Republic (CAR) has been characterised by chronic political volatility and insecurity. Subsequent authorities have remained largely incapable of effectively controlling and administering the territory as well as for providing for the basic needs of the populace. In responding, the broader international community has on several occasions mobilised itself to provide security and humanitarian support. Specifically, this chapter will examine primarily four military interventions undertaken by the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and the African Union (AU) within the framework of regional cooperation. What becomes clear is that notwithstanding these interventions, the political and security situation in the CAR remains fragile and tenuous, suggesting flaws and or limitations in the approach and capabilities of these regional actors. The chapter also makes some key observations and lessons from these regional experiences in support of peace and stability in the CAR and also offers recommendations for the strengthening of regional peace operations.

Introduction

A review of the recent history and events in the CAR demonstrate a series of successive regional and international peace operations deployed to address extant military and security threats. Despite these interventions by the Central African sub-regional actors, as well as the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU), as well as the European Union (EU), the tide of violence has continued largely unabated which suggests perhaps a flawed approach in responding to peace and stability concerns in the CAR.[1]

In this "forgotten" country, as it has often been referred, military interventions have oftentimes been deployed at the last moment. This has essentially functioned as the response of choice largely divorced from long-term, sustainable political solutions that address the structural causes and human needs that have underpinned instability for the greater part of the history of the CAR. The insurrections in the CAR have taken a heavy toll on civilian populations who have not escaped persecution by the different armed groups. By the middle of 2014, the latest wave of conflict had generated 487,580 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), 65,580 of whom were located in the Bangui, capital.[2]

This chapter provides an overview of regional cooperation in response to the crisis in the CAR. By so doing, it makes three main conclusions: first, the crisis in the CAR has been both protracted and intractable, linked to multiple causes. As a result, the country has been in a state of a permanent emergency since its independence in 1960. The

second conclusion is that, this crisis has led to successive regional engagements, often with the contribution of other external actors. Importantly, regional response has been defined in terms of intervention based on the shift from global and regional normative principles, from the principle of traditional sovereignty to the principle of non-indifference that characterised the establishment of the AU in 2002. Finally, the adequacy or effectiveness of regional responses in the promotion of enduring peace in CAR has been questioned due to limited standards in the equipment and training and, the over-dependence on external support for the deployment, and maintenance of peace operations.

Subsequent parts of this chapter are divided as follows: the first section discusses the historical context of the turbulence in the CAR. This is followed by an account of primarily four operations that have been deployed to the CAR within the framework of regional cooperation. The final section of the chapter identifies key lessons that can be drawn from the regional experiences in support of the CAR and proffers recommendations for the strengthening of regional peace operations.

Crisis in Central African Republic (History, Causes and Trends)

Since its independence from France in 1960, the CAR has continued to experience intractable and protracted conflicts, with regional security implications. This is so, particularly given its geographical proximity with crisis-affected countries like Chad, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Sudan. In addition, the colonial linkages of post-independent CAR have remained, due to the country's geo-strategic importance, including its extractive sector. The country has also experienced successive rebellions and counter rebellions, which have fundamentally shaped its political-security landscape. Struggles for regime security and dominance amongst respective coup leaders have run along ethnic, religious and regional lines.

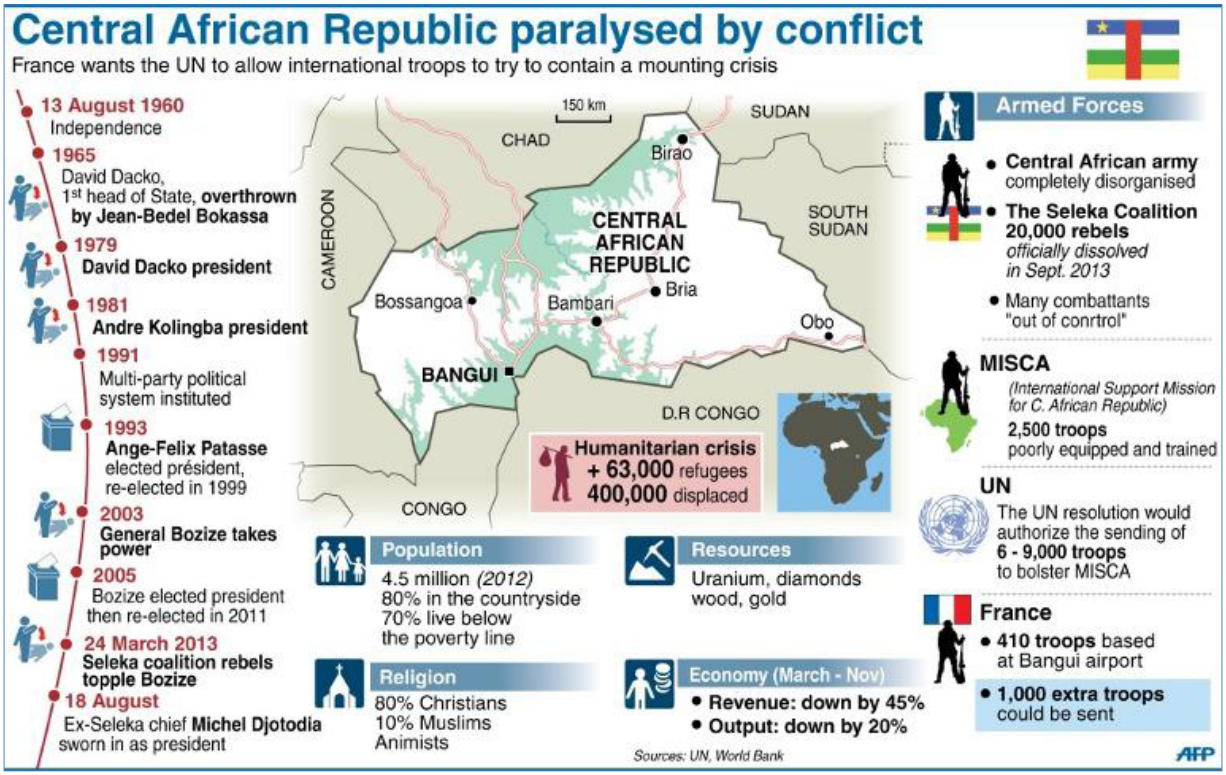
Multi-party democratic elections first took place in 1993 and saw Ange-Félix Patassé[3] enter into power. Patassé's failure to satisfy the needs and interests of various ethnic groups resulted ultimately in an attempted coup against his government, which in turn resulted in the widespread killing of disloyal elements within the army as well as civilians. A second coup saw General François Bozizé enter into power after successfully taking advantage of ethnic tensions and cleavages. Bozizé embarked upon a process of national reconciliation and in 2005, was elected into power in elections that were widely recognised by the international community. However, Bozizé himself faced an uneasy tenure marked by incursions from the north following allegations of undue favour over his Gbaya ethnic group and the marginalisation of others – a common trend even with his predecessors. Following an intensification of events in 2012, most notably, a rebellion by the rebel Séléka coalition and the ceasing of northern towns, the Libreville Peace Agreement was signed in January 2013, where a decision was reached to allow Bozizé to serve out his tenure until its expiration in 2016. However, Séléka rebels soon resumed their advance on the capital Bangui, due to the perceived reneging of Bozizé on the terms of the peace agreement, which included the withdrawal of South African forces from the country as well as the integration of rebel fighters into the CAR's armed forces.

The period that followed was marked by widespread sectarian violence and a deep deterioration of the security situation in the country as Séléka militias launched attacks against communities. Human rights violations were rife, and coupled with a deteriorating humanitarian situation compounded by human rights violations, thousands were forced to flee their homes in search of refuge. There was also at this time the emergence of the mainly Christian anti-Balaka, which comprised of a collective of vigilante groups who

engaged in resistance against the Séléka in response to raids, kidnappings and killings by the latter.[4]

On 24 March 2013, a heavy assault on Bangui led to the capture of the presidential palace, and Bozizé was overthrown. He fled the country along with his family. He was replaced by Michel Djotodia[5] who served as the country's first Muslim leader. The transitional period led by President Djotodia was also characterised by increased sectarian violence that saw the deliberate targeting of civilians along religious lines. This in turn led to massive human displacement. There was also an acute increase in violence between Muslims and non-Muslims during this period. Djotodia was unable to effectively control his forces and ultimately to stem the tide of violence that had swept the country. At a meeting of regional heads of state in Chad on January 2014[6] regarding the situation in the CAR, Djotodia was forced to resign and retreat into exile. Subsequently, Alexander-Ferdinand Nguendet served briefly as acting President until the National Transitional Council (CNT) elected Catherine Samba-Panza as the new interim President from May 2013.

Figure 11: *Explaining the CAR conflict*



Source: *The Citizen - http://citizen.co.za/afp_feed_article/two-french-soldiers-killed-in-central-african-republic/*

The history of political fragility and instability in the CAR (see Figure 11) has served to degenerate state administration and rule of law, and successive governments have proved incapable of ensuring security for their populace. Instead, external actors have undertaken this responsibility. Given the foregoing, there are a number of critical areas that would require attention so as to establish a new social-political trajectory for the country. These include, security in particular, as well as; inclusive dialogue that will facilitate and nurture a process of national reconciliation; stabilisation and a restoration of state instruments and authority across the country; and also economic development, fairly distributed across all ethnic and religious groups. Equitable wealth distribution will also be an important requirement given that control of the country's resources can also be cited as a major conflict driver.

Regional Peace Support Operations in CAR

External actors (broadly defined), have been central to efforts to find lasting solutions to the country's intractable conflicts. In this regard, the roles of regional and international actors are most discernible through the deployment of peace support operations. This next session explains the successive regional (i.e. African-led) deployments that have been undertaken as part of the overall quest towards peace in CAR. While, the roles of international actors are important and remain enduring, they are not the main focus here.

The Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Implementation of the Bangui Agreements (MISAB)[7]

In 1996, there were three successive coup attempts against the CAR government. The mutinies were largely as a result of salary delays and labour related grievances, but there was also an ethnic element to them, because most soldiers[8] belonged to the ethnic group of Patassé's predecessor, Kolingba Yakoma. In December 1997, at a Summit Meeting of Heads of State and Government of France and Africa, the Heads of State of Burkina Faso, Chad, Gabon and Mali were tasked with undertaking mediation efforts between forces loyal to President Patassé and the militias. These efforts culminated in the so-called Bangui Agreements (signed on 25 January 1997), which aimed at ending the conflict between government and rebel groups.[9] Amongst other aspects, the agreement called for the establishment of a Government of National Unity; amnesty for mutineers and others who committed offences; disarmament of former rebels and recovery of weapons by MISAB from rebels and unlawfully armed civilians. The agreement also called for the implementation of various national reconciliation processes.

In accordance with the agreement of the Conference on Consensus-building and Dialogue,[10] and responding to a request from President Patassé for support in stabilising the country, an 800-strong force comprising troops from the four countries represented in the mediation efforts, as well as Senegal and Togo was deployed to Bangui in February 1997.[11] MISAB received considerable logistical and financial support from France. UN Security Council Resolution 1125 (1997) welcomed the efforts of the inter African deployment and approved the continuation of MISAB under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. MISAB was mandated[12] for an initial three month period (and was subsequently extended at the request of President Patassé), primarily to assist in efforts to restore peace and security through the monitoring of the implementation of the Bangui Agreements as well as supervising the disarmament of former mutineers, militias and all other persons unlawfully bearing arms.[13] MISAB received political direction from the President of Gabon, El Hadj Omar Bongo, as Senior Head of State of the International Mediation Committee for the CAR. General Amadou Toumani Touré assisted in exercising this authority in his capacity as Chairman of the International Monitoring Committee. Gabon provided command and control of the forces.[14]

During the course of its operations, MISAB's mandate evolved to respond to new situations on the ground. For instance, due to widespread organised crime and rampant insecurity, and at the request of local authorities, the mission became involved in the maintenance of security in Bangui. The mission was also involved in humanitarian assistance activities including medical evacuations assistance for local communities. This increased dependence on MISAB was taken as a sign of the acceptance and confidence the force had secured from the local population.[15] Following the signing of the truce agreement in June 1997 and the ceasefire agreement in July 1997, MISAB also participated in joint security patrols across Bangui, together with loyalists and former rebels. Given a positive review and appraisal of the implementation of MISAB, its mandate was further extended

by the UN Security Council Resolution 1136 (1997) of 6 November 1997 to operate under Chapter VII until 6 February 1998.

Overall, MISAB experienced some successes in terms of supporting the disarmament provisions of the Bangui Agreement including bringing about a semblance of calm and security particularly to the capital, which would be important in the overall peace building and consolidation efforts in the country as well as in addressing the cycle of rebellions that have characterised the CAR. These political and security achievements whilst important, required buttressing with economic reforms and progress, as well as with an inclusive political solution, given the roots of the crisis of 1996.

As with the large majority of African peace operations, both before and after MISAB, the mission found itself constrained due to lack of appropriate funding to carry out its operations and activities. There was no direct funding of MISAB by the UN as many Security Council members were of the opinion that MISAB be funded on a voluntary basis. As such, MISAB was dependent on logistical support from a number of sources including: TCCs, which provided personnel who received their regular pay and weapons; France, which provided amongst other things, food, fuel, daily subsistence allowances and tactical and support vehicles; the CAR government which provided vehicles; and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) which made available only limited amounts of special grants to MISAB and the International Monitoring Group.[16] It was only with the extension of MISAB's mandate to February 1998 that the Security Council agreed to the establishment of a Trust Fund in support of the mission, and encouraged Member States to contribute accordingly.[17]

The CAR never managed to garner widespread regional attention, and even the OAU never made any strident attempts at more direct political engagement towards the resolution of the crisis in the country. Such attention would have been an important factor in ensuring a more comprehensive response to the social-political, security and governance challenges which lay at the heart of the conflict. MISAB served to show how African responses to conflict would need to evolve, both in conceptual and material terms, so as to better address the range of tasks in support of longer-term post conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding.

As already mentioned, the lifeblood of the MISAB operation was provided in the logistical and financial support provided by France, without which the mission would not have been established and indeed without which it could not be sustained. The reliance on external funding and support remains a central characteristic of African peace operations to come, both from a political and operational perspective. With the decision of France to withdraw its support from the CAR in late 1997, MISAB was faced with a situation where it was unable to implement its mandate. The withdrawal of foreign forces from the CAR served to seriously threaten the fragile stability that had been achieved in the country, leading to undesirable consequences for the sub-region. With these considerations (amongst others) in mind, the UN decided to establish a peacekeeping operation in the CAR. In April 1998, MISAB was thus replaced by the UN Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA), which deployed until its drawdown in 2000 following a relative improvement in the situation in the country.

The Mission for the Consolidation of Peace in the Central African Republic (MICOPAX)[18]

The political conditions surrounding the establishment of MICOPAX provide the context on the development of a central African regional security framework and cooperation, and provide also a perspective on a regional response to an evolving continental peace operations landscape. It became apparent to leaders of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) that ultimately, the aspirations for greater economic cooperation and development could not be met unless there was progress with regards to

addressing the myriad peace and security challenges facing the region. The organisation therefore commenced a series of reforms to support the promotion and management of peace and stability in the region.

A so-called Council on Peace and Security (COPAX) was established in February 1999[19] with the aim of developing defence and security policy and promoting and maintaining peace and security in the region. A Central African Early Warning System (MARAC) was put in place for the early detection and prevention of crisis and the Planning Element (PLANELM) was established in Libreville, Gabon, to support the planning and management of peace operations. These and other steps were by and large in response to priorities and actions as set forth for the establishment of the AU's APSA. An important tool in this regard is the African Standby Force (ASF) - a multidimensional and multidisciplinary force available for deployment to crisis on the African continent and dependent on standby contributions from the five geographical sub-regions. The Central African Multinational Force (FOMAC) became the brigade-sized contribution of the central African region to the ASF.

In addition to ECCAS, the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC) is also one of three regional communities in Central Africa. CEMAC was established primarily to promote regional economic policy and ultimately to promote economic development and cooperation amongst member states. CEMAC also recognised the importance of broadening its peace and security agenda and in responding to increased instability in the region, CEMAC established the FOMAC in 2002.

In 2001 and 2002, there were renewed mutiny attempts in the CAR, prompting the deployment of the Multinational Force in the Central African Republic (FOMUC) in support of President Patassé. FOMUC comprised of 380 troops from Chad, Gabon and the Republic of Congo[20] and was funded by the European Commission (EC) and France. FOMUC was mandated to provide security in Bangui, including protection of Patassé's government from further coup attempts. In addition to the provision of security, FOMUC was also mandated to assist in the restructuring of the national armed forces as well as to supervise joint patrols along the Chadian border.[21] Despite the presence of FOMUC, President Patassé was overthrown in March 2003 by General François Bozizé and it is widely acknowledged that Bozizé's overthrow of Patassé was possible due to the deliberate inaction of FOMUC as a result of agreements amongst the concerned member states in support of Bozizé.[22] Following the coup, the FOMUC mandate evolved to include the monitoring of the transition and reconciliation process as well as support to the preparation of election in 2005. In fact, the mandate of FOMUC essentially served the interests of the new authorities as opposed to the broader national interests. The role of Chad was always a controversial one as many saw Chad's presence in the CAR as part of Chad's strategy to defend its territory and the government of Idriss Deby. There were accusations and counter accusations between the Central African and Chadian governments, of providing support to rebel movements in each other's countries. The Chadian contingent was also accused of aligning with the Séléka rebels, though this was strongly denied by the Chadian government. The Chadian factor thus compromised in some respects, the perceived impartiality of FOMUC.

In July 2008, FOMAC transitioned into MICOPAX, comprising of ECCAS member states as well as the DRC. By the end of its deployment, MICOPAX had approximately 2000 personnel, with support from the French troops. The EC provided financial support to MICOPAX through its African Peace Facility (APF) whilst logistical support was provided by France. In addition to training and logistical support for the Central African Armed Forces (FACA), MICOPAX was mandated broadly to support peace and stability in the

country including supporting rule of law and public order; supporting political transition leading up to elections in 2011; promoting respect for human rights and to coordinate humanitarian aid in support of the eradication of HIV/AIDS. In 2013, the MICOPAX mandate was amended to include the implementation of the Libreville agreements between the government and Séléka coalition rebels.

The MICOPAX mandate was ambitious, but ill structured and poorly resourced to undertake what essentially were peacebuilding tasks. The mandate was also insufficient in addressing the new set of concerns following the coup, especially in so far as the protection of civilians was concerned, coupled with a strong presence of Séléka militias across the country. Even then, MICOPAX could count only on limited support from the FACA whose operational element was relatively small and who also faced critical shortcomings in terms of logistics, training and other key resources.

The constraints ECCAS faced with regard to self-financing of the operation and the over reliance on external support meant that MICOPAX would not independently be able to define or implement the mandate, size and other critical aspects of its mandate. Both FOMUC and MICOPAX were largely reactionary and unreflective of a concerted effort by the respective sending organisations to commit to sustainable measures that addressed deep rooted causes of instability in the CAR or that sincerely sought to address the plight of the population. Both have over the course of history been directly attributable to the cyclic rebellions in the country from the time of independence.

On 19 December 2013, MICOPAX was officially transitioned into the African-led International Support Mission in the Central African Republic (AFISM-CAR/MISCA[23]). The next section discusses this operation.

The African-led International Support Mission to the Central African Republic (MISCA)[24]

The establishment of MISCA was informed by two main decisions of regional organs: the first was the Declaration of the 4th Extraordinary Summit of the Heads of States and Government of ECCAS, held in Ndjamena on the 18th April 2013. This meeting decided that the CAR government, ECCAS, the AU, the European Union (EU) and the International Organisation of *La Francophonie* (OIF) were to be requested to hold consultations, and make and agree upon security arrangements that should support the transitional period, including those likely to enhance the effectiveness of MICOPAX. In addition, the AU was specifically tasked with taking the necessary measures to assess the needs of MICOPAX in relation to its strength, equipment, financing and force generation, and on the basis of this technical assessment, develop a Concept of Operations (CONOPs) and a Concept of logistical support, in collaboration with international partners.

The second main decision that led to the establishment of MISCA, was the Communiqué following the 380th meeting of the Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the AU on the CAR, on 17 June 2013, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. This PSC Communiqué, supported in principle the establishment of MISCA, but with a recognition that the core elements of this Mission be composed of contingents from MICOPAX, with a maximum strength of 3,500 uniformed (police and military) and civilian personnel. The mandate of MISCA as derived from the PSC decision were as follows: (a) protection of civilians and the restoration of security and public order, through the implementation of appropriate measures, (b) stabilisation of the country and the restoration of state authority, (c) reform and restructuring of the defence and security sector, and (d) creation of conditions conducive for the provision of humanitarian assistance to the population. This mandate was based on an enforcement mission, involving offensive operations under a Chapter

VII of the UN Charter, as has been practiced in other recent and current AU missions such as in Mali and Somalia. As the crisis in Bangui and the regions deteriorated further in December 2013, the PSC on 13 December 2013, decided to authorise the further increment of MISCA's strength up to 6,000 uniformed personnel, and relevant civilian personnel, following consultations on the margins of the Elysee Summit for Peace and Security in Africa.

There was an official transfer of authority from MICOPAX to MISCA on 19 December 2013, with the bulk of MICOPAX personnel re-hatted as part of this AU Mission. As a result, MISCA quickly attained its full mandated strength within less than two months of its development, including the deployment of 35 civilian personnel. The Mission was conceived as a multidimensional and integrated operation, under the leadership of a Special Representative to the Chairperson of the AU Commission (SRCC), who was to oversee the Force Commander, Police Commissioner and the Head of Mission Support. A deputy SRCC was also appointed, responsible for the substantive civilian component such as political affairs, humanitarian liaison, human rights, Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR), Public information and Security Sector Reform (SSR). Overall, the Mission managed to put in place the required uniformed and civilian personnel within a very short period, to support the CAR government in its efforts towards sustainable peace as contained in MISCA's mandate.

The achievement recorded by MISCA must first be analysed against the sacrifices of human lives that were recorded by MISCA personnel. As at March 2014, MISCA had 17 fatalities and 118 wounded personnel. In addition, the full deployment of the Mission combined with the enforcement mandate that was given to the mission accelerated the security gains on the ground. The security situation began to improve in major public places such as schools, restaurants, markets and hospitals that were extremely unsafe even as some became camps for rebels. The establishment of an International Contact Group (ICG) involving the AU as Chair and other international partners was also intended to facilitate the political process for the full restoration of state authority and, the promotion of sustainable peace and reconciliation in the CAR. Most importantly, the progress made by MISCA ostensibly paved the way for the transformation of the Mission to a traditional UN peacekeeping mission, under the Chapter VII procedure. Specifically, on 10 April 2014, the UN Security Council adopted resolution 2167, which authorised the transition from MISCA to the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA), from 15 September 2014.

Yet, the deployment, management and even the liquidation process were confronted with challenges. The primary challenge was that even though forces were generated rapidly, the required enablers and capabilities were very limited amongst the forces. In addition, there were allegations of misconduct relating to torture of captured combatants and even civilians by the Chadian forces. This significantly undermined the public perception and legitimacy of MISCA, which may have led to pressure from the CAR authorities as well as some international actors for the transition to a UN peacekeeping mission. Further, there was no proper linkage between the Strategic headquarters in Addis Ababa and, the Operational headquarters, which created gaps in the management, interactions and information sharing between both headquarters. As with previous AU missions, MISCA remained dependent on voluntary contributions managed by the UN as well as bilateral support from core partners such as the EU, UK, US and others in order to sustain its operations. As a result, the planning requirements were often informed by the constraints of donor support rather than the necessity on the ground.

During her speech at the transfer of authority from MISCA to MINUSCA on 15 September 2014, the Chairperson of the AU Commission emphasised the need for a strong AU presence in the CAR and Central Africa in order to promote lasting peace and security in the country and region. It will also be recalled that the PSC, during its 458th meeting held on 17 September 2014, requested the Chairperson of the AU Commission to urgently take the necessary measures for the transformation of MISCA into an AU Mission for the CAR and Central Africa (MISAC), so as to enable the AU, in close coordination with ECCAS, MINUSCA and other relevant international actors, to continue to support the on-going national efforts. This was to be with particular focus on: (i) support to the political transition, (ii) the organisation of elections, (iii) national reconciliation, (iv) support to the disarmament, demobilisation and rehabilitation and reintegration process, as well as to the security, and justice sectors reform, (v) post-conflict reconstruction, (vi) gender, and (viii) facilitation and coordination between the AU-led Regional Cooperation Initiative for the Elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army (RCI-LRA) and MINUSCA in the discharge of their respective mandates. It is against this background that MISCA was established and remains a primary pillar of the overall regional strategy for addressing the crisis in CAR.

Lessons from these Regional Responses

The successive regional interventions in the CAR provide clear evidence of the protracted crisis and represent a permanent state of complex emergency. As at the time of writing this chapter, the UN peacekeeping mission (MINUSCA) remains engaged in maintaining security and promoting enduring stability, reconciliation and development in the CAR. In addition, MISCA continues to contribute to the overall political process through the ICG on CAR. However, the security situation remains extremely fragile with uncertain prospects for enduring peace in the country. Given all this, what lessons can we draw from the historical and successive regional responses to the crisis in the CAR?

First, the successive interventions, whether by regional or international, bilateral or multilateral actors, underscore the limits and constraints of any one single actor to singlehandedly and comprehensively address the complex and protracted nature of crisis in the CAR. Bolstering the weak state apparatus, re-establishing the rule of law, protecting the vulnerable and restructuring the security sector are complex processes that require significant resources and commitment over the long term by several different actors (including the host country), leveraging their strengths and comparative advantages.

In addition and as discussed above, stability in the CAR has been fragile, and interventions such as MISCA to some extent played an important role in terms of abating the violence and lawlessness in the country. However, there were serious shortcomings with regards to the MISCA capacities and capabilities (specifically its inadequacy in force and civilian strength) that enabled violence and abuses to continue. Such limitations need to be addressed in the planning of future deployments by the AU and the sub regional organisations so as to increase their contribution to the security and stabilisation of conflict afflicted countries

Second, it could be argued that the regional responses to the crisis represents an evolving and increasingly prominent role of regional organisations, in this case, ECCAS and the AU, in the promotion of regional security within Central Africa, and especially in the CAR. Since the establishment of the AU in 2002, there have been ten (10) peace support operations, and over 100,000 uniformed and civilian personnel deployed across the continent. These regional deployments are in line with Chapter VIII of the UN Charter,

but also demonstrate conceptual shift from the principle of traditional sovereignty, defined more in terms of regime security, which was associated with the OAU, to a principle of non-indifference embedded in the AU Constitutive Act. Within this narrative, there is both a theoretical recognition (although, sometimes-difficult praxis) of the Regional Economic Communities/Regional Mechanisms (RECs/RMs) as implementing organs of the AU, based on the principle of subsidiarity, complementarity and comparative advantages. Indeed, there is a greater appreciation of the need for collective action through regional organisation as well as in collaboration with international partners.

Third, the practice of regional deployments led to significant capability building and professionalisation of African state militaries. In the last decade alone, African states have deployed more than 50,000 uniformed personnel, with some of these personnel being deployed from post-conflict countries such as Burundi, Chad, Sierra Leone and Rwanda. In some of these cases, this has contributed to the process of enhancing the security sector reform processes of these troop contributors, due to increased training, enhanced capabilities (especially in terms of equipment) and the international exposure.

Fourth, regional deployments often occur alongside bilateral deployments, and are often transitioned to UN peacekeeping missions. In cases where there have been bilateral deployments, for instance (French intervention in Mali and CAR), there has been loose cooperation between the regional force and bilateral interventions or support. Challenges also arise in ensuring effective command and control between dual or multiple forces operating in a similar Area of Operation (AoO). Whilst the transition of MISCA into MINUSCA demonstrates a growing and enhanced strategic and operational partnership between the AU and the UN, the transition process was challenging. Questions have been raised about appropriate benchmarks for transition, limited collaboration in the planning and liquidation process and, poor consultations between the decision-making organs of both the UN and the AU. Therefore, it is important for the AU and UN to enhance collaboration during the planning of AU peace operations deployments so as to promote a smooth transition later on to a UN peacekeeping mission.

Finally, the increased responsibility for peace and security by African organisations has translated into ever increasing budgets to fund the various regional interventions. Rather than identifying internal sources of funding, regional deployments have been overwhelmingly dependent on resources from external actors. Efforts to promote African ownership through the use of African resources have not been able to effectively move beyond the deployment of mainly personnel. Indeed, this is a significant contribution in and of itself, but should be matched with greater commitment by African states to commit finances, specialised expertise and logistical support requirements. In other words, the deployment of African personnel without the basic minimum requirements to ensure successful mandate execution remains a draw-back for regional deployments. This apparent complacency in identifying and/or unlocking alternative funding sources contributes also to the general sense of donor fatigue. It is indeed the case that at least initially, major western donors (barring France) were less than enthusiastic about providing funding for yet another African peace operation (in the case of the CAR). Having said this, it is worthwhile noting that the internationalisation of conflict implies that Africa will need to continue to forge partnerships with international actors in addressing the complex crises on the continent. However, a false sense of security should be avoided by African regional organisations as spreading the burden to meet expanding budget requirements will be critical going forward.

Conclusion

Since its independence in 1960, the CAR has experienced intractable and protracted conflicts. In response to the multiple crises faced by this country, regional actors have played various roles. This has included pacific settlement of disputes through the deployment of an inter-African mission to monitor peace agreements and to coercive action, involving the deployment of an enforcement mission tasked to undertake offensive operations, primarily for the purposes of civilian protection and the restoration of state authority. The form, content and scope of regional deployments have coincided with the changing geostrategic political environment, both within the context of the Cold War and post-Cold War eras. As a result, the pacific settlement of disputes associated with the adherence of traditional or absolute sovereignty associated with the Cold War and indeed, the principles of the OAU have given way to the re-definition of sovereignty as responsibility, which continues to define the post-Cold War era and the establishment of the AU. Indeed, the legality and legitimacy of regional organisations in the international sphere have increased. Unfortunately, as the case of the CAR demonstrates, regional deployments have faced several challenges related to poor standards, funding and comprehensive strategies for promoting sustainable peace. The future of regional deployment therefore lies in a frank assessment of the capabilities of the AU and its RECs/RMs as a basis for promoting a constructive partnership between the AU and international actors (broadly defined), in the promotion of positive peace in the continent. The current knee-jerk and reactionary approach would only be able to, at best, achieve short-term stability in CAR and indeed across other crisis-affected countries in Africa.

(Endnotes)

1 This chapter limits its focus to African peace operations initiatives in support of the resolution of the conflict in the CAR and does not include an analysis in this regard on initiatives by other external/international actors. This is in line with the intent and scope of the current publication.

2 CAR Fact Sheet, United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), September 2014.

3 Patassé was the country's first northern ruler and widely opposed by armed forces from the south of the country that waged several rebellions.

4 Marima, T., (2013) *Rebels, Anti-Rebels and Refugees in the Central African Republic*, Think Africa Press, available at http://thinkafricapress.com/central-african-republic/fanning-flames-war-car-seleka, Last Accessed on 13 January 2015.

5 Djotodia led the Union of Democratic Forces for Unity (UFDR) in a coalition with other groups to form Seleka, which overthrew Bozizé.

6 6th Extra Ordinary Summit of Heads of State and Government of ECCAS, N'djamena, Chad, 10 January 2014.

7 MISAB is the French acronym for *Mission Interafricaine de Surveillance des Accords de Bangui*.

8 Sarooshi D., (1999) *The United Nations and the Development of Collective Security: The Delegation by the UN Security Council of its Chapter VII Powers*. Oxford University Press, 244.

9 Central African Republic: MINURCA Background, available at http://www.un.org/depts/DPKO/Missions/minurcaB.htm, Last Accessed on 19 January 2015.

10 Held in Bangui from 11 – 18 January 1997.

11 An International Monitoring Committee was established to supervise the implementation of the Bangui Agreements. The Committee was comprised of representatives from member states involved in the mediation efforts as well as a Diplomatic Advisor to the Committee in the form of a UN Development Programme (UNDP) Consultant, together with the MISAB Command.

12 MISAB mandate was approved by S/199/561.

13 UN Security Council, *Resolution 1125 (1997) Adopted by the Security Council at its 3808th meeting, on 6 August 1997*, S/RES/1125 (1997).

14 3rd Report to the Security Council pursuant to Resolution 1125(1997) Concerning the Situation in the Central African Republic (1997). Available at http://reliefweb.int/report/central-african-republic/third-report-security-council-pursuant-resolution-1125-1997, Last Accessed 19 January 2015.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 UN Security Council, *Resolution 1152 (1998) Adopted by the Security Council at its 3853rd meeting, on 5 February 1998*, 5 February 1998, S/RES/1152 (1998), available at: http://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f1675c.html, Last Accessed 20 January 2015.

18 MICOPAX is the French acronym for *La Mission de Consolidation de la Paix en Centrafrique*.

19 The COPAX Protocol was ratified in January 2004.

20 FOMUC included contributions from ECCAS due to the fact that the latter was still undergoing institutional reforms and was as such unprepared to field an operation.

21 CEMAC, Final Communiqué of the Libreville Meeting, 2 October 2002.

22 See International Crisis Group, 2007, *Central African Republic: Anatomy of a Phantom State,* Africa Report, No. 136, 15-16.

23 In French *Mission Internationale de Soutien à la Centrafrique sous Conduite Africaine*.

24 MISCA is the French acronym for Mission Internationale de Soutien á la Centrafrique sous Conduite Africaine.

14 The Lord's Resistance Army: A Review of African Union Regional Efforts to Eliminate the Resistance in Central Africa

Sylvester B. Maphosa, Ph.D

Abstract

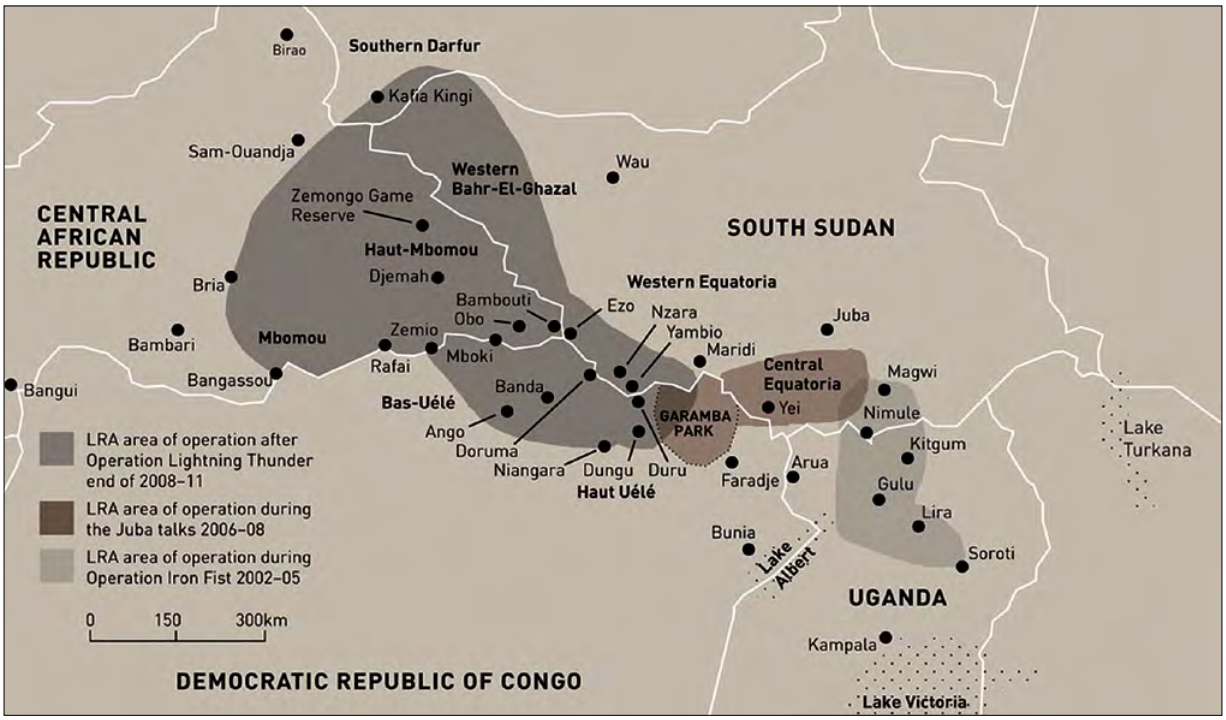
Over recent years, the regional efforts led by the African Union and affected communities, to eliminate the Lord's Resistance Army in Central Africa have posted significant mixed outcomes. While efforts of the Regional Cooperation Initiative for the Elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army (RCI-LRA) are lauded and are yielding essential insights into the situation and interaction of actors and the changing nature of conflict context; there is also increasing realisation that focussing exclusively on military solutions to LRA only deals with part of the problem. Given that there is no silver bullet, two emerging key lessons from RCI-LRA operation can be discerned. First, the AU-led RCI-LRA should not be taken to be the seminal peace operation, but rather, the beginning of a much longer and multi-faceted process of intervention and regeneration of affected areas to consolidate positive peace. Secondly, durable peace operations demand multidimensional 'whole-of-society' approaches underpinned by theory-to-practice-to theory reflection that aims to enable multiplier effects for peacebuilding 'writ-large'.

Introduction

The LRA emerged in the mid-1980s in the context of violent struggle for power in Uganda. Since independence, rumbles of social, political, and economic exclusion have been a major risk for Uganda. However, it was during the political turbulence of the Idi Amin regime in the 1970s when the largest northern ethnic group of Acholi along with the Langi from north-central Uganda became targeted as opposition supporters. After the fall of Amin and with a number of factions contesting State power, Milton Obote was elected President under controversial circumstances. This led to northern Uganda domination of the Government and security forces and alienated Yoweri Museveni's NRM/A based in southern Uganda. The NRM/A thus waged a guerrilla war against the State. In 1985, fearing exclusion due to Obote's attempt to increase his Langi supporters in State security services, Acholi officers used the fragmentation in the army to install General Tito Lukwa Okello in power. However, his rule was short-lived as NRM/A swept to power installing Museveni as President in January 1986. In response, a number of northern factions have sought to contest the NRM/A for State power, with the narrative of marginalisation of northern Uganda as the mobilising dynamic. In 1986 Alice Lakwena initiated a movement, part of which later became the LRA, reflecting Acholi opposition to Museveni's NRM/A. This opposition was based on both realistic and non-realistic structural grievances. After Alice, Joseph Kony (cousin to Alice) assumed leadership of remnants of the movement, and established LRA as the main local rebel group in northern Uganda drawing support mainly from sections of the Acholi.

The objectives and ideological aspects of LRA have been unclear. It is believed that its agendas include ending perceived marginalisation of Acholi and replacing Museveni regime with a government based on its Ten Commandments. However, James Obita, claiming to represent the group has stated that its cause not only involves Acholi, but that the LRA seeks to end oppression, deliberate marginalisation and the regime's human rights violations. He also asserts that the LRA seeks to restore multi-party democracy, peace and security, and ensure unity, sovereignty and economic prosperity in Uganda. However, the LRA has employed tactics that are contrary to its stated commitment to end human rights violations. In the late 1980s LRA adopted guerrilla warfare strategy, sustaining itself principally through raiding the northern Ugandan communities for resources. In the ensuing years, the LRA escalated its activities beyond borders in the region.

Figure 12: *Areas affected by LRA Violence*



Source: *Conciliation Resources, 2012*

In November 2011 the Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the AU endorsed a strategy developed by the UN in consultation with the AU, the affected States and their partners to end the activities of the LRA and help affected populations.[1] Yet, there is still no peace in many parts of Central Africa. In many regions – from northern Uganda to eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), including the border areas between the DRC and South Sudan, the south-eastern borders of Central Africa Republic (CAR), with concentrations along the boundary towards the DRC, and, the spread around Zemongo forest in CAR, extending north along South Sudan and reaching the southern tip of Darfur in Sudan—conflict is endemic (see Figure 12). The marauding rebels generate major drawbacks to progress towards attainment of peace, good governance and better livelihoods.[2] In many cases, the result is wider regional pockets of visible and invisible structural and physical violence including death, displacement and flows of refugees, wandering militias and criminal networks, abduction of young girls and boys, disruption of farming activities and livelihoods, looting of food crops and health centres and erosion of psychosocial capital. This situation has widespread implications for the stability of

the region and the ability of communities to remain self-reliant and maintain hope for a brighter future.

Conflict Causes and Conditions

Significant dilemmas stem from the problem of regional dynamics of neighbouring States. Uganda, South Sudan and Sudan, and CAR are critically unstable and weak States, and, DRC is a failed State.[3] The lack of ability by these countries to effectively control substantial areas of their territories, combined with perennial inter-state and intra-state conflicts undermines the efforts to regenerate the region. The proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the region exacerbates the challenge to build lasting peace and prevent violence. Given the lack of effective state territorial control and wide availability of arms and light weapons, traditional conflict resolution mechanisms to basic socio-economic problems are eroded as communities seek alternatives through violent means such as banditry and livestock rustling.[4]

Little is known of LRA's military strength. Until 2007, it consisted of four brigades (Gilva, Sinia, Stockree and Trinkle), in principle operating under the command of the 'Control Altar', but largely autonomous.[5] In terms of troop strength, the LRA is reported to have mobilised thousands of fighters during the past 25 years. However, today, as a result of numerous joint military and diplomatic actions, LRA is split into small pockets of 10-20 combatants operating in eastern to northeast DRC, South Sudan's Western Equatoria, and, eastern CAR extending up towards Darfur.[6] The persistence of violence attributed to LRA suggests that hundreds, if not more than thousands of militias, continue to spread in vast areas of the region including Orientale Province in the DRC, Haut Mbomou in CAR, and Western Equatoria, eastern Bahr al-Ghazal and southern Darfur in Sudan.[7] These conflict conditions make it difficult to locate and eliminate LRA. Given the complexity of LRA conflict, and the multi-level causes and conditions, attempts to deal with it must be multi-level as well.

Initiatives to Address the LRA problem

In the past 25 years, a wealth of local and external actors, approaches, objectives, and orientations have engaged the LRA conflict, and yet, to eliminate this pestilence and sustain durable peace in the region has been elusive.[8] The notable ones are discussed in the following paragraphs.

There was the 1993/94 peace dialogue led by Betty Bigombe, who was 'Minister of State in Office of the Prime Minister, Resident in Northern Uganda', a post created by President Museveni to address the rebellion in Acholi. This was perhaps the most significant initiative led by the Government of Uganda (GoU) to engage directly with LRA in political negotiations to end the hostilities. Tragically, the dialogue collapsed before a final mutual accord could be established.

In 2000, the GoU enacted the Uganda Amnesty Act, which encouraged rebels to return home without fear of prosecution for acts of violence committed during combat against the government. After 12 years of existence, in May 2012 it was announced that the Act would come to an end, and would only be renewed for the next 12 months (until April 2013). Over the years, more than 26, 300 rebels from 29 different insurgent groups defected and received amnesty.[9] Among these, 49.3 percent were LRA combatants.

In 2002, the GoU launched Operation Iron Fist undertaken by Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF), i.e., the national army. The operation ignited intense and violent attacks in

retaliation by the LRA in northern Uganda several thousand families were dislocated, and the operation in all intents failed to end the hostilities.

In 2003, the GoU requested external mediation when it referred the LRA threat to the International Criminal Court (ICC). Accordingly, in 2005 the ICC issued warrants of arrest of the LRA top leadership, namely, Joseph Kony, Vincent Otti, Okot Odhiambo, Dominic Ongwen and Raska Lukwiya. However, intelligence reports alleged combat deaths of Raska Lukwiya in 2006 and Vincent Otti in 2008.

In 2006, the Government of South Sudan (GoSS) started the Juba Raha peace process mediated by Riek Machar (the discontented former Vice President of South Sudan who recently in December 2012 led a breakaway from GoSS). With support from international community, the UN assigned former President of Mozambique Joaquim Chissano as Special Envoy of the Secretary-General to facilitate the process. In March 2008, the GoU and LRA reached the Final Peace Agreement (FPA); unfortunately, the FPA collapsed a month later in April 2008 when Kony did not accept to come forward to sign the resolution.

In December 2008, in a feat of reprisal for the failed FPA, the Uganda army, (UPDF), DRC Forces, *Armees de la Republique Democratique du Congo*/Armed Forces of Democratic Republic of Congo (FARDC) and GoSS (Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) launched a joint military offensive, Operation Lightning Thunder targeted largely at north eastern DRC in the Garamba Forest where the LRA had set up base. The offensive weakened the LRA, cut off supplies, and scattered the LRA across the region. As insurgents roamed the peripheral margins of the DRC, CAR, South Sudan and northern Uganda pillaging for food and safe haven, they carried out appalling attacks on civilian populations across the borders.

In 2010, President Barak Obama pushed and signed into law, the LRA Disarmament and Northern Uganda Recovery Act of 2009. Essentially, the policy endeavour to support the stabilisation and lasting peace in northern Uganda and areas affected by the LRA through development of a regional strategy to support efforts to successfully protect civilians and eliminate the threat posed by the LRA. It also aimed to authorise funds for humanitarian relief and reconstruction, reconciliation, and transitional justice, and for other purposes.[10] Accordingly in October 2011, the US government deployed a team of around 100 military experts to Uganda, South Sudan, CAR and the DRC to assist respective militaries in the region in defeating the LRA insurgency, encouraging defections from the LRA, and protecting civilians.

Early in 2009 the foreign Ministers of the four affected countries met in Bangui and sought to consult with the AU and highlight how the LRA problem had become a regional threat. When in August 2009 and July 2010 the AU held special sessions of its Assembly in Tripoli and Kampala, respectively, the meetings, among other issues, urged the four affected countries to renew their efforts, including through military action, to neutralise the LRA and its destabilising activities.[11] With support from the international community and friendly governments, the four set out the modalities and established the Regional Cooperation Initiative (RIC).[12] In June 2011 at a Second Regional Ministerial meeting of the affected countries in Addis Ababa, the AU defined the strategic objective of the proposed regional initiative as "the elimination of LRA, leading to the creation of a secure and stable environment in the affected countries".[13] Five months later in November 2011, the AU PSC declared the LRA a terrorist organisation.

In March 2012, the AU launched and authorised a Regional Task Force (RTF) to implement its Regional Cooperation Initiative against the LRA (RCI-LRA). Besides, there are major

ongoing external missions in the region. Although they do not have a mandate to conduct joint operations in the hunt for the LRA, the missions have a Protection of Civilian (PoC) authorisation in relation to the LRA menace in affected countries. In addition, the missions provide basic support with a view to enhancing military and civilian information sharing and coordination to the AU-RTF implementing the RCI-LRA. They include: the United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO), the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), the African Union/ United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), the United Nations Mission in Central Africa Republic and Chad (MINURCAT), the United Nations Regional Office for Central Africa (UNOCA), the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Central Africa Republic (BINUCA), and the United Nations Office for the African Union (UNOAU).

Furthermore, it is noteworthy to draw attention to on-going humanitarian and development work supported by friendly governments and civil society including community relationships. Such efforts have contributed in many ways to leverage conflict prevention and peacebuilding dynamics through reintegration and psychosocial support to LRA victims and survivors. It has also contributed to social capital and community regeneration, and reconstruction of services like state-building, education, water and health amenities, as well as incorporating gender perspectives in the country's poverty reduction programmes.[14]

The Regional Cooperation Initiative against the Lord's Resistance Army

The Regional Cooperation Initiative for the Elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army (RCI-LRA) is a regional mechanism of the AU authorised by its Peace and Security Council (PSC) in November 2011.[15] In 2009, the foreign ministers of the four affected countries met in Bangui to consult with the AU and highlight the fact that the LRA problem had become a regional threat. When in August 2009 and July 2010 the AU held special sessions of its Assembly in Tripoli and Kampala respectively, the meetings, among other issues, urged the four affected countries to renew their efforts, including military action, to neutralise LRA and its havoc.[16] With support from the international community and friendly governments, the four set out modalities and established the RCI.[17] In June 2011, at a second regional ministerial meeting of the affected countries in Addis Ababa, the AU defined the strategic objective of the proposed regional initiative as 'the elimination of LRA, leading to the creation of a secure and stable environment in the affected countries'.[18]

Mandate

In March 2012, the RCI-LRA operation was officially launched at a ceremony in Juba, South Sudan. The specific mandate of the mission is three-fold:

1. To build the operational capacities of the countries affected by LRA violence;
2. To establish an environment conducive to stabilisation of areas freed from LRA mayhem; and
3. To facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance to affected areas.[19]

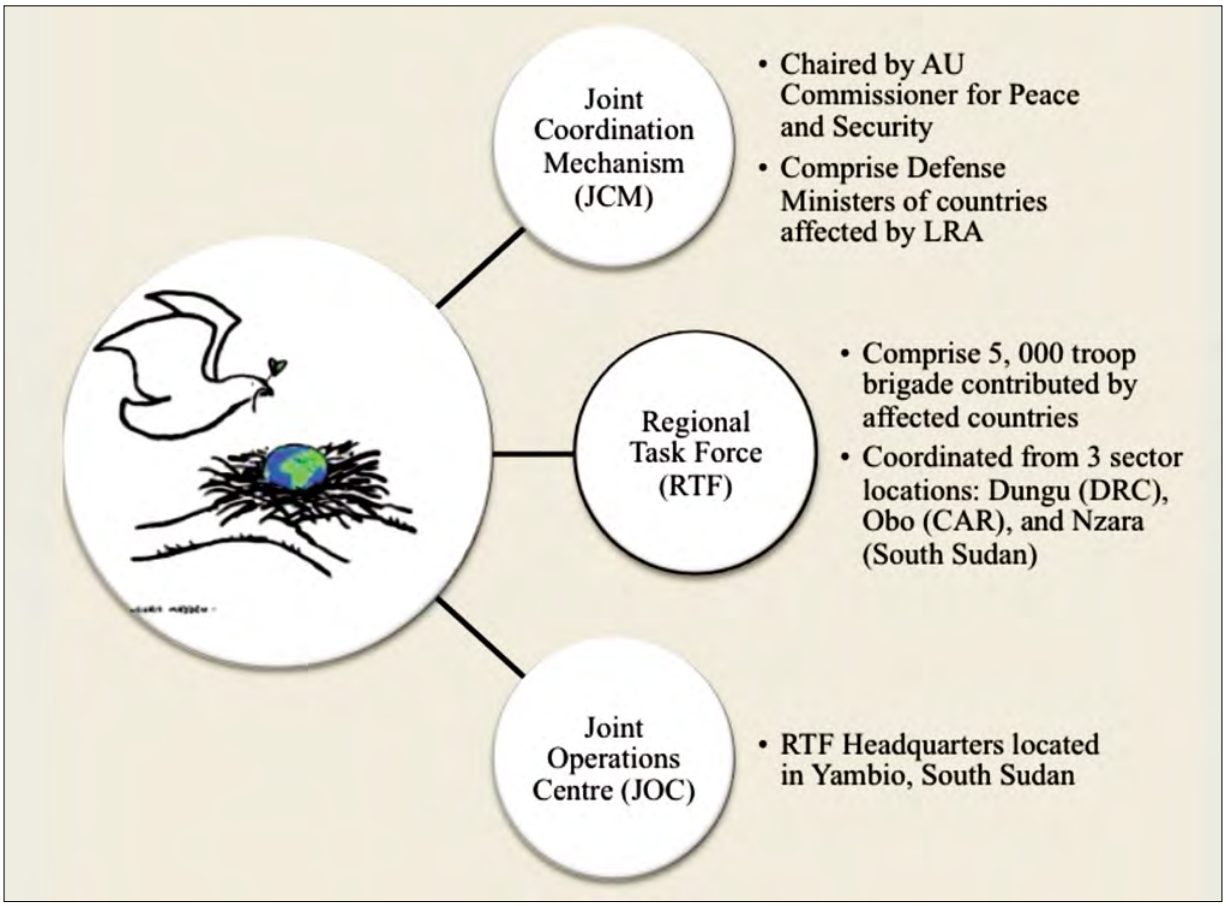
To achieve the mission mandate, communiqué PSC/PR/COMM. (CCXXCIX) of the 299th meeting of the AU Peace and Security Council on the Lord's Resistance Army [PSC/PR/2(CCCXXI)] outlined five strategic objectives for the operation, namely,

(a) implementation of the AU-led RCI-LRA; (b) enhancement of efforts to promote protection of civilians; (c) expansion of current disarmament, demobilisation, repatriation, resettlement and reintegration activities to cover all LRA-affected areas; (d) promotion of coordinated humanitarian and child-protection response; and (e) provision of support to affected member states in peace building, human rights, rule of law and development.[20]

Concept of Operation

The RCI-LRA is a community of operation or peacebuilding system comprising interdependencies that need to be coordinated to ensure coherence with overall strategic framework and mandate of operation. The generic model orientation of RCI-LRA is multifunctional peace enforcement conflict management system supported by three pillars comprised of the Joint Coordination Mechanism (JCM), the Regional Task Force (RTF), and the Joint Operations Centre (JOC) as the headquarters of the RTF. Figure 13 below illustrates this model.

Figure 13: *RCI-LRA Design*



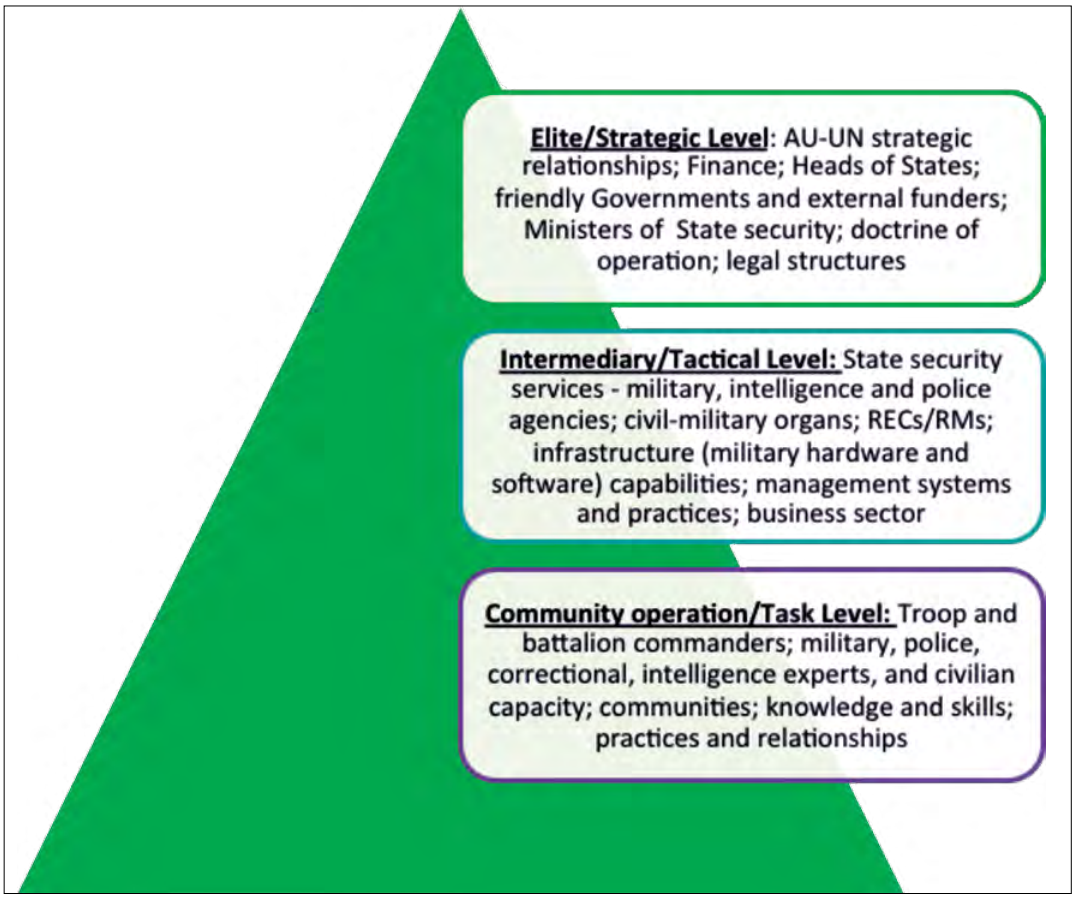
Source: Maphosa, S.B., 2013

The AU special envoy on RCI-LRA Francisco Madeira (in collaboration with the UN emissary on the issue Abou Moussa) is tasked to: (i) provide overall political and strategic coordination of the operation in consultation with affected countries and all AU bilateral and multilateral partners; and (ii) assist in mobilising resources for victims of LRA violence, rebuilding of shattered communities and rehabilitation of affected areas.[21]

Operation Planning

Working towards achieving the mission mandate is based on the combination of all the strengths and resources available within RCI-LRA as a community of operation that can reduce the level of LRA risk and effects. Thus operational capacity includes structural and non-structural resources such as physical means, institutional abilities, societal infrastructure, and human capital, which included of troops, leadership and management of the mission. Fundamentally, all elements of operation capacity in Figure 14 are interdependent in that they cannot individually achieve the goal of the mission. In other words, the effectiveness of the mission to achieve its intended mandate cannot be left to the function of UN and/or AU in terms of a zero-sum approach. LRA cannot be "eliminated", like being vaporised, by military strategy to eradicate direct violence. More needs to be engaged to address structural and non-structural sources of violence including poverty and lack of economic opportunities, and more importantly, valuing local resilience. In the face of complex humanitarian tragedy, there are alternative military operations other than war that need to engage contemporary operations. For instance, the elimination of Osama Bin Laden was not a US military operation alone, but extensively involved local societal infrastructure. The affected populations in Central Africa are not only victims but wield immense potential to contribute in driving positive peace into their communities and the region. The UN and/or AU will not be the "saviour" to the region.

Figure 14: *The domains of RCI-LRA operation*



Source: *Maphosa, S.B. 2013*

The tactical level actors support elite/strategic actors by translating their vision into specific attainable plans relevant to mission mandate; which are tasks at community operational level.

Successes

The regional initiative to eliminate Joseph Kony and LRA is a comprehensive plan that seeks to help countries affected by LRA violence and the region to mitigate and end the threat posed to civilians and regional stability. Despite mixed results from the region over the last three years, significant progress continues to be made in four key areas of implementation, namely: (1) improved UN-AU relations and consultations on the issue including consultations with affected countries and neighbouring regions; (2) mobilising partners and resources; (3) establishing components of RCI-LRA; and, (4) consultations of JCM. The implementation process has unfolded in ways that are consistent with focussed strategic framework goals of the operation to strengthen: (a) actions for increased protection of civilians; (b) the apprehension of Kony and senior commanders; (c) the promotion of defections and support of disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration of LRA units; (d) the provision of continued humanitarian relief to affected communities.

The Pillars

The AU and UN envoys have on numerous occasions directed Ministerial meetings of the JCM under the chairmanship of the Commissioner for Peace and Security, and in the presence of Defence Ministers and Chiefs of Staff of affected Member States. The many meetings are crucial to engender a common understanding and interpretation of the mission, including focussing coherence to leverage the different elements of the peacebuilding system.[22]

To date, key pillars of RCI-LRA have been established, namely: the JCM, JOC, and, RTF. The JOC component is made up of the RTF headquarters and is located in Yambio, South Sudan. Its function is to coordinate the operations of three sector command centres located in Obo (CAR), Dungu (DRC), and Nzara (South Sudan), and buttress intelligence gathering and sharing between affected communities. Currently, the RTF headquarters is operational, with a deployment of 30 elements led by Col. Dick Prit Olum (UPDF) and Col. Gabriel Ayor Akouk (Sudan People's Liberation Army or SPLA) as Deputy Commander.[23] As well, the secretariat of JCM was established in Bangui, CAR; and, headed by Lt. Col. Benjamin Bongoma (FARDC) and Lt. Col. Adolf Dobgrue Balfour (FACA) as deputy commander. The JCM is supported by the AU Liaison Office in Bangui (AULOB).

Three RTF command centres in Obo, Nzara and Dungu are now established, although not to full operational capacity. In a demonstration of political will and to mark important milestone towards implementation of the operation, affected Member States have progressively transferred 67 per cent of the total national contingent of 5 000 troops to the RTF command. The distribution of these have been as follows: 350 Forces Armees Centrafricaines (FACA) Military Forces of the Central African Republic (CAR) troops, 2 000 Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF) troops and 500 Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) South Sudan troops (as of September 2012), plus 500 DRC Forces Armees de la Republique Democratique du Congo/Armed Forces of Democratic Republic of Congo (FARDC) light-infantry battalion (as of February 2013), increasing the total strength to 3 350 elements. These are current figures on the ground, which may be added to and changed at any time.[24]

Mobilising Partners and Resources

There has been significant synergy of political will and consultation between and within the AU and key regional actors in executing the RCI-LRA, including:

a. The UN system encourages the United Nations Regional Office for Central Africa (UNOCA), in coordination with the United Nations Office to the African Union (UNOAU), to engage with AU and Member States in affected countries. Through this continued engagement, the UN mobilises huge resources focussed on providing international humanitarian, development and peacebuilding assistance in LRA-affected areas. The efforts enhance cross-border mechanisms to improve the protection of civilians, early-warning capacity, humanitarian access and response. For instance, the UN child protection actors including United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF), MONUSCO, BINUCA and UNMISS have assisted hundreds of children who escaped from the LRA. They work with non-governmental actors to repatriate and reunify them with their families. Further, the UN system and its partners including the World Bank (WB), World Health Organisation (WHO), MONUSCO, UNMISS, and BINUCA provide appropriate reintegration support for those returning from displacement, abductees and ex-combatants. Working with local communities and civil society groups, they encourage defections of combatants and disarm them, facilitate their repatriation, and provide them with reintegration assistance into their home communities. Further, the partners, including the World Food Programme (WFP) have been bringing life-saving food to refugees and vulnerable groups. These are significant positive impacts that have leveraged community regeneration efforts and strengthened the overall capacity of affected countries to extend their authority throughout their respective regions.

b. Further, in support of regional efforts, the United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO), UN Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS), United Nations Integrated Stabilisation Mission in Central Africa Republic, United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in CAR (BINUCA), UNOCA, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and UNOAU – all support the RTF efforts to combat LRA. As well, the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) was mandated to cooperate and share information related to the regional threat of LRA and to coordinate its operations with the RTF including non-governmental organisations involved in engaging the threat of LRA.

c. MONUSCO set up a Joint Information and Operations Centre (JIOC) in Dungu, DRC, to monitor and verify LRA attacks and harmonise operations with neighbouring UN presence in CAR and South Sudan.[25] In addition, MONUSCO undertakes public peace education advocacy by distributing leaflets and airing a regional FM radio programme in local languages of affected communities on "*Coming home!*", to sensitise community understanding of the LRA as well as to encourage LRA militias to defect and join rehabilitation centres. As a result of these accomplishments, MONUSCO has recovered and repatriated more than 130 LRA elements to CAR, South Sudan and Uganda.[26]

d. Since 2010, the EU has provided financial support to several AU peace and security determinations including the operationalisation of RCI-LRA. The EU supported the AU to set up the RTF headquarters in Yambio and provided resources like cars, office furniture and computers to lead in the efforts to eliminate the LRA threat.

e. The U.S.'s comprehensive, multi-year strategy has been very vital in providing resources to eliminate the LRA threat. The U.S. continues to direct continuing high level consultations with affected Member States, the UN Security Council and the AU on the importance of military efforts to eliminate the LRA. It has provided significant monetary support for those efforts, including over US$40 million since 2008 in critical logistical support, equipment and training to

regional militaries.[27] The Lord's Resistance Army Disarmament and Northern Uganda Recovery Act of 2009, and the Public Law 111 172, was a milestone in support of international efforts to mitigate the LRA violence. The subsequent dispatch of 100 military advisors to the region at an estimated cost of US$ 4 - 5 million per month,[28] provides invaluable support to national armies of the affected countries by strengthening intelligence gathering and sharing to enhance coordination, coherence and overall effectiveness of operations. In addition, the U.S. government provides the largest humanitarian support to affected populations, with more than US$18 million provided in 2011 to support food security, health and livelihood initiatives.[29]

Increased Civilian Protection

Over the last three years, the national military forces working as part of the AU-RTF and affected communities have significantly reduced the LRA capacity to attack and cause destruction. According to the UN Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), between 2010 and 2013, there was a 50 percent decrease in the number of people abducted by LRA and 75 percent decrease in the number of people killed by LRA. Also, the number of people displaced by the LRA threat decreased by over 25 percent.[30] Further, to promote protection of civilians, the RCI-LRA through its partners has funded communication networks, including high-frequency radios and cell phone towers to enhance community-based protection in CAR and DRC. Under USAID-funded public private partnership with Vodacom Congo, cell phone towers are now operational in the LRA affected areas of north eastern Ituri and Gbadolite provinces of DRC. The USAID-funded '*Secure, Empowered, Connected Communities Program*' (SECCP) in the LRA areas of CAR was introduced with community mapping, media training, and community radio activities.[31]

Enhanced Regional Efforts to Apprehend LRA key Commanders

Over the past five years, efforts to address the LRA problem have grown steadily. Expanded regional efforts include coordination, information and intelligence sharing, and, enhancing regional military capacities, and civil-military relations. Working with regional forces, local and international partners including non-governmental organisations in the region, the RCI-LRA mission has significantly expanded efforts to mitigate the LRA threats. As a result, over the period, the number of defections from LRA increased, reportedly including key commanders such as Dominic Ongwen, the capture of Charles Okello, and death of Okot Odhiambo.[32] Notably, in December of 2013 in a single defection, more than 26 members and fighters deserted the LRA camp in CAR leading to rescue of several women and children.[33]

Humanitarian Corridors

The AU-RCI-LRA through its partners continues to consolidate buffer zones that enable flow of food assistance and food security, humanitarian protection, health and livelihoods initiatives for internally displaced persons, refugees, host community members, and other populations affected by the LRA. MONUSCO peacekeepers play a key role in facilitating the delivery of assistance and escorts for humanitarian actors.

Challenges

There are significant challenges in mitigating the LRA and also in protecting local populations in Central Africa region. The challenges comprise complex structural, direct, and cultural sources of violence, which and feed off each other. Historically, the region has not known genuine peace, but has rather been in a state of "permanent emergency". It is littered with legacies of governance deficit and underdevelopment. Economic opportunities for the

youthful populations are largely absent, which makes the lure of spoils from insurgency more lucrative and a motivating factor for youths to join the LRA and other related militias. Extant political and security situation remains fragile in the region. Community violence continues to undermine efforts to curtail the LRA activities and stabilise the area. According to the UN Secretary-General's report, community violence in the region has increased since 2013, creating a humanitarian crisis.[34] The violence in South Sudan continues to jeopardise the AU RCI-LRA initiatives, and, recently exerted pressures on the Governments of Uganda and South Sudan to withdraw troops from AU's regional intervention forces. Further, many 'loose' militia groups including Ambororo from north Sudan and ex-Seleka rebels of CAR have alliances with LRA. On many occasions, armed groups of Ambororo sometimes in military uniform and on horses and camels (suggesting they may be from Janjawid militia in Darfur) have been spotted moving with heavy loads in Yambio towards Ibba Counties. A report in the Sudan Tribune of 10 February 2009, under the headline "Ambororo-LRA Alliance in Western Equatoria", indicates that authorities suspected them to be providing logistic supplies that reinforce the LRA with ammunition and guns. However, the question of whom or which people are behind this remain unanswered?[35]

In particular, the porous borders of the sub-region give numerous insurgent groups the opportunity to roam freely and elude national government armies and the RCI-LRA efforts. As a result, Joseph Kony and senior LRA chiefs are reportedly criss-crossing borders in the region and live large in the Sudanese-controlled areas of Kafia-Kingi enclave in southern Darfur. Another source of challenges for the RCI-LRA stems from logistics infrastructural deficit faced by affected countries. These problems continue to allow LRA's recruitment and use of children in armed conflict, killing and maiming, rape, sexual slavery and other sexual violence, and abductions.[36] In addition, the armies of the region are known to have poor human rights records and are feared by people they should be protecting.

Lessons Learned

There is no single project or actor that can do everything in peacekeeping operations. Though a military response seems a viable option, this approach has over the last 25 years failed to harvest peacebuilding writ-large dividends. Focussing exclusively on military solutions to the LRA violence only deals with a part of the problem. Since the LRA is known to retaliate on 'soft targets' (civilians, particularly children and women) when under pressure, the protection of civilians in the affected areas against attacks, abductions, and looting must be the primary goal of the AU-led RCI-LRA. There is need for strong coordination, coherence, and information-sharing between the AU-RTF and other actors in the region in the context of protection of civilians as appropriate. It is vital that different actors engaging LRA violence adopt standard operating procedures in order to better anticipate imminent LRA risks of attack and also eliminate competition for space and resources. Further, the AU needs to ensure that troops deployed under the RTF are trained adequately in mass atrocity prevention and International Humanitarian Law (IHL). This is important to ensure that all military actions against the LRA are conducted in compliance with human rights and refugee protocols. Since the LRA include child soldiers, it is fundamental that the RCI-LRA deploy child protection personnel within the AU-RTF.

Way Forward

According to the former UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, 'making peace ultimately requires the firm commitment and extraordinary courage, on the part of all sides, to ensure a permanent end to violence, [requiring] the determination and imagination of all parties to seek solutions, and build trust between communities who have been at

loggerheads for decades.'[37] Therefore, preventing violence and consolidating regional security requires that many people work at many levels (social, political, and economic), in many different ways.[38] Realistic grievances about governance, leadership and structural violence generating social, economic, and political cleavages need to be addressed comprehensively to nurture inclusive spaces. Maphosa asserts that permeating a 'whole-of-society' dimension into the AU RCI-LRA has great potential for creativity that can facilitate durable peacebuilding. A 'whole-of-society' dimension embrace vertical and horizontal efforts of RCI-LRA that will not only leverage the absence of direct violence (negative peace), but also address deep-rooted structures, attitudes and transactional drivers of violence and enablers of social resilience (positive peace).[39]

Conclusion

While the principal cause of the violence and civilian insecurity in Central Africa is the presence of the LRA; however, the LRA is not the only threat, there are numerous other 'loose' militia bands, and, sources of governance and structural violence. A comprehensive strategy needs to incorporate all the dimensions of the conflict, including the incapacity of the states to fill the security vacuum and the political tensions between the countries in the region, which fuel insecurity and resentment, and create the conditions for LRA presence. Given that there is no silver bullet, the AU-led RCI-LRA is thus not the seminal peace operation to eliminate the LRA, but rather the beginning of a much longer and multi-faceted process of intervention and regeneration of LRA-affected areas to consolidate positive peace. Further, durable peace operations demands reflective and multidimensional 'whole-of-society' approaches underpinned by a theory of practice that aims to enable multiplier effects for peacebuilding "writ-large".

(Endnotes)

1 Communiqué PSC/PR/COMM. (CCXXCIX) of the 299th meeting of the AU Peace and Security Council on 22 November 2011, on the Lord's Resistance Army [PSC/PR/2(CCCXXI)].

2 See Maphosa, S.B., 2012. Democratic progress and regress: How can elections in Africa nurture human security and better livelihoods? *AISA Policy Brief* 73, March 2012, 1–10, in which Maphosa asserts and demonstrates how armed conflict in Africa poses key challenges to human security and development.

3 Index of state weakness is a ranking of 141 countries of the developing region according to their relative performance in four critical areas, viz. economic, political, security, and social welfare. Weak states are thus defined as "countries that lack the essential capacity and/or will to fulfil four sets of critical government responsibilities – fostering an environment conducive to sustainable and equitable economic growth; establishing and maintaining legitimate, transparent, and accountable political institutions; securing their populations from violent conflict and controlling their territory; and meeting the basic human needs of their population" – see Rice, S.E., and Patrick, S., 2008. Index of state weakness in the developing world. Washington DC: The Brookings Institution, 3.

4 See Amnesty International, 2008. Left to their own devices: The continued suffering of victims of the conflict in northern Uganda and the need for reparations. UK: Amnesty International; IRIN, 2008. Picking up the pieces. UNOCHA; Mwaura, C., 2005. Kenya and Uganda pastoral conflict case study. Human Development Report Office occasional paper, UNDP.

5 Ibid, 22.

6 Sudan Tribune, 2010. 18 people killed in clashes between south Sudan army and Misseriya. http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article34032 [Accessed 6 February 2010]; Sudan Tribune, 2009b. Uganda rebels kill 2; abduct 2 in Sudan's Western Equatoria.

http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article32840 [Accessed 17 November 2009]; Sudan Tribune, 2009c. 56 LRA surrender to S. Sudan army, says SPLA spokesman. http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article33118 [Accessed 15 November 2009].

7 Ibid.

8 Maphosa, S.B., 2013. Looking "beyond" and "below" the state: Understanding the role of regional initiatives in complex peace support operations, *Africa Insight*, Vol. 42 No. 2, 104-123.

9 These figures are from Amnesty Commission. See also Kasper Agger, 2012. The end of amnesty in Uganda: Implications for LRA defections, Enough Project, 2.

10 See proceedings of the 111th Congress of the United States of America, 2nd Session on the LRA Disarmament and Northern Uganda Recovery Act of 2009 held in Washington on Tuesday 5th January 2010, US Government Information: GOP S.1067, S.1067-1.

11 See letter dated 25th June 2012 from the Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon addressed to the President of the Security Council S/2012/481 (12-38842), 6.

12 The strategy was developed and implemented by the AU (including the four affected countries) with the UN and friendly governments, in particular the US government. The US had taken the initiative by (a) downgrading the LRA as a terrorist rebellion, and (b) enacting the LRA Disarmament and Northern Uganda Recovery Act of 2009.

13 Refer to the AU Regional Cooperation Initiative against the LRA www.au.org. See also letter dated 25th June 2012 from the Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon addressed to the President of the Security Council S/2012/481 (12-38842), 6.

14 Other friendly governments include USA, UK, Germany, Japan, Northern Ireland, Italy, Denmark, EU and World Bank; civil society include Red Cross, Oxfam, Enough Project, Save the Children, Invisible Children; and community-based initiatives such as the ARLIPI of northern Uganda, the Arrow Boys of Yambio in South Sudan.

15 Communiqué PSC/PR/COMM. (CCXXCIX) of the 299th meeting of the AU Peace and Security Council on 22 November 2011, on the Lord's Resistance Army [PSC/PR/2(CCCXXI)].

16 See letter dated 25 June 2012 from the Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon addressed to the President of the Security Council S/2012/481 (12-38842), 6; Maphosa, S.B., 2013.

17 The strategy was developed and implemented by the AU (including the four affected countries) with the UN and friendly governments, in particular the US government. The US had taken the initiative by (a) downgrading the LRA as a terrorist rebellion, and (b) enacting the LRA Disarmament and Northern Uganda Recovery Act of 2009.

18 Refer to the AU Regional Cooperation Initiative against the LRA. Available at: http://www.au.org [Accessed 18 July 2013]; See also letter dated 25 June 2012 from the Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon addressed to the President of the Security Council , op. cit., 6.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 See Communique: The African Union appoints a special envoy on the Lord's Resistance Army. Issue 23 November 2011. Available at: http://www.au.org; See also Communique PSC/MIN/(CCCXXI) of the 321st meeting of the Peace and Security Council in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 22 May 2012.

22 See more at: http://www.peaceau.org/en/article/the-african-union-led-regional-cooperation-initiative-for-the-elimination-of-the-lord-s-resistance-army-enters-its-operational-phase#sthash.seb6BTTn.dpuf [Accessed 6 October 2014].

23 According to interviews with AU-RTF deputy commander, RTF Headquarters in Yambio, Col. Gabriel Ayor Akouk (SPLA), in Juba, South Sudan, 10 to 25 November 2012, there are 30 assets at the RTF headquarters in Yambio, comprising: 6 officers from CAR, 7 from DRC, 9 from South Sudan and 8 from Uganda. In addition, the RTF is resourced by funding from the EU for three cars, office space and computers, [Interview conducted by author in September 2012].

24 Ibid; see also the AU press release: African Union welcomes progress made towards eliminating the Lord's Resistance Army dated 19 September 2012, Addis Ababa. Also see AU press release, Democratic Republic of Congo hands over 500-strong contingent to the African Union-led Task Force for the elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army, 13 February 2013.

25 Interview with AU-RTF deputy commander, RTF Headquarters in Yambio, Col. Gabriel Ayor Akouk (SPLA), in Juba, South Sudan, 10 to 25 November 2012; Interview with MONUSCO, UPDF and US advisors in Yambio and Nzara, South Sudan, 10 to 25 November 2012. Also see Factsheet on what MONUSCO is doing to address LRA, Available at: http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/monusco [Accessed 7 April 2013].

26 Ibid.

27 U.S. Government Fact Sheet, 2014. U.S. support to regional efforts to counter the Lord's Resistance Army. Washington, DC, March 24, 2014

28 See Arieff, A., and Ploch, L., 2012. The Lord's Resistance Army: The US response. Congressional Research Services (CRS). Available at: http://www.fas.org./sgp/crs/row/R42094.pdf [Accessed 14 September 2014].

29 Ibid.

30 See UN Security Council Meetings Coverage, 2014. Violence in Central Africa threatening efforts to eliminate Lord's Resistance Army, Security Council Notes. Security Council 7171st Meeting, SC/11390, 12 May 2014. See also the Report of the Secretary-General on the activities of the United Nations Regional Office for Central Africa and on the Lord's Resistance Army affected areas, Doc. S/2014/319 and Presidential Statement S/PRST/2014/8.

31 U.S. Government Fact Sheet, 2014.

32 While these efforts are lauded there is a great need for verification of the real identities of claimed eliminations of LRA top commanders.

33 U.S. Government Fact Sheet, 2014.

34 See UN Security Council Meetings Coverage, 2014. Violence in Central Africa threatening efforts to eliminate Lord's Resistance Army, Security Council Notes. Security Council 7171st Meeting, SC/11390, 12 May 2014. See also the Report of the Secretary-General on the activities of the United Nations Regional Office for Central Africa and on the Lord's Resistance Army affected areas, Doc. S/2014/319 and Presidential Statement S/PRST/2014/8.

35 See Sudan Tribune, "Ambororo-LRA Alliance in Western Equatoria", 10 February 2009 http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article30133 [Accessed 13 March 2015].

36 Ibid.

37 Address by former UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, in October 2011 to the Basque Summit in Spain, organised by Conciliation Resources.

38 See also assertion by Chigas, D., and Woodrow, P., 2007. Manual for training and advising peacebuilding programmes: Reflecting on Peace Practice project. Cambridge, MA: CDA Collaborative Learning Projects.

39 The pursuit of building whole and peaceful communities increasingly embraces multidimensional and multifunctional initiatives that address and transform structures (i.e., basic systems and institutions), attitudes (i.e., widely-held attitudes, beliefs and behaviours) and transactional dynamics (i.e., redefining how key actors and drivers in a conflict interact). See Maphosa, S.B., 2013.

Conflict Overviews: The Wider Horn of Africa Conflicts and The Comoros

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15 African Military Intervention in the Somalia Conflict: From IGASOM (2005-6) to AMISOM (2007-)

Andrews Atta-Asamoah, PhD

Abstract

This chapter discusses the aborted IGAD deployment to Somalia (IGASOM) and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMSIOM) from the perspective of lessons for African military interventions. It argues that despite enormous challenges, AMISOM has proved useful in establishing the requisite humanitarian and political corridor through which international engagement in the country has been constructively defined. The intervention, however, ought to find means to address a number of challenges including conduct and discipline issues and the overall end-state of its mandate in order to consolidate its impact in Somalia.

Introduction

Until the arrival of the first batch of Ugandan troops in Mogadishu to mark the onset of the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) in February 2007, the 1995 withdrawal of the Un Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) was the last internationally approved military intervention in the country. Prior to the deployment of AMISOM, Somalia had remained a perceptibly treacherous theatre where clan-based factionalism had led to state collapse following the overthrow of the country's last president, Mohammad Said Barre, in 1991. The perception of threat associated with the dangerous nature of deploying into Somalia had been entrenched principally by the circumstances that surrounded the withdrawal of UNOSOM II. As a dangerous theatre, most states avoided the risk of any military intervention in Somalia. The country's 'no-go' status and international neglect provided the conducive atmosphere within which various armed clan groups wrestled territories from each other and for nearly two decades, opposed the outcomes of the more than a dozen attempts to negotiate peace in various African capitals.

Despite numerous cycles of inter-clan fighting after the withdrawal of foreign troops, no group managed to take full control of the entire country till 2000. The turn of the century however, saw the Islamic Courts' Union (ICU) take over Mogadishu from the Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism (ARPCT) and a subsequent spread of their influence across the central and southern parts of Somalia. In response to their rising influence and expressed threat to Ethiopia,[1] the latter intervened militarily in support of the Transitional Federation Government (TFG) in June 2006 and dislodged the ICU from Mogadishu and areas under their influence by December of the same year. However, international and local pressure for Ethiopia to withdraw from Somalia was much. Ethiopia succumbed to this mounting international pressure (against their presence in Somalia) and withdrew in January 2006. The first batch of AMISOM troops arrived in Mogadishu the next month (February 2007), and has since become indispensable in the course of

the country's recent political and security history. Prior to AMISOM, attempts to deploy a regional force through the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) between 2005 and 2006 did not materialise.

Despite important experiences from African interventions in other theatres across the continent, particularly Burundi, Sudan and Comoros, the complexity surrounding the context and dynamic nature of the conflict within which the Somalia mission has operated have defined the intervention as one in a theatre where African resolve and pragmatism have been demonstrated, on the one hand, and has been vigorously tested, on the other.

This chapter discusses both the aborted IGAD deployment and AMSIOM's intervention in Somalia with the aim of outlining their underpinnings, operational dynamics, challenges encountered and overall lessons for African military interventions. The chapter is organised into five main sections. Section one provides an overview of the Somali conflict as a background for contextualising the discussions. This is followed by section two, which draws on this background to identify the political, security and regional factors that necessitated the intervention. The aborted IGAD Peace Support Mission to Somalia (IGASOM) and AMISOM deployments are discussed in the two subsequent sections. Section five then analyses the underlying reasons for AMISOM's successes, before teasing out lessons learned and challenges encountered in the remaining sections.

Overview of the Somali conflict

By 1990, the Somali state was already at a tipping point, finding itself at the confluence of the intersection between stressful external and internal factors. Apart from the divisive nature of the state that had been inherited at independence, the country had become a Cold War orphan by losing both military and financial support from Cold War superpowers. The Siad Barre regime was unable to sustain its repressive military infrastructure and clientele politics in the aftermath of the damaging 1977-1978 war with Ethiopia, which had generated an estimated 5 million refugees. Many Somalis blamed the devastating effects of the war on Somalia on Siad Barre's regime. The regime was thus in the midst of dwindling popularity in many parts of the country. Internally, political dynamics and cohesion was also characterised by clan-based factionalism and political patronage that had deepened (inter-clan) fault-lines and become the basis for (clan-based) movements opposed to the repressive Barre regime.

The complex interplay of the internal and external factors led to the outbreak of civil war in which the Barre regime was overthrown in January 1991. After overthrowing the government, the Hawiye-dominated United Somali Congress (USC) failed to hold the country together. The interim government led by USC leader Ali Mahdi was not only widely opposed, but also had limited control of even the capital, Mogadishu. The USC subsequently splintered into factions as the head of the military wing, Mohammed Aideed, broke away to strongly oppose the USC government. The dispute resulting from the opposition to the USC government sparked off violent contestations between the Abgal and Habr Gedir Hawiye sub-clans and marked the onset of complete breakdown of law and order and the eventual collapse of the Somali state. Clan-based factionalism continued to worsen as fighting intensified for the control of territories. Between 1991 and 1992, an estimated 25,000 lives were lost in addition to the internal displacement of about two million people and 1.5 million refugees. The situation was worse in the agro-pastoral communities. Apart from being poorly armed, the contest for territory saw several waves of invasions in those communities.

In response to the worsening crisis in the immediate post-Barre era, which was compounded by famine, the UN sent a team of top officials to help with political reconciliation and humanitarian efforts in December 1991. This was followed by the deployment of UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) on 24 April 1992, with the mandate to monitor ceasefire between Ali Mahdi and Mohamed Aideed forces and to ensure safe delivery of humanitarian aid to victims in Mogadishu. Following the apparent incapacity of UNOSOM, a 37,000 Unified Task Force (UNITAF), a US-led UN-mandated force was deployed under the code-name "Operation Restore Hope" in December 1992 thereby strengthening the UN mission, but changing its form into UNOSOM II. Following the killing of 25 Pakistani peacekeepers in June 1993 and the killing of 18 American rangers in October 1993, the mission was withdrawn in March 1995. From then till the onset of the 2000 Djibouti process, Somalia became characterised by intense inter-clan fighting, but no single group was able to take control of the country.

In 2000, however, the Djibouti process started with the help of IGAD and eventually led to the formation of the Transitional National Government (TNG) mandated for three years. Following the inability of the TNG to establish adequate security and functional state institutions in the midst of rigid opposition from the Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC), a follow-up peace and reconciliation conference under the auspices of the Government of Kenya and IGAD started in 2002 and continued up to 2004. Its main aim was to reconcile the remaining factions. Known as the Eldoret-Mbagathi peace process, the key highlights of the process were the creation of the Transitional Federal Institutions (TFIs) and the election of Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed as transitional president. These structures formed the basis for a transitional political process and the subsequent African military intervention through the deployment of AMISOM, as discussed in the subsequent sections.

Why was African intervention necessary?

From the withdrawal of international presence in 1995 to the onset of the Djibouti peace process in 2000, engagement in Somalia was limited. This was basically because of perceptions that the crisis had become too dangerous for international presence, particularly Western intervention. Deriving from the *"black hawk down" incident* and its subsequent wide publicity, Somalia became a *'no-go'* theatre for international peacekeeping operations. In addition, there were vocal arguments in international policy circles that there was no peace to keep in that country. The traditional variables that drive the deployment of peacekeeping troops were lacking, therefore, the UN's peacekeeping mechanism was rendered unable to deploy to pursue peace in Somalia, unless under a chapter VII mandate, which would depend largely on international political consensus. Further, the June and October 1993 experiences of the killing of Pakistani and American peacekeepers had eroded any appetite for international intervention by capable Western countries and their support for such a deployment. Many argue that this disengagement by the international community constituted a pragmatic abrogation of responsibility in the maintenance of international peace and security in the country thereby creating a void in the overall response to the Somali crisis, which ultimately needed to be filled by African forces.

The cost of the continued neglect of Somalia also continued to rise, not only in terms of the increasing complex nature of the conflict, but particularly because of the threat posed by the emergence of Al-Qaeda-backed Somali armed groups such as the Al Ittihad Al Islamiya (AIAI). Regionally, the ICU raised red flags about the threat that an "ungoverned" Somalia posed to Ethiopia if it became a conducive base for radical elements. The reality of this surfaced following the rise of Al-Qaeda's footprints in the Horn of Africa in the late

1990s, culminating in the 1998 coordinated bombings of the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salam. The access that Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, one of the masterminds of the bombings, had to Somalia made it difficult for security agencies to track him down because of the cover that an "ungoverned" Somalia provided.

The disengagement in Somalia also gave free reign to the armed groups operating in the country. Apart from the conducive nature of such a situation, it was easier for armed groups, including the ICU, to oppose the outcome of political processes meant to restore law and order in the country. This implied that without any efforts to militarily change the course of events in the country, there was no assurance that rotating talks in various African capitals held the key to peace in Somalia.

There was also the rise of the notion of "African solutions to African problems", which had evolved alongside the transformation of the OAU into the AU in 2002, and the adoption of the principle of non-indifference as one of the underpinning variables for the pursuit of African peace and security. The paradigm shift in Africa's framework for addressing security challenges created by the departure from the non-interference principle to non-indifference under the AU epitomised a consciousness in taking greater responsibility for the continent's security needs, through pragmatic interventionism. This consciousness culminated in the formulation of legal and institutional frameworks for African peace and security challenges, including the APSA. By 2004, Africa's resolve to solve its problems was rife and had gathered significant momentum within the context of the wave of support and high expectations that greeted the transformation of the AU and the professed spirit of African brotherhood. These were the compelling contexts within which African intervention in Somalia became necessary and ended up on the agenda of both IGAD and the AU.

The IGASOM Fiasco

Despite the election of Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed as president of the TFG in October 2004, Mogadishu was still under the control of the ICU. Because of this, the newly established Transitional Federal Institutions were holed up in Kenya and could not relocate to Somalia. In an address to the Peace and Security Council of the AU (PSC) on 25 October 2004, President Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed requested the AU to deploy a 15,000-20,000 size peacekeeping force composed of friendly countries to support his government till it was able to stand on its feet.[2]

In response, the PSC directed the AU Commission to study the proposal and make appropriate recommendations for its consideration. The PSC also requested the Commission to speed up preparations for the deployment of an AU Military Observer Mission to Somalia. This directive marked the formal onset of deliberations and processes within the AU that led to the eventual deployment of AMISOM. Prior to this, however, the AU had remained engaged in Somalia by deploying two reconnaissance missions to the country in July/August 2003 and August 2004, at the request of the IGAD Technical Committee running the Eldoret-Mbagathi process. The missions had aimed at preparing the ground for the deployment of an AU Military Observer Mission.[3] However, the first mission advised against the deployment of the Military Observers. The second mission, on the other hand, thought that the Military Observers could be deployed on the basis of improved security situation on the ground. The planned deployment of the AU Military Observers was to monitor the cessation of hostilities agreed to, in the October 2002 Eldoret process. Apart from signifying the contribution of the AU to the pursuit of peace in Somalia, it was also demonstrative of the continental commitment to the IGAD-led peace process, at the time.

In line with the PSC's directive to the Commission to make appropriate recommendations on the Somali president's request, the Commission organised two meetings of Security and Military Experts in November and December 2004 in Nairobi and Addis Ababa, respectively. The meetings emphasised the need for the AU to expedite action for the deployment of the planned Military Observer Mission in Somalia for the purposes of monitoring, verification, disarmament and demobilisation. On the recommendation of the two high profile meetings, the 22nd meeting of the PSC held on 5 January 2005 accepted in principle to deploy an African Mission in Somalia (AMISOM)[4] to be preceded by the establishment of an advance mission in Nairobi.

Whilst meeting in Abuja on the side-lines of the 4th Ordinary Session of the AU Assembly on 30 and 31 January 2005, five members of IGAD (Ethiopia, Djibouti, Kenya, Sudan and Uganda) pledged their commitment to provide troops and/or equipment for a mission in Somalia. In line with the principle of subsidiarity between the AU and the RECs/RMs) in the pursuit of peace and security, and at the request of the AU Assembly, the PSC authorised IGAD on 7 February 2005 to deploy an African peace support mission to Somalia for nine months. The mission's primary aim was to help protect the TFIs and contribute to improvement in the security situation in preparation for the eventual deployment of an AU peace support mission. An AU-IGAD reconnaissance mission was subsequently deployed into Somalia from 14-26 February 2005.[5] IGAD Chief of Defence Staff drafted plans for the deployment of the IGAD mission (IGASOM) into Somalia, at a meeting in Kampala held on 7-14 March 2005. By May 2005, a more coherent strategy for the deployment had been developed and submitted for consideration by the IGAD Council of Ministers, who adopted it on 18 March 2005. However, the mission could not be deployed in 2005 even though the AU finally approved it in September 2005 to comprise 8,000 troops from Uganda and Sudan.

Regional commitment to the deployment persisted and culminated in a March 2006 reiteration of the need to deploy IGASOM, by the 11th IGAD Summit of Heads of State and Government which took place in Nairobi.[6] In that meeting, IGAD members reiterated their commitment to intervene in Somalia and welcomed a March 2006 UNSC Presidential Statement about IGAD's possible deployment of the mission "to be followed by an AU mission on the basis of a mission plan consistent with the National Security and Stabilisation Plan (NSSP)."

After subsequent consultations in Somalia, regionally and at the AU, the mission plan was revised by the IGAD Chief of Defence Staff at the request of the Council of Ministers, in accordance with the nature of situations on the ground at the time, in August 2006. The AU's Military Staff Committee (MSC) reviewed the plan on 28 August 2006 after it was presented by the then Kenya's Ambassador to the AU, Mr Francis Espilla, on behalf of IGAD on 25 August 2006. The MSC commended the political will of IGAD members, and their commitment to improving security in Somalia, as well as the strides made in the operationalisation of the deployment plan at the strategic and operational levels. However, the committee also pinpointed four main weaknesses of the IGAD's planned deployment.

First, it was not clear as to whether the mission was intended to be a peacekeeping or peace enforcement operation. Secondly, the plan was anchored on a number of faulty operational assumptions including the thinking that deployment would be based on consensus from Somali actors. From the perspective of the complex nature of the situation at the time, this assumption amounted to downplaying the nature of the crisis and the opposition of the ICU to the deployment. Thirdly, the intention of the deployment to base battalions in selected towns meant that the ICU would be able to take advantage of their thin-spread to undermine the success of the mission. Finally, the plan requested a total of

$196 million for the operation, but had not provided adequate justification. Despite the MSC's discussion of the plan, there was no technical representation from IGAD to provide more information on the issues to the MSC.[7]

Despite the plans and efforts from both IGAD and the AU, a number of factors led to the inability of IGASOM to deploy. The first issue was the lack of political consensus among regional and international partners on a common front for engaging with the Somali crisis. According to the then Kenyan Foreign Minister, Raphael Tuju, all the major actors involved in the planning of the mission had different positions. Whereas the UN favoured talks between the TFG and ICU, the AU and IGAD were solidly behind the TFG and were poised to support the TFG's relocation to Somalia through the deployment of IGASOM.[8]

These differences in engagement approach were also reflected in the preferences for the way forward in addressing the crisis. Despite numerous separate requests by the AU, IGAD, Somalia and proposed IGASOM for the lifting of the 1992 arms embargo to enable the mission deploy, the UN kept the arms embargo in place on the basis that its complete or partial lifting would undermine international peace and security. A statement on 14 July 2005 by the UNSC in fact, reiterated its mandate to the "Monitoring Group to continue monitoring the proper implementation of the arms embargo," noting that the "enforcement of the arms embargo, with improved monitoring capacity and the establishment of enforcement measures, would considerably enhance security in Somalia."[9] Some, particularly, the US openly opposed IGASOM on the basis that "the successful establishment of a functioning central government in Somalia can only be achieved through a continued process of dialogue and negotiation, not force of arms."[10]

Estimated to cost about $413 million annually, deploying IGASOM was set to be an expensive affair. In the lack of secured stream of funding for the mission, IGAD attempted to raise financial support through the establishment of a fund. Additionally, it requested a total of $10.3 million from the AU to fund initial deployments. They also dispatched officials to the EU, selected European capitals and the Arab League for fundraising purposes. None of these efforts raised any funds for the deployment; The Troop Countries Countries (TCCs) were required to deploy and sustain themselves pending refund. However, the TCCs instead, sought the assurance of the mandating authority for funding before doing so.

The mandate of IGASOM did not also take into consideration the complexity of the situation in Somalia. It was not clear whether deploying in support of the TFG was to take place within the context of peace enforcement or peacekeeping. In the midst of express opposition from the ICU and Somali warlords, IGASOM forces would have required engaging enemy forces. The force was therefore neither going to be neutral, nor would they have any peace to keep.

At the UN level, the US vehemently expressed reservations about the involvement of troops from frontline states and questioned the rationale of the mission, despite IGAD's declared intensions for IGASOM to support the relocation of the TFG.[11] These factors collectively aborted the IGASOM deployment, and it was not able to deploy in April 2006, as originally envisaged. However, its failure informed subsequent thinking about an alternative African intervention – the AMISOM.

From IGASOM to AMISOM

Whereas IGASOM's deployment was being impeded by both internal and external factors, the security situation in Somalia continued to worsen. The talks between the ICU and the Somali government broke down following moves by the ICU to expand areas under its

control. By July 2006, the ICU had expanded substantially across the south and central parts of the country and was controlling important towns such as Baidoa, its environs, and the capital, Mogadishu.

Contrary to earlier resistance to the idea of IGASOM, the UN Resolution 1725 issued on 6 December 2006, urged the ICU and the TFG to recommit to peace talks, the principles of the 22 June Khartoum Declaration, and the subsequent agreements in September 2006. It went ahead to "authorise IGAD and Member States of the AU to establish a protection and training mission in Somalia" with the mandate to protect the TFIs and help re-establish the security forces of the country. Among other important pronouncements, the Resolution also endorsed the IGAD deployment plan and reiterated the need for neighbouring states to be excluded from it.[12] Exemptions were also made to the 1992 arms embargo to allow for the supply of the requisite weapons and military equipment for the purposes of delivering the mandate of the mission. In opposition to the authorisation, the ICU began attacks on TFG bases.

An unspecified number of Ethiopian troops were deployed into Somalia with the support of the US, at the request of the besieged TFG, to help wrestle control of Mogadishu and other important towns from the ICU. Despite tough resistance, the ICU had crumbled by the end of 2006, and was ousted from Mogadishu by the Ethiopian troops. Even though Ethiopia's intervention defeated the ICU, the presence of Ethiopian troops and the subsequent power vacuum created by the exit of the ICU from the areas they "governed" completely changed the nature and dynamics of the conflict. First, the ICU's youth wing morphed into Al-Shabaab under the pretext of opposing Ethiopian invasion, and by this, attracted massive local recruitment and foreign jihadist influx into the country. By their alignment with Al-Qaeda, they fully entrenched terrorism into the Somali imbroglio. Secondly, Somalia became a proxy turf for regional rivalry between Ethiopia and Eritrea as the latter sought to arm Somali belligerents in their fight against Ethiopian forces. Thirdly, by the Al-Shabaab's mobilisation against the Ethiopian forces in the name of foreign invasion, the stage was firmly set for stiff opposition to any subsequent deployments, as has always been the case in the Somali conflict.

By excluding neighbouring states from the deployment, it became impossible for the IGASOM idea to persist because only Uganda and Sudan could be permitted to deploy as per the approval of the UN. Sudan itself was saddled with the Darfur crisis and was not able to contribute troops. With only Uganda as the core member of the initial envisaged TCCs to the IGASOM, the idea of deploying through IGAD became unviable. Consequently, the consideration for widening the troop-contributing base for an African mission came to the fore as the only means for raising troops to replace the Ethiopian deployment. In the AU's attempt to raise African troop contributions, the PSC authorised the forces of a peace support mission in Somalia on 19 January 2007 to incorporate elements from IGASOM.[13] Apart from replacing the Ethiopian troops, they were specifically tasked to support the TFIs in the stabilisation of the country and the furtherance of dialogue and reconciliation. They were also to facilitate the provision of humanitarian assistance and contribute to the creation of conditions for long-term stabilisation of the country. The AU's understanding of the UN's authorisation was that the mission would last for six months during which the UN Secretary-General would deploy a Technical Assessment Mission to explore the option for transition to a UN mission.

With a mandated troop size of 8,000, Nigeria, Ghana and Burundi pledged to beef up the core Ugandan troops. Uganda deployed two battalions in March 2007. They were followed by 192 Burundian troops in December 2007 and were subsequently beefed

up to a full battalion by end of January 2008. Nigeria and Ghana did not deploy in 2007 citing lack of funds. The first deployment of the Ugandan troops established the force headquarters in Mogadishu. However, the city had been overtaken by anarchy as a result of the security vacuum following the exit of the ICU. Consequently, the presence of the first contingents of AMISOM forces was resisted by belligerents. According to successive force commanders, the force had to fight their way to establish the headquarters and subsequently take each house in belligerents-controlled areas as separate operations till the city could be freed.[14] Troop fatalities became massive as the Ugandan and Burundian forces had to fight their way to liberate Mogadishu for the TFG to function. In 2009, the AMISOM force headquarters was attacked in a twin suicide operation killing 32 people, including the deputy head of the mission, Burundian Brigadier General Juvenal Niyoyunguruza. His counterpart, General Nathan Mugisha, who was commanding the Ugandan contingents, was wounded.

AMISOM is yet to be blue-hatted as originally envisaged. Yet, the UN has renewed its mandate several times since 2007. AMISOM remains a mission that is purely African-led and composed of Africans, however, its finance and logistical support relies heavily on the support of the UN, EU and other actors.[15] Additionally, the mandate of the mission has evolved from its original supplementary and assistance role to the TFG, to that of a mission expressly mandated to "take all necessary measures as appropriate"[16] to carry out their responsibilities including "to reduce the threat posed by Al-Shabaab and other armed opposition groups."[17] Within this new mandate and increased troop size, AMISOM has grown from its initial slow deployment of 3,000 Ugandan and Burundian troops in 2008 to a force strength of about 17,731, with all the trappings of a multidimensional mission. In addition to Burundi and Uganda, Djibouti, Kenya, Ethiopia, Ghana, Sierra Leone and Nigeria have all deployed various troops and support capacities to beef up the mission. The mission is funded largely by support from the EU. Other countries including the US and UK provide planning assistance for the AU mission cell in Addis Ababa. Even though AMISOM is still in mission, it has been lauded largely as one mission that has succeeded in making substantial impact in a very challenging situation and thereby offers some important lessons for similar missions on the continent.

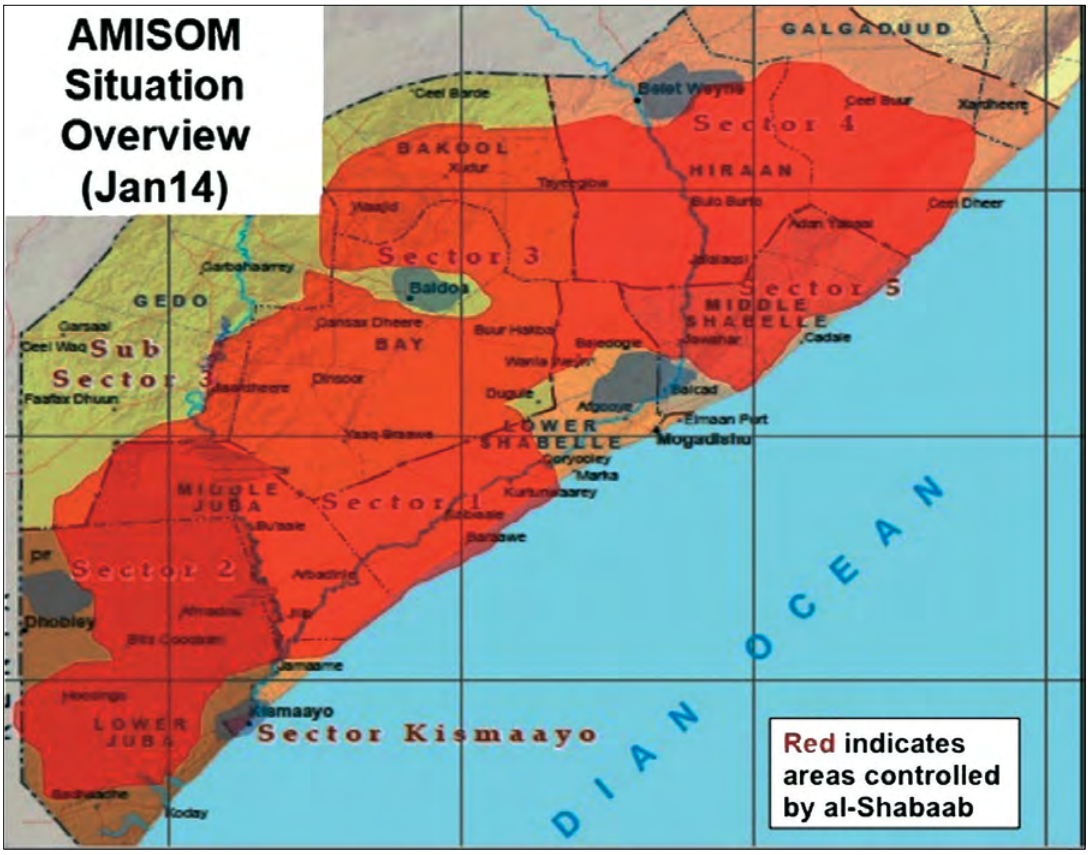
From Shaky AMISOM beginnings to contested successes

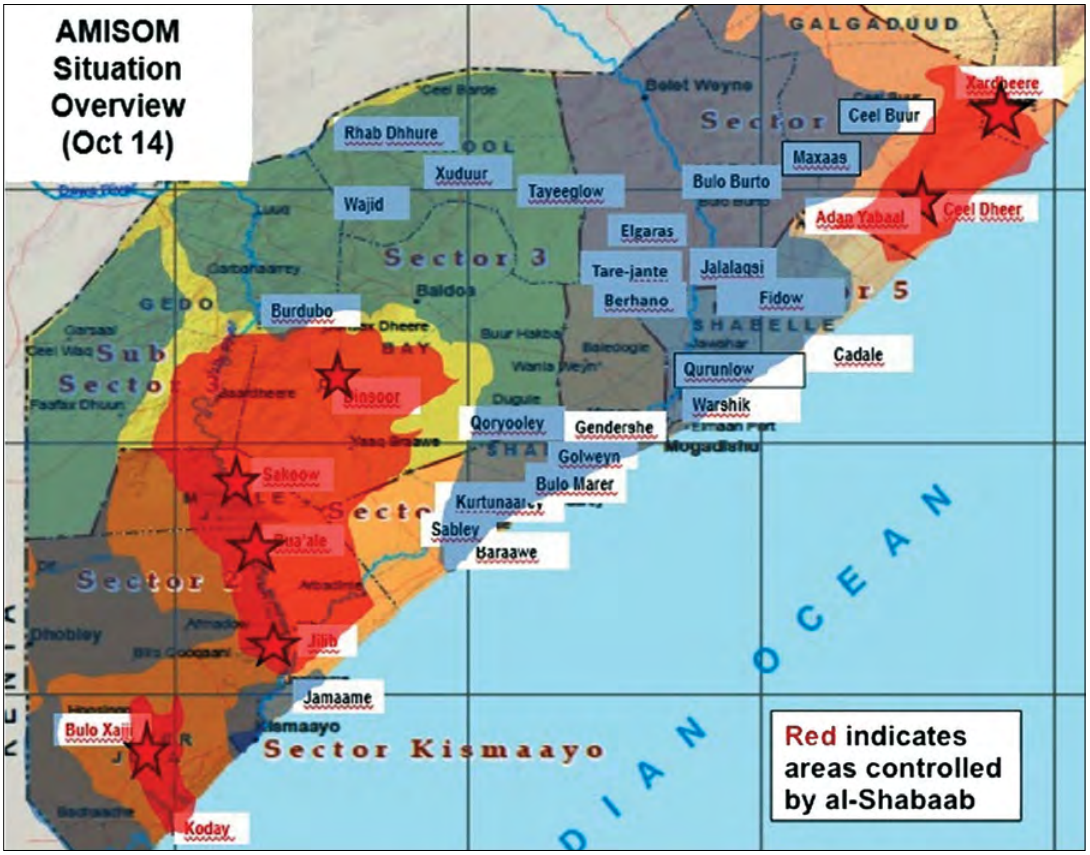
AMISOM started in a shaky and weak way, and a number of factors have made the deployment of AMISOM a challenging mission. First, the presence of Ethiopian troops and the demise of the ICU had changed the nature of the conflict and made it challenging for local acceptance of any outside forces. In the midst of tough resistance, AMISOM had to use force to be able to stay in Mogadishu and be relevant in the implementation of its mandate, which made the mission a dangerous one.

Secondly, the talks between the TFG and the ICU on which the deployment of IGASOM was anchored had completely broken down by the latter part of 2006. There was therefore no peace to keep in Somalia. AMISOM's deployment was thus an experiment in which political commitment was in pursuit of peace to keep, by all necessary military means. This implied that even though the mission was not expressly mandated at the time to employ all means necessary to reduce the threat of all anti-government forces, this was inevitable if there was to be any success.

The third issue was that the mission, as per its mandate, was placed at the disposal of the TFG. As such, apart from eroding any iota of neutrality that could be implied, it had to function as an operational arm of the TFG. All these factors meant that AMISOM's beginnings were shaky and challenging. Consequently, the fatality rates were high.

Figure 15: *Map of Liberated areas in 2014*





Source: AMISOM[595]

Despite this shaky and feeble beginning, AMISOM has succeeded in making substantial impact in three key areas. The first has been the liberation of areas controlled by Al-Shabaab, through successive military operations. AMISOM liberated about 80% of Mogadishu through various military operations, which also helped secure the seat of government. Securing the presidential palace has made it possible for the TFG to find its feet as a key actor in Somalia, despite being constantly targeted by the Al-Shabaab. AMISOM has also liberated other strategic towns in the South and central parts of Somalia thereby reducing the territorial hold of Al-Shabaab as well as their influence across the country (compare the two maps in Figure 15, for instance). Due to the superior firepower of AMISOM over the Al-Shabaab, the Al-Qaeda linked-group had to shift tactics to guerrilla warfare against government and civilian targets to be able to make an impact in the country. Secondly, through the window of opportunity provided by AMISOM, the international community was able to embark on the necessary political interventions through which the political transition process which began in 2004, ended in 2012 ushering the country into a new era of the pursuit of peace.[19] Throughout the efforts to end the transitional process, AMISOM's civilian component was instrumental in the provision of political advice, facilitation and capacity-building, humanitarian assistance and political support to the TFG.[20] In addition, AMISOM is greatly involved in efforts to re-build, train and enhance the capacity of the Somali Police so as to provide the needed support for long-term restoration of law and order in the country.

These achievements have come about despite lacking force enablers and multipliers, particularly force guard and air assets. Yet, many have contested the successes of AMISOM on the basis of its dependence on donor support, high fatality records, and inherent institutional weaknesses. Notwithstanding the criticism, however, the overwhelming nature of the contributions of AMISOM to the quest for peace in Somalia cannot be understated. Key among them is the increasing realisation that through AMISOM's efforts, a window of opportunity has been opened for pursuing peace in a challenging theatre hitherto deemed a 'no-go' zone.

Underlying Factors for AMISOM's Success

Despite the challenges bedevilling the mission, a number of factors have facilitated the successful role of the deployment in Somalia. First and foremost, since the arrival of the first two Uganda battalions in February 2007, there has clearly been an attempt by successive mission leaderships to robustly interpret the mandate of the mission. This was manifested through the initial willingness of the Ugandan contingents to engage the Al-Shabaab through systematic operations in Mogadishu so as to liberate the city. The above is closely connected with the AMISOM's adaptation to the changing nature and complexity of the Somali conflict.

Engaging the Al-Shabaab in Mogadishu came at a high cost of losing Ugandan and Burundian troops. In the past, the loss of American troops led to the withdrawal of UNOSOM II. The commitment of Uganda and Burundi to maintain their troops in this theatre despite the high human cost signifies the existence of a level of unwavering political will in the pursuit of the objectives of AMISOM. It has been argued that the basis of such level of tenacity to maintain troops in the Somali theatre is because Uganda has interests in keeping the military in combat so as to remove them from political dynamics at home. Yet, that argument does not take into consideration of the fact that had that been the only basis for deploying, Uganda could have had the choice of deploying elsewhere and not necessarily in Somalia.

AMISOM has also enjoyed massive international support both politically and logistically. As at 2013, there existed a limited UN support package through the United Nations Support

Office for AMISOM (UNSOA) to troops in Somalia. This is complemented by various forms of bilateral support to the AU and directly to TCCs. The EU alone has spent more than €600 million in allowances for the various components of the mission and the headquarters in Nairobi, Kenya.[21] This support has come about due to international commitment to the UN's mandate to AMISOM and the AU efforts for peace on the continent, but also because of increased international commitment to finding peace in Somalia, given the threat of terrorism. On the political front, the support is reflected in the international community's clearly defined resolve to address the crisis through a series of international conferences on Somalia, especially the Istanbul and London conferences. A level of war fatigue among some stakeholders in Somalia has incentivised the international efforts. These informed the resolve and readiness of the international community to bring to bear the requisite pressure both politically and militarily through support for AMISOM to take advantage of the window of hope provided by AMISOM's combat operations in Somalia. There has also been some level of unity of purpose within the international community in efforts for peace in Somalia.

Challenges to the Mission

Despite making substantial contribution to the pursuit of peace in Somalia, AMISOM faces numerous challenges. The first of these is internal AMISOM issues at the structural and operation levels. These have manifested through high donor dependence, high fatalities and the lack of requisite force enablers and multipliers. As a result of these, there is an apparent mismatch between the high commitment of troops to their tasks and the actual delivery due to the mission's situation of under-equipment. Consequently, even though AMISOM has made important gains since its deployment, it could have done much better if it were better equipped for the complex realities of the mission.

The changing nature of the conflict is another major challenge. This has been at the level of the pace with which the Al-Shabaab is morphing both ideologically and operationally. Despite losing massive swathes of territory to AMISOM, the irony is that rather than weaken, the Al-Shabaab has since 2007 adapted themselves significantly, and has instead evolved into a deadly jihadi group, increasingly limiting direct engagement with AMISOM. In 2013, this evolution saw the internal cleansing of the group and the repositioning of its structures along the lines of the ideologies of Emir Ahmed Godane. After eliminating dissenting members of the Shura, he concentrated power in his hands with the effect of improved command and control. Rather than open warfare with AMISOM, the Al-Shabaab has elevated the use of their special operations division (the amneyats) to the core of their planning and targeted operations. The division is usually deployed for special operations in which their reconnaissance, kill and suicide units cleverly coordinate their activities to wreak havoc against soft targets in Mogadishu.

This move has effectively served as the capstone of the Al-Shabaab's evolution into a guerrilla group ready to exploit the vulnerabilities of its foes through asymmetric warfare. This shift has seen the rise of hit-and-run operations, minimal direct confrontation with AMISOM, fewer men used and few resources expended in operations. The 2013 United Nations Monitoring Group report on Somalia quotes a pro-Al-Shabaab communicator as having succinctly summed this form of operation as "[T]he enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; He (sic) retreats, we pursue."

This change of strategy by Al-Shabaab has made it difficult for the overall assessment of AMISOM's military operations. Rather than engage AMISOM, Al-Shabaab fighters easily dissolve into the population only to make use of asymmetric tactics against softer targets. Consequently, in the 80% of Mogadishu liberated by AMISOM, the group continues to freely stage attacks on government interests and officials.

The growing regionalisation of the crisis is another challenge. The involvement of fighters from the region in Al-Shabaab and subsequent deployment of troops from neighbouring states has led to a blowback on Kenya, Uganda and Djibouti. The Al-Shabaab has become a regional phenomenon to the extent that insecurity attributed to the group's activities in the region continues to rise. This level of regionalisation implies widening of the conflict with impact on the role of AMISOM.

Additionally, the deployment of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda has also turned Somalia into a turf for regional geo-political interests in which Uganda's continued flexing of military muscle in the region is an important explanatory variable for others not wanting to stand aloof from the happenings in Somalia. Many argue that Kenya, for instance, cannot afford not to deploy into an important theatre like Somalia where Uganda and Burundi are clearly making marks in the quest for peace. Ethiopia's motivation has a long history and is linked to fears of the Al-Shabaab threat as well as the possible resurrection of the "Bigger Somalia" question in the region.

Apart from geo-political contestation for visibility therefore, there is clearly an element of self-interest in the motivation for deployment into Somalia, beyond wanting to see a stable Somalia as sine qua non to regional peace and security. Kenya, particularly, was drawn into Somalia because of incursions from Somali armed groups into its territory and the resultant impact on the tourism sector. Consequently, Kenya deployed unilaterally in October 2011 with the objective of creating a buffer on the Somali side of the Kenya-Somalia border. Despite integrating into AMISOM after liberating about 15 towns on its way to Kismayo, Kenyan interests explain their preference for Sector II within AMISOM. Comprising of Lower and Middle Jubba, the geographical spread of Sector II coincides with Kenya's original idea for the creation of Azania state under the leadership of Professor Mohamed Abdi Mohamed (Gandhi) which would have served the dual purpose of both stability for that part of Somalia and a buffer zone for Kenya's security.

The geo-political aspect of the involvement of frontline states has hampered AMISOM by raising suspicions about the presence of troops from the frontline states in Somalia and also capacitated the propaganda machinery of the Al-Shabaab. In the name of fighting "crusaders," the Al-Shabaab has succeeded in recruiting jihadists from across the world into Somalia thereby influencing the nature of the conflict and what AMISOM has to deal with.

Another important challenge to AMISOM's presence and operational successes is the existence of a weak Somali government, structurally and politically. Apart from the weak institutional base of the government, the actual delivery of government functions in liberated areas is scanty at best, and at worst, non-existent. The government is also saddled with persistent internal weaknesses and in-fighting, and brings into question, the essence of AMISOM's unflinching support for a government riddled with daily bickering among the political class who are supposed to be working in the interest of peace and the stability of the war-torn country. Worse still, the weaknesses of the Somali government means that AMISOM and other actors lack a strong local partner capable of sustaining gains made by the mission in the long term.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the aborted IGAD deployment and AMSIOM's intervention in Somalia from the perspective of lessons for African military interventions. It has argued that despite enormous challenges, African intervention in Somalia has proved useful in many ways, particularly in establishing the requisite humanitarian and political corridor through which international engagement in the country has been constructively defined.

The mission, however, remains in the theatre and will most likely continue to remain relevant in the stabilisation of Somalia for a long time to come. To maximise the benefit of the mission's deployment, it is important for the AU to be self-reliant financially. It is also important for the mission to be clear about its end-state, which currently needs to be modelled on the basis of gradual capacitation of Somali forces to be able to maintain and expand gains made by AMISOM on the ground and quick gains on the political front. The mission will also need to find means of addressing existing challenges around conduct and discipline, including allegations of sexual abuse and exploitation (SEA) by forces.

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16 OAU and AU Missions in The Comoros: Towards a Pedagogy of Theory and Practice in African Peace Support Operations

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Abstract:

This chapter reviews the respective roles of various stakeholders in diverse Peace Support Operations (PSOs) undertaken by the Organisation of African Unity and its successor the African Union (O/AU) in the Comoros from 1995 to 2008. The discussion is based on the premise that traditional military training and doctrine of national armies and police might not necessarily respond to specific tasks of PSOs. A number of stakeholders are identified, including: the AU Decision-makers, Senior Mission Leaders, Civilian, Police, Military, the Government and the rebels. Others are Regional States, International Organisations including the United Nations (UN) and its (Humanitarians) agencies, local groups, media, and Analysts. The chapter makes the case that the PSOs of the O/AU in the Comoros were originally holistic, in view of its multiple objectives such as providing security to the population, restoring services and responding to humanitarian needs. They were also holistic because they had civilian, police and military components. The chapter then discusses some of the challenges that limited the success of the operations at the various stages, and the lacuna whose improvement would enhance future PSOs. This leads to a discussion of some practical suggestions for improving future PSOs through appropriate pedagogical methodology for inculcating best practices into the course of the programmes of peace training centres. Among the suggestions are: training to inculcate specific skills and insights to the military, the police and the civilian components on PSOs, as well as to decision-makers and analysts of the international organisation mandating the operation, early distribution of relevant reading materials, the use of instructors and moderators and facilitators, presentations, brainstorming and discussions by participants, all of which constitute important aspects for inculcating requisite skills.

Introduction

Between 1997 and 2008, the African Union (AU) and its predecessor the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) undertook Peace Support Operations in the Comoros, a country consisting of three-island archipelago that lies 300km (186 miles) on the East coast of Africa between Madagascar and Mozambique. These operations extended over a decade and were diverse in terms of their objectives, scope, intensity and challenges. They were undertaken to support the peaceful resolution of potential or on-going crises by way of facilitating peace agreements, assisting with electoral processes, enhancing reconciliation, enforcing targeted economic sanctions and supporting post-conflict reconstruction and development through activities including Disarmament, Demobilisation and Rehabilitation (DDR). These operations had different strategic objectives and the deployment had civilian, police and military components. This diversity confers on these OAU-AU operations in The Comoros

a rich variety of experiences whose best practices as well as challenges and shortcomings, though context specific like any other, need to be acknowledged, studied and its lessons fed into the enhancement of training in peace support operation (PSOs) including, decision-makers of international organisations, mission planners, mission leaders and peacekeepers for current and future peace support operations. The methodology of this chapter is that it reviews a selection of issues and incidents in these operations and points out the implications for method and content for the training curricula of peace support training institutes.

Because the OAU-AU operations in the Comoros culminated in an enforcement mission, some critics have disregarded the peaceful dimensions of the operations. This distorts the actual happenings, and contrary to such misconception, the Peace Support Operations to the Comoros in 1997 and in 2008 in fact, prioritised the peaceful prevention, management and resolution of armed conflict. This chapter corrects the misconceptions by exploring lessons that could be learnt from the Comoros PSO by considering the following themes: meaningful collaboration between the AU, regional bodies and international organisations; effective military planning for an integrated peace support operation; African solidarity in both political, manpower and financial support as well as the primacy of the AU position over that of individual Member States, and an exit strategy. Insight into these issues as they pertain to the OAU-AU missions in the Comoros will also enhance the work of any "research and training institution focusing on capacity building at the strategic, operational and tactical levels within the framework of the African Peace and Security Architecture."[1]

Claims that there is a trigger-happy dimension to the AU deployment in the Comoros would be debunked upon the examination of the planning and conduct of the deployment as well as the underpinning doctrine of AU PSOs. A careful examination of current debate about training for Peace Support Operations (PSO) reveals two dominant schools of thought. The first is that training that is tailored to address specific scenarios could be superfluous and even risky if those scenarios do not occur during the actual operation. The argument continues that since it is rare for anyone to accurately project all the contingencies of any operation and its specific corresponding tasks, PSO training is of little use. According to this line of thought, normal professional skills should be enough for the civilian, police and military deployed to undertake PSO. The second school of thought is that training in preparation for PSO brings new knowledge and activates previously acquired skills and makes those skills ready towards the effective fulfilment of the specific objectives of a PSO. In that regard, PSO training of the three key actors - civilian, police, military - for operations are done to supplement their capacity as well as offer the necessary orientation for the specific purposes of that particular PSO. These two positions have a bearing on the conceptual and empirical factors that explain the success of the PSO deployed by the AU and its predecessor the OAU in Comoros.

The civilian, police, and military trainees in a PSO training, seeks kills for specific objectives relative to the type of specific lessons given to a general practitioner undertaking a specialisation course. The *raison d'être* of training for PSO is that the general expertise of the AU decision-makers and their analysts, the professional skills of the military, the police and the civilians, the contribution of civil society and the private sector and research institutions, the methods and principles of regional, international and other external stakeholders are considered as insufficient for the successful accomplishment of the operation. These are however necessary and provide advantage as a basis to facilitate the acquisition of the requisite expertise for the specific objectives of a given PSO.

It is significant to note that the PSOs undertaken by the OAU-AU in the Comoros between November 1995 and March 2008 combined the essence of these two schools of thought and avoided many of the expectations of otherwise theory-informed, evidence-based prediction of the outcomes of African PSO. Not surprisingly, some of those disappointed by their successes have called the operation 'the strangest invasion in history'[2] and that it was

'most unnecessary'[3]. Critics demonstrate that the fallacy of using history to frame the present and deduce the future was debunked by unforeseeable empirical outcomes conditioned by dynamic factors emanating from the principal actor, the AU. The OAU/AU operations in the Comoros equally invalidate the automated approach to the African-led peace support operations.

This divergence between theory and practice in the Comoros missions has implications for syllabus reformulation in peace support training in Africa, especially in selecting the content and form of what should be taught to those training for a PSO. It is important to underscore that the respective tasks of the different participants in a PSO are expected to fit together and to feed into the fulfilment of the overarching strategic objectives of an operation. For that reason, the substance of their respective training, though different in terms of content and the areas and nature of emphasis, should concur and complement one another. For example, the objectives and emphasis of what troops must know is different from what the police, the AU decision-makers, researchers *et cetera*, must each know because they perform different tasks. Nonetheless, it is important for them to have an idea of the nature of each other's task, in order to understand how their respective activities fit into the broader strategic scheme of the operation. As seen in the Comoros operation, the mutual awareness of one another's job strengthens coordination and efficiency.

In that regard, it must be noted that guidance and reference material for training in peace operations such as field handbooks, manuals, checklist and booklets are templates whose contents are expected to be adapted to the realities of the respective specific contexts in which the deployment is required. It underscores the logic behind the use of humanitarian clusters that notes that: "In principle, this approach to Cluster leadership can be applied to all sectors or areas of activity. However, the implementation must be tailored to specific country circumstances"[4]

Regarding methodology for disseminating the experience of the Comoros operations, the chapter reveals that the OAU-AU Peace Support Operations in the Comoros between 1997 and 2008 shows that one of the best ways to inculcate its lessons for PSO is to develop, construct and present them in the form of a theatrical presentation in addition to discussions and brainstorming, small group presentations to the plenary and recorded speeches and written exercises. This option was appropriate in view of the brief duration of the "Operation Democracy in Comoros" and the precise and recognisable role played by the various stakeholders. There is also the fact that in addition to the observation missions that preceded it, the 'Operation Democracy in the Comoros' stands out as an example of AU success in a peace enforcement mission.

African Union's Involvement in the Comoros: instruments as Theory

The OAU became involved in the Comoros when the organisation realised that the coup that overthrew President Djohar in 1995 had ruptured the nation's constitutional order and threatened national peace and security as well as the regional stability in one of its Member States. The OAU insisted and eventually succeeded in ensuring the reversal of the military takeover and secured the reinstatement of President Djohar. As claims of marginalisation surged, Anjouan and Moheli made a bid for secession in 1997. The accompanying violence worsened when attempts by Federal forces to restore order in Anjouan, resulted in the death of 50 of its troops between September 3-5, 1997. President Mohamed Taki declared a state-of-emergency on September 9, 1997. The situation worsened further when the secessionist authority in Anjouan sought to consolidate itself by organising an independence referendum on October 26, 1997 in which they claimed 99% of the voters

had opted for secession from the Federation. The OAU consequently sanctioned the country by imposing on it diplomatic non-recognition on November 1, 1997 and on November 7, 1997 condemned the secessionist movement. In a further degeneration of the situation, another military coup in April 1999 precipitated waves of political violence in which rival militias fought in Anjouan. Yet another coup d'état in 2001 brought to power Colonel Bacar who refused to hand over power in Anjouan at the end of his two terms in 2007. Several international stakeholders also rejected the elections that had been organised against the wishes of the Central Government of Comoros and of the AU.

Thus, the OAU's intervention was mainly on the grounds that the secession undertaken by Anjouan and Moheli constituted a violation of the *uti possidetis juris*[5] cardinal principal adopted at its first Summit in July 1964 declaring that: "…all Member States pledge themselves to respect the borders existing on their achievement of national independence".[6] The Comoros PSOs were a combination of military observation, electoral assistance, safety and security, crisis response and eventually a counter-insurgency operation to halt a secessionist mutiny.

In this regard, the Comoros operations place emphasis on the theoretical nature of the interpretation of the conflict, and that it is the implementation of the decisions deriving from instruments that constitute the real practice.

The possible and actual repercussions of these events on national peace and security and regional stability justified continental intervention in a situation that had degenerated into a series of violent incidents and constitutional difficulties. Moreover, neither the government alone nor international intervention could address the situation through the peaceful means of preventive diplomacy alone. In that sense, theory met the practical experiences that underpinned the OAU's institutionalisation and operationalisation of its intervention institutions. As will be seen, the challenge posed by the distinction between principles and their implementation constitutes an essential element that needs to be highlighted in peace deployment and training for PSOs.

In the wake of the challenges to constitutional order, peace and the territorial integrity of the Comoros, the OAU, appointed a Special Envoy[7] in 1997 with a mandate, in accordance with its principles, to reject any secession. The Special Envoy was to create an opportunity for a peaceful resolution and to organise an Inter-Comorian Dialogue Conference. It also appointed South Africa as its Coordinator of Regional Efforts to assist with addressing the issue in the Comoros. By means of these and other mechanisms, the OAU undertook dialogue/mediation and succeeded in arriving at a series of Agreements between the contending parties. The Organisation pursued a combination of shuttle preventive diplomacy, economic sanctions, coordination of the involvement of regional states and the international community, as well as the deployment of peace support operations. These were principally aimed at offering peaceful conditions for the holding of credible elections, to facilitate the implementation of peace Agreements, monitor the security situation and to help build mutual confidence among diverse internal political actors.

It is significant to note that the decision to apply more military measures was arrived at in a gradual and incremental manner. The scope and objectives of the mandates widened as the *de facto* authorities of Anjouan persisted in their defiance against the Federal Government. For example, the mandate given to the African Union Electoral and Security Assistance Mission (MAES) by the 77th Meeting of the Peace and Security Council of 9 May 2007 in Durban, South Africa PSC/MIN/Comm.1 (LXXVII) went beyond creating "a secure and stable environment for the holding of free, fair and transparent elections of the Presidents of the Islands;" to incorporate the provision of "…long-term assistance to strengthen the capacities of the Comorian forces and facilitate the effective restoration of the authority of the central Government in Anjouan…"[8]

The Security and Electoral Assistance Missions

The close association that the AU makes, between electoral assistance and peacekeeping is underpinned by its preference for organised transitions, which can ensure sustainable peace. The objective has been inspired by a view similar to the idea that: "[P]eace operations play an important role in assisting countries throughout the electoral cycle, not least because, as first responders, they are critical in mitigating violence, protecting civilians, and re-establishing order."[9] Thus, before its decision to resort to the use of force against secessionists in Anjouan, the OAU-AU deployed missions including the following six: OMIC I from December 2001 to February 2002; OMIC II from November 2001, OMIC III from March to May 2002; and OMIC IV from March to May 2004. The first three of them had between 14 and 20 military liaison observers and the fourth one had 40 of them. The next mission was the AU Mission for Support to the Elections in Comoros (AMISEC), authorised by the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) at its 47th meeting. It was in response to a request by the President of Comoros and deployed in May 2006 to monitor the presidential elections. It consisted of 462 military and police personnel, mainly from South Africa. Another Election Observation mission the AU Electoral and Security Assistance Mission (MAES) was deployed in May 2007 to monitor the election of the legislators of the various islands because violence had erupted and a crisis was developing as the President of Anjouan Colonel. Mohamed Bacar had refused to step down at the end of his term. He rejected the AU mission and organised elections that were declared in his favour by 89.6 per cent votes. The AU and the International Community condemned and rejected the elections that were also nullified by the Constitutional Court of the Union of Comoros.

The mandates of the integrated missions in the Comoros were broad and encompassed several objectives. The example of the mandate of its electoral mission in the Comoros (MAES) demonstrates the broad nature of the objectives, as shown below:

> "…6. MAES shall be deployed for an initial period running from 13 May to 31 July 2007, with the following mandate, to:
>
> a. Assist the Comorian security forces to create a secure and stable environment for the holding of free, fair and transparent elections of the Presidents of the Islands;
>
> b. Oversee and ascertain that the Comorian security forces play an effective role in ensuring that the elections are trouble-free, in accordance with international standards;
>
> c. Monitor the electoral process;
>
> d. Encourage dialogue among the Comorian parties; and
>
> e. Provide long-term assistance to strengthen the capacities of the Comorian forces and facilitate the effective restoration of the authority of the central Government in Anjouan"[10]

The above mandate is a microcosm of the electoral and security PSOs deployed by the OAU in the Comoros. The Central Organ of the OAU approved the first deployment of an OAU Observer Mission in the Comoros (OMIC I) in November 1997. Its main task was to monitor the security situation in the Comoros in general and in Anjouan in particular. The OAU withdrew the OMIC I from Comoros on May 30, 1999, but had to establish a second Observer Mission (OMIC II) on November 27, 2001 because after condemning a referendum organised by the illegal Authorities of Anjouan, the OAU had to monitor and enforce disarmament in addition to its condemnation of that referendum on January 24 and its imposition of economic sanctions in the form of travel and financial boycott of Anjouan on February 1, 2000. The OMIC II deployed in Anjouan on December 1, 2001 and from then, until February 2, 2002 supported the OMIC to collect weapons in Anjouan under the command of South Africa. The mission consisted of 14 military observers from Mauritius, Mozambique, South Africa and Togo.

The OAU established the Observer Mission in Comoros (OMIC III) as the political situation showed little improvement. This third peace support operation succeeded in monitoring the situation in the Comoros during the presidential election process from March 15 to May 15, 2002. South Africa provided nine military observers and nine technicians, with Togo sending six military observers. Another five came from Mozambique and five more from Senegal. It is significant to note that this mission contributed to the success of the negotiations that led to the signing of the power-sharing Agreement on the Transitional Arrangements in the Comoros ("Beit Salam Agreement") negotiated by President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa on behalf of the African Union, on 20 December 2003 in Moroni.

Stakeholders collaborating in the PSOs need to understand that the AU always prioritises the use of peaceful means for conflict prevention, management and resolution. This explains why its decisions prioritise activities in the areas of electoral assistance in addressing disputes, creating institutions for the dialogue and mediation and coordinating issues aimed at preventing the escalation of conflict and ending violence. In these tasks, it sought to involve local stakeholders such as civil society organisation (CSOs) in the hope of ensuring reasonable levels of national participation, ownership and leadership.

An awareness of the procedures and the principles behind missions such as the one above, as well as the constraints to their implementation is useful for all participants to appreciate the objectives of the deployment and their role for its success.

"Operation Democracy in Comoros"

The Directives given by the AU to military planners of the Comoros enforcement mission was formulated upon the request of the President of the Comoros for help. He made this request during his address to the 10th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the African Union held from 31 January to 2 February 2008. The request was for military assistance to re-establish the authority of the State of the Comoros in Anjouan, and the use of all available means, including force. This, it should be noted, was in conformity with the principles of the AU whose Constitutive Act provides for: "The right of Member States to request for intervention from the Union in order to restore peace and security."[11] With this plea from the President, the AU was acting in accordance with yet another of its cardinal objectives, namely to: "defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its Member States;"[12]

Primacy of the AU Position

As the causes of the problems were rooted in internal as well as external structural, institutional and operational factors, the AU interventions were all aimed at assisting the people of The Comoros and their legitimate authorities to take ownership and leadership in addressing disputes that affected their national security. This included economic development, political stability and the peace and security of the region and the continent.

However, the AU's decision to deploy the Operation Democracy in the Comoros was not endorsed by all the key actors because, not all countries had a common position on the need to deploy forces to undertake "Operation Democracy". In its capacity as the Coordinator of the Regional Efforts on Comoros, and having contributed to the previous military deployments of the AU in the Comoros, South Africa on its part was of the opinion that the crisis should be solved with the elections which Col. Barca had promised to organise. Concerning Operation Democracy in the Comoros, the President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, on 12 March 2008 objected to military intervention on the grounds that "It takes Comoros back to the use of force to solve a problem that could have been resolved with negotiations. ... There was no need to deploy troops. ... It seems to us that there was no need to deploy any military forces as the government of the Comoros had undertaken to re-run the elections in May."[13] The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, echoed this sentiment saying

that "There is no violence, no loss of life, no social unrest. … [it is] unusual to go militarily into Comoros … The Anjouanese authorities have given a date, they've said, 'let's have a discussion and have the elections by May', which we thought could be a basis for solving this diplomatically."[14] In her appeal, she also expressed the hope that the TCCs would reconsider their position, noting that: 'There are countries that have heeded the call of the President of Comoros to assist him to solve the problem militarily…But we believe that it could have still been done diplomatically. It's a small thing.'[15]

On the other hand, the Foreign Minister of Tanzania, Bernard Membe, expressed contrary sentiments noting on 14 March, 2008 that: "We have exhausted all available opportunities to end the political dispute in the Comoros."[16] This sentiment reflected the position of the African Union, which at the time was headed by the President of Tanzania, Jakaya Kikwete.

What was of more significance was the unwavering commitment[17] of the Government of the Comoros itself, to take back Anjouan by any means, in spite of the dispute among key regional states. In a televised address to the nation, the President of the Union of Comoros, Ahmed Abdallah Mohamed Sambi,[18] indicated that "I have ordered the Comorian army and the forces of our country's friends to bring Anjouan back under the rule of law and free her citizens."[19] It should also be underlined that the AU Special Envoy for Comoros, Francesco Madeira, stressed the AUs stand, regarding threats by Col. Bacar that he and his forces would resist the military action. He said, 'I am afraid to say that if he tries to do that, it will be the end of him physically, if necessary, … He will be overwhelmed... what we are going to do in Anjouan is to take over the island, we will intervene to capture the island.'[20]

The South African objection was not totally ignored, but was respectfully noted through a few-days pause in the deployment. This gave it a semblance of consideration and infused a flavour of consensus into the decision of the AU to continue with the military operation to support democracy in the Union of Comoros. The will of the African Union prevailed as troops moved in on 24 March 2008. This fact underscores the primacy of the AU as a continental organisation over the position of any of its individual Member States. This marks a positive feature, which some observers think that certain other Organisations could only dream of. For example, Noam Chomsky contrasts the influence and activities of individual AU Member States within the Union to that of the United States of America (US) in the Organisation of American States (OAS) by noting that:

"It is instructive to compare the Charter of the Organisation of American States (OAS) with that of the African Union (AU). The latter permits intervention by African states within the Union itself, in exceptional circumstances. In contrast, the Charter of the OAS bars intervention 'for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other state.' The reasons for the difference are clear. The OAS Charter seeks to deter intervention from the "colossus of the North" -- and has failed to do so. That is an enduring problem in the Western hemisphere, nowhere near solution, though there has been significant progress. After the collapse of the apartheid states, the AU has faced no comparable problem."[21]

Thus, intervention or lack thereof, in the affairs of the AU Member States, is to be determined by the Union rather than the wishes of any dominant regional state. This pre-eminence of the AU has become a cornerstone of peace support operations in Africa in particular and of the APSA in general. Its scrupulous application is sure to exact the vigilance and vetting of all AU decisions to deploy peace support operations. It will prevent a situation where the AU deployment will be considered to be fronting the exclusive foreign policy agenda of a Member State or that of its external allies to the detriment of peace, stability and security of Africa.

It is true that in some PSOs "The effective consolidation of legitimate state authority is a basic marker of whether and when peace operations can be safely and sustainably withdrawn."[22] However, in the case of the Comoros mission, the operation did not end with the defeat of the rebellion. The forces had to remain to undertake the task of demobilisation, disarmament and Rehabilitation (DDR).

Expression of African Solidarity and Commitment

Regarding the funding of the Comoros operations, it must be noted that, despite some measures of external logistical assistance support, the operation was characterised by a commitment by African states to addressing African problems with African resources. It was a laudable feat of financial self-reliance worthy of emulation. It is also important to stress, for instance, that: "… in its communiqué of 9 May 2007, the Council urged Member States to contribute to the military, civilian and police personnel, as well as the financial and logistical resources required, to facilitate the timely deployment and the smooth functioning of MAES. Furthermore, the Council appealed to the partners of the African Union to also provide financial and logistical assistance needed to facilitate the deployment of MAES and successful accomplishment of its mandate. In response to the Council's request, several Member States contributed military and police personnel as well as equipment to MAES at their own expense."[23]

In this instance, the awareness that financial limitations do not always trump political will is a lesson, which will strengthen troop morale and ignite the patriotic zeal of participants in a PSO.

The Military Planning and Preparedness

The AU forces deployed in the Comoros PSO were regular well-trained troops, police and civilians from their respective countries. This possession of professional skills partly explains the success of the operation. However, that could not be the only determining factor. Their general training alone would have been inadequate for their success in an unfamiliar terrain. There was also adequate preparedness on the part of the Senior Mission Leadership including the establishment of a good command and control. In both the election observation missions and the "Operation Democracy in the Comoros," African Union decision-makers and mission leaders had to address challenges related to ensuring effective response to a constantly evolving situation on the ground. This implied a constant revision of mission plans and the strengthening of information, communication and analysis. For example, in the case of 'Operation Democracy in the Comoros', the AU Assembly endorsed and requested that practical military and security measures be put in place to effect the decision to respond favourably to the request of the President of the Comoros. Accordingly, an AU military planning team visited the Comoros from 25 February to 5 March 2008. It comprised of experts from Tanzania, the Sudan, Senegal and Libya. The objective of the mission was to finalise plans for a military intervention in re-establishing the authority of the State in Anjouan. On 8 March, a Ministerial meeting of Tanzania, Sudan, Senegal and Libya as well as the Comoros was held in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania under the chairmanship of Bernard Membe, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Tanzania, to examine and approve the recommendations of the report of the military planning team. They proceeded to Moroni, the capital of the Union of the Comoros the following day to update President Sambi, on behalf of the African Union, on the state of the military planning. This mission would have equally been an opportunity to reinforce the Status of Mission Agreement between the host Government of the Comoros, and the African Union Mission, which was in that country in accordance with the directive of the operation.

In as much as the planning matrix of the operation and the task list are classified information, it would suffice to underline that, like all military operations, details of the planning of 'Operation Democracy in Comoros' were usually not open for public scrutiny even after the operation. Nonetheless, one can glean the nature of the main elements of the planning matrix of the operation from the manner in which the operation evolved. This entails closely analysing the operation with the view to reconstructing elements such as the basic assumptions of the operation, its expected key outputs, responsibility for specific activities, the human and material resources needed for each activity, the measurable and/or observable criteria for success, the requisite activities including combat and patrolling, as well as the timeframe for the start and/or completion of activities.

Like all human endeavours, PSOs take care to address issues of the need for self-preservation by way of ensuring the physical safety of the peacekeeper as well as equipping them with knowledge and skills that would allow them to be effective. This factor feeds into the missions' preparation in different ways. For example, in terms of numbers, the initial elections and observer missions of the OMIC contrast with the huge amount of troops deployed in Operation democracy. A key element of the strategic approach of Operation Democracy was to overwhelm the 500 French trained and heavily armed loyalists of Colonel Barca with a much more numerically superior force. This criteria for success as an element of the military planning is borne out by the fact that the combat operation itself lasted only a couple of days. In this regard, it is important to note that Bernard Membe, the then Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tanzania revealed that only 300 out of the 500 Gendarmes of Anjouan were loyal to Colonel Barca. The AU on its part had an estimated force of 2,000 comprising 750 Tanzanian troops, 600 Sudanese soldiers and 150 Senegalese soldiers, with the remainder of the forces from the Comoros and Libya. The magnitude of the force deployed was to deprive the forces of Colonel Barca of any advantage and avoid a war of attrition that could be costly in both human and material terms.

Glimpses of the nature of the preparedness and readiness of the AU troops could be gathered from comments by the Tanzanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Membe. He noted that the strategic objective of the operation was two-fold: to arrest Col. Bacar, and to disarm and disband his para-military forces. He indicated that any damage that might be inflicted on life and property would be minimal. This criteria for the success of the operation was fundamental and he stressed that: "In fact there will be no damage at all because we don't anticipate any resistance from the civilians. We also know the capacity of the militia and their weapons…"[24]

The preparation was also buttressed by the effective communication setup that established channels linking the management and the command and structure of the Mission headquarters and the strategic headquarters to the field, in line with the rules of engagement. This communication set up was fundamental to the operations since they were needed to forestall the propaganda emanating from the illegal Anjouan authorities about the willingness of the illegal authorities of Anjouan to defeat the forces of the AU and the Central Government. There were about 500 troops loyal to Colonel Barca, who had vowed to resist the AU-backed forces of the national army. They also sought to court international sympathy by claiming that they were going to rerun the contested elections.

Thus, in an interview with IRIN, for instance, Colonel Mohamed Bacar said: "[National president Ahmed Abdallah Mohamed] Sambi does not know anything concerning the military, but if I had to advise him, I would say that it is not the solution. The first time [1997] the army came, we kicked them out. The second time [May 2007] the army came we kicked them out. That means that if they try to come a third time, we will kick them out."[25] Such information alerted the AU planners and must have been factored into the general matrix of the planning. Thus, the planning was focused on ample preparedness in morale, logistics and human capacity.

With the conditions of success reasonably assured, the Senior Mission Leadership in charge of the AU deployment, on March 24, 2008, transported 1,500 soldiers from the port of Fomboni, capital of the island of Mohéli, to Anjouan. Much of the transportation for the movement of troops had been assured by the logistical support of France and Libya in accordance with the relevant partnership agreements, but the assignment of their duties was done by the Command and Control structures of the Mission. About 450 of the AU forces took position on the northern part of the Anjouan Bay at dawn on March 25. At 5 a.m. (GMT+3), shots were heard in the town of Ouani close to the presidential residence and the airport. The seaport, the airport and the town were taken over amidst jubilation from the population. Talk of artillery assault rifles and rocket launchers fired in resistance by forces loyal to Col. Bacar had ceased by mid-day. With the airport secured, the combined forces that had moved on Ouani split into two, with one section moving southwest toward the

capital Mutsumudu and the other going southeast to capture the Port of Bambao and the second city of Domoni. Civil-military-police relations had been cordial as seen in the support the population offered to the operation by way of public demonstrations.[26]

Regarding humanitarian issues, it is important to note that in as much as peace support operations might not directly undertake humanitarian assistance in some dire circumstances they do offer assistance such as escort and safe passage, especially if requested by the humanitarian agencies on the ground. The risk, however, is that belligerents might perceive such escorts and other collaboration as support to their opponents and this could impede the work of relief agencies and might expose them to danger, thereby putting the population at a higher risk. The AU was concerned about the plight of the (displaced) civilian population in the attack to chase out Col. Bacar. The mandate had stipulated the need for information to the general population prior to the operation. The AU mission leadership and the Comoros Army of National Development (AND) launched an effective campaign of sensitisation to alert civilians to move to safety[27]. A helicopter dropped leaflets over Anjouan to warn citizens that the assault to recapture the renegade island would begin in a matter of hours.

Movement of populations especially from Mutsamudu and Ouani to Pomoni and Sima town had been observed as early as 12 March. Also population movement had been observed from Anjouan to Grand Comore since December 2007. This included about 208 IDPs staying with friends and relatives under stressful conditions. The WHO, UNICEF and the Comorian Red Crescent (CRCo), prepared to offer assistance to those who might be affected by this military action, which the AU and the government of the Comoros had amply advertised.[28]

Clearly, training for the type of operations in the Comoros would require an appropriate methodology that prioritises imparting awareness of the strengthen and thoughts processes of the opposing force and how to mitigate the dangers to which the civilian population could be exposed in order to assess the conditions of success. It would not be facile to identify a methodology to offer a training that could respond to counter-insurgency aimed at stability that complements traditional combat operations, and which involves multifactorial services and countries.

It must be underscored that these lessons are designed for various trainee-stakeholders in the PSOs including AU decision-makers, Senior Mission Leaders, Governments, regional states/bodies and international organisations. Others are NGOs, CSOs, analysts, rebels and trainers and mentors. These should be adapted to the context and circumstances of the objectives of the mission and the roles discussed in terms of the various areas or activities in which the mission is engaged such as election support, safety and security, training of national armed forces, combat and dislodgement of rebels, demobilisation and disarmament. An appreciation of these contours of the operations in the Comoros could be best taught through role-playing in the form of a full theatre, as well as through audio-visual methods and the sharing of field experience.

International Collaboration

The OAU was mindful of the primacy of the responsibility of the UN in matters of international peace and security. Guided by this incontrovertible imperative, the OAU established a pattern of regional, continental and global fora to conduct its entire engagement in The Comoros. For example, the OAU Secretary General, Salim Ahmed Salim created the 'Countries of the Region Ministerial Committee on Comoros' in 1997. The Organisation, at its Summit in 1999 in Ouagadougou, established a Troika consisting of the previous, current and in-coming chairs of the OAU to complement its efforts through the Countries of the region. The Troika was chaired by South Africa, whose President Thabo Mbeki and Vice-President Jacob Zuma were later to play vital roles in the Comoro process in the following decade. Their role was not only in the diplomatic and mediation processes, but also in the military aspects of the efforts by the AU to address Comoro crises trough

instruments and measures appropriate to the diverse situations. Earlier, the OAU had also shown commitment to the peace efforts that this military deployment was intended to support. For example, it created a Conciliation Commission of Foreign Ministers that from 18-20 March 1998, undertook mediation efforts between the central government and the representatives of Anjouan and Moheli. The Commission, which was chaired by Tanzania, comprised of Burkina Faso, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

The African Union appealed to its Member States for help following the request for assistance from the President of Comoros. Several African countries pledged assistance to "operation Democracy in the Comoros" in forms including funds, logistics, troops, police, and civilian units. It is, however, important to stress that in spite of the financial self-reliance, the AU insisted on the need to conform to international norms by soliciting the consent and diplomatic support of international actors in its intervention in the Comoros. The extent of this concern is partly demonstrated by the following portion of the report of the Chairperson of the Commission. It said:

> On 25 October 2007, I sent letters to the Secretary-General of the Indian Ocean Commission, Monique Andreas Esoavelomandroso; the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, Amr Moussa; the United Nations Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon; the Secretary-General of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu; the Secretary-General of the Organisation internationale de la Francophonie, Abdou Diouf; as well as the Secretary-General of the Council of the European Union and High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, Javier Solana, and to the EU Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid, Louis Michel. In the letters, I solicited the full support of these organisations and their Member States to facilitate the realisation of the efforts deployed by the AU. As regards the United Nations in particular, I requested the Secretary-General to convey my letter and the communiqué of Council to the members of the Security Council for information and appropriate action to be taken in support of the decision of the Council.[29]

The Comoros deployment also raises issues of best practices in the management of relations with neighbouring countries who might not be members of the AU in a peacekeeping setting. More importantly, it brought up the question of the role of former colonisers and countries with internal or nearby foreign military bases in their former colonies or the country concerned. The tense relations between the Comoros and its former coloniser, France, had the risk of adversely affecting the PSO, but the AU managed to handle this situation well, for the success of the operation. For example, France was seen on one hand as cooperative and assisting with the operation, including offering transportation to some AU troops, but on the other hand, some Comorian stakeholders accused France of supporting the secessionists, or at least of blowing hot and cold. This suspicion deepened when a French helicopter from the French military base in Mayotte crushed in Anjouan on 20 March 2008, reportedly under what some people considered to be suspicious circumstances. The tension was significant enough for the Foreign Minister of France, Bernard Kouchner to issue a statement that France was not protecting Col. Bacar's secessionists bid in Anjouan.[30]

The extent to which the lessons from the Comoros PSO have been fed into subsequent PSOs in Africa is difficult to determine, but what is clear is that subsequent PSOs in, for example, Mali, Côte d'Ivoire, and Central Africa Republic have been more complicated than the one in the Comoros. This elicits further probing into the role of foreign military bases in the Indian Ocean, the extent of military presence on enclave states of former colonisers, as well as the nature of recent Chinese military cooperation in that part of Africa. It should be noted in this regard that later in the year, the Chief of Staff of the Comoros armed forces, Salimou Mohamed Amiri paid an official goodwill visit to China and held separate meetings with the Chinese Defence Minister Liang Guanglie as well as the Chief

of Staff, Chen Bingdeon, on 20 October 2008 in Beijing. They discussed issues of military-to-military ties. This indicates that the AU intervention in the Comoros had a potential of redefining the nature of that country's military ties worldwide.

Conclusion

Between 1997 and 2008, the OAU-AU undertook a series of security and electoral assistance missions which culminated in a peace enforcement mission in March 2008. These missions offer a lot of relevant lessons for instructors, mentors, facilitators and other practitioners involved in training preparations for PSOs. In that regard, this chapter has considered lessons that could be drawn from the themes of collaboration between the AU decision-making processes, primacy of AU position over that of individual Member States; effective military planning and deployment for an integrated peace support operation; African solidarity in both political, manpower and financial support, the role of regional bodies and international organisations as well as exit strategies.

The Comoros operations, as has been discussed, points to the importance of the contribution of the civilian dimensions for the success of a PSO deployment. The role of civilians in preventing group clashes in Anjouan between 5 and 7 Dec 1998, for example, underscores the need to avoid undue emphasis on military measures and the police in planning. Again, it highlights the need to retain the principle of the primacy of the AU over the position of any of its member states. Though South Africa did not support the use of force, its contribution had been enormous in the period before the deployment of "Operation Democracy in Comoros." It should be interpreted as a fact of complementarity rather than rivalry, that Tanzania championed the military conclusions of a process which South Africa had long upheld with appreciable military but also peaceful options.

The chapter has also pointed out that it is important that facilitators and teachers of PSO trainings adapt course contents and teaching methods to the context. However, though it is true that it is the nature of the terrain that determines the context, one must equally be aware that context specificity does not preclude the validity of some basic general principles, which need to guide the timing, content, method and activities of the PSO training. The question as to how much, of what capacity, and the sort of orientation needed for participants in the PSO to successfully undertake the mission, depends on a number of factors, including the time available to respond to the emergency, the nature and content of the doctrine of the deploying organisation and the level of professional training of the troops, police and civilians furnished by the TCCs. Other factors include the morale of the deployed, the attitude of the local populations and the effective strategic direction and tactical advantage drawn up by the mission leadership. The chapter underscores that in addition to the civilian, Police and military components, the other diverse actors including decision-makers, the TCC and Senior Mission Leadership also require training despite contrary to assumptions. The chapter has noted that diversity of task implies that the content of their respective training programmes or syllabi will of necessity, differ in content, form and method.

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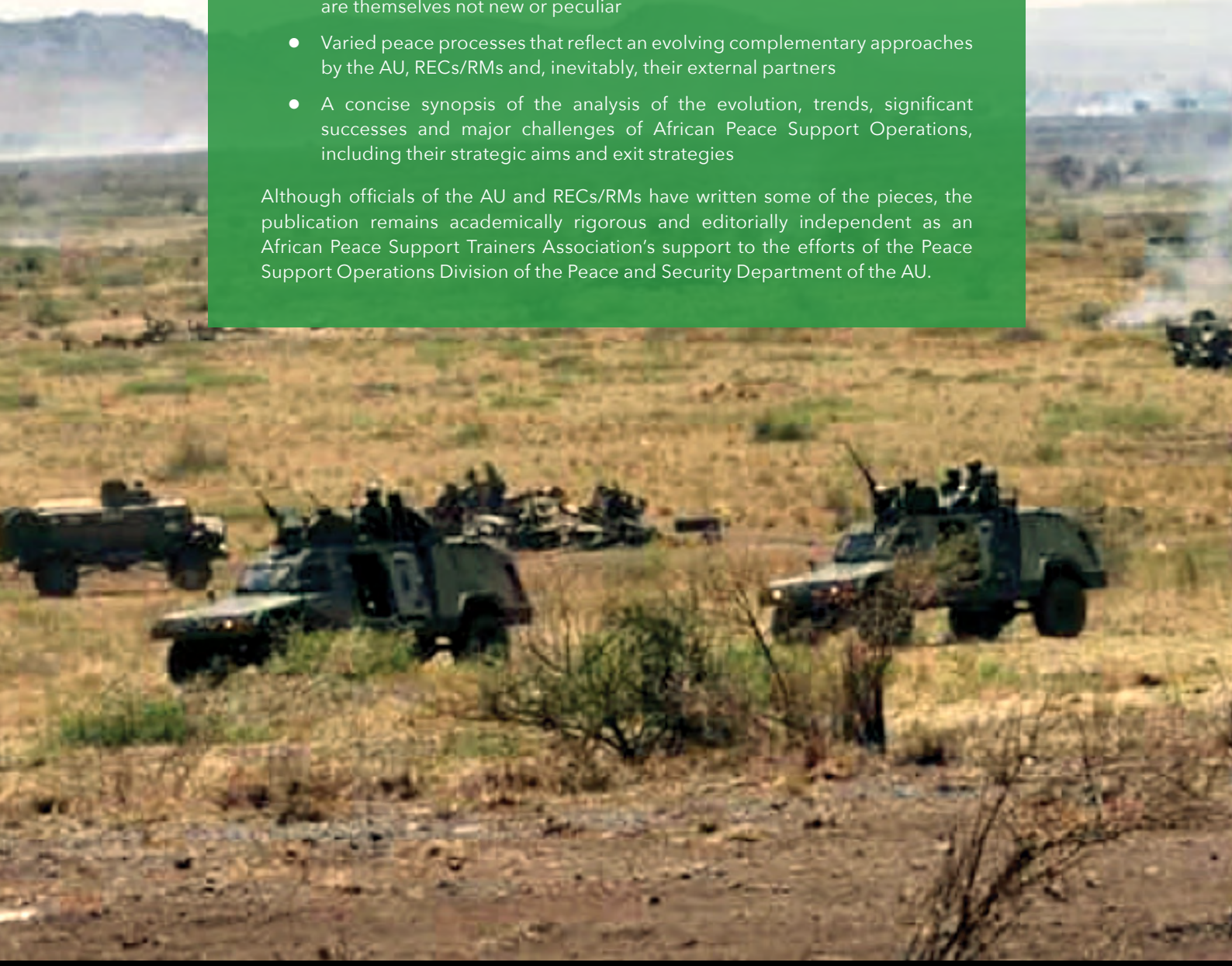
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