Peace Operations in Africa

DA FAVORITA PAPERS 03/2004

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PEACE OPERATIONS IN AFRICA

34th IPA Vienna Seminar

Federal Ministry
for Foreign Affairs

“FAVORITA PAPERS“ OF THE DIPLOMATIC ACADEMY OF VIENNA

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Diplomatic Academy of Vienna

Internationally known as an institution for post-graduate training which prepares young university graduates for the present-day requirements of a successful international career in diplomacy, public administration and business, it can look back on a long tradition. Its predecessor was the “Oriental Academy“ founded in 1754, whieh became the “Imperial and Royal Consular Academy” in 1898. After a break imposed by the National Socialists and die consequences of the Second World War, the Academy was reopened in 1964 under its present name. In 1996 it was reorganised as an autonomous public institution.

Apart from organising public lectures and conferences on international/foreign policy topics, the Academy offers:

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- 3-month special training courses for diplomats from Central and Eastern European as well as C.I.S. countries in transition;
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- Tailor-made training Seminars for the Austrian civil service, the European Commission, the OSCE, or other international und private bodies;
- The Academy organizes private meetings for informal negotiations and discussion
  (track II diplomacy)

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PREFACE

URSULA PLASSNIK
Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria

Over the past 50 years, Austria has sought to contribute effectively to the work of the United Nations, in particular in the fields of peace and security. Over 50.000 Austrians have served in UN peacekeeping operations worldwide.

In addition to our traditional contribution of military and police personnel to peacekeeping operations, the 'Vienna Seminar' is also part of the Austrian effort to contribute to a key goal of the UN – peace. The seminar is organized every year by the Austrian Ministries for Defence and Foreign Affairs and the International Peace Academy which works in close cooperation with the United Nations and hosted by the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna.

The 34th Vienna Seminar was dedicated to questions of peacekeeping in Africa. With the participation of high-ranking African political and military leaders, it examined, among other issues, the current African security architecture, international and regional decision-making systems for peace operations in Africa, and the evolving peacekeeping capacity within Africa. A particular focus was put on the evolving relationship between the UN and Africa's sub-regional security mechanisms. The results of the discussions are published in this booklet.

In 2004 approximately 62 800 military and civilian police personnel were serving in UN peacekeeping operations worldwide. Roughly 80 % of them were deployed in missions on the African continent. On several occasions the UN Secretary General has urged UN member states to do even more to contribute to peace and security in Africa.

We all know that peacekeeping operations in Africa are confronted with special problems of different nature. Therefore, the decision of the organizers of the 2004 Vienna Seminar to focus on peacekeeping in Africa and to make a special effort to include representatives from African countries in the discussions was highly welcome. In view of the ongoing need for peacekeeping in Africa it was decided to maintain the focus on Africa also for next year and discuss the cooperation in peacekeeping operations in Africa at the next Vienna Seminar in the summer of 2005. Recent events have clearly shown that these questions are still of urgent importance.

In the interest of the many people in Africa who so urgently need the UN's peacekeeping efforts and for whom its success is much too often a question of mere survival, I sincerely hope that this booklet will find many readers and may contribute to our common endeavour to bring peace and security to the people of Africa.

INTRODUCTION

ERNST SUCHARIPA
Director, Diplomatic Academy of Vienna

The annual International Peace Academy (IPA) Vienna Seminar, co-hosted with the Diplomatic Academy Vienna, the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Austrian National Defense Academy, has traditionally focused on peacekeeping. In recent years, the Seminar has examined the development of the European Union capacities for crisis management and peace operations in cooperation with the United Nations (2003), security concerns and cooperative efforts to deal with them in Central Asia (2002), and conflicts, peacemaking, and peacekeeping in the Caucasus (2001), as well as in (former) Yugoslavia (2000).

The theme for the 2004 Seminar was Peace Operations in Africa. The Seminar examined the African security architecture, international and regional decision-making systems for peace operation in Africa, and the evolving peacekeeping capacity of actors within Africa. The Seminar also discussed normative, doctrinal and operational issues concerning the use of force in peace operations, and briefings were provided on the challenges for current peace operations in Africa. Breakout groups studied issues concerning security and development, post-conflict justice, gender issues, disarmament, demobilization and integration, and cooperation among organizations in Africa.

Thanks to excellent presentations from participants the Seminar contributed greatly towards better understanding of the specific problems peace operations in Africa are faced with and many issues were identified for further discussion. While the Seminar dealt with the concrete needs of and for peacekeeping operations in Africa, especially within areas of logistics and equipment, more general issues were also addressed, so for instance the importance of regional as well as universal solidarity. Other issues included questions concerning capacity building on regional and subregional levels, the importance but also the limitations of the role of regional hegemons and the renewed danger of UN peacekeeping becoming dangerously overstretched. At the end of the seminar there was a broad consensus that peacekeeping partnerships (both regional and north/south) need to be further developed, issues to which next year's seminar will be devoted.

As always, I like to express my gratitude for the excellent cooperation extended to the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna by all coorganizers of the Seminar: the International Peace Academy, the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Austrian National Defense Academy.

Our particular thanks go to Ambassador David M. Malone who throughout his tenure as president of IPA has always been a staunch supporter of the Vienna IPA Seminars.

34th IPA Vienna Seminar

34th ANNUAL SEMINAR
ON
PEACEMAKING AND PEACEKEEPING

PEACE OPERATIONS IN AFRICA

June 30 – July 3, 2004
Diplomatic Academy Vienna

PROGRAM

PROGRAM CHAIRS

David Malone
President, International Peace Academy

GENERAL RAIMUND SCHITTENHELM
Commandant, National Defence Academy

AMBASSADOR ERNST SUCHARIPA
Director, Diplomatic Academy

Wednesday, June 30

14:30 – 15:00 **Introductory Remarks by the Chairs**

15:00 – 17:00 **Keynote Presentations:** *Security Challenges facing Africa: Assessments and Lessons Learne*

Chair: Ambassador Ernst Sucharipa, Director, Diplomatic Academy Vienna

Presenters:

David M. Malone, President, International Peace Academy

Dr. Chris Landsberg, Director, Centre for Policy Studies Johannesburg, South Africa

Ambassador Aldo Ajello, European Union Special Envoy for the African Great Lakes Region

18:00 - Reception - Dinner given by the Austrian Ministry of Defence at the Museum of Military History

Address: General Roland Ertl, Chief of Defence, Austria

Thursday, July 1

09:00 – 10:30 **Panel 1:** ***Africa´s Security Architecture***

Chair: David M. Malone

Panel: Dr. Adekeye Adebajo, Executive Director, Center for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa
Dr. Chris Landsberg, Director, Centre for Policy Studies Johannesburg, South Africa

Discussant:
Major General Clayton B. Yaache, Army Commander, Ghana

11:00 – 12:30 **Panel 2:** ***Strategic Decisions for a Peace Operation in Africa***

Chair: Ambassador Ernst Sucharipa

Panel: Dr. David Harland, Chief Peacekeeping Best Practice Unit, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, United Nations

Ambassador Pieter Cornelis Feith
Deputy Director General, European Security and Defence Policy Secretariat of the Council of the European Union, Directorate-General E – External Economic Relations, Common Foreign and Security Policy

Dr. Nancy Walker, African Security Expert, Former Director Africa Center for Strategic Studies, National Defence University, USA

13.30 – 15:00 **Introduction to the Breakout Groups I – 4:** *Peace, Justice and Social Development*

Chair: Ambassador John L. Hirsch, Senior Fellow, International Peace Academy

Presenters:

1) ***Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DD&R)***
Mr. Herbert McLeod, UN Residence Coordinator and UNDP Resident Representative in the Democratic Republic of Congo

2) ***Gender Issues and HIV/AIDS education***
Ms. Pam De Largy, Director, UN Population Fund Humanitarian Response Group

3) ***Economic Agendas in Civil Wars***
Dr. Mukesh Kapila, Senior Adviser – Crises, and HIV/AIDS Department for Health Action in Crises & HIV/AIDS Department, World Health Organization, Geneva Switzerland

4) ***International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and War Crimes Tribunal for Sierra Leone: Lessons Learned***
Dr. Chandra L. Sriram, Lecturer, School of International Relations, St. Andrews University. United Kingdom

15:15 – 18:15 **Breakout Groups 1 – 4:**

Facilitators:

1. Mr. Herbert McLeod
2. Ms. Pam DeLargy/Professor Ruth Iyob
3. Dr. Mukesh Kapila
4. Dr. Chandra L. Sriram

09:00 – 10:45 **Panel 3: Africa´s Evolving Peacekeeping Capacity**

Chair: David M. Malone

Panel: Major General Papa Khalilou Fall, Chief of General Staff, Armed Forces of Senegal
Brigadier General Daniel Frimpong, Military Adviser, Permanent Mission of Ghana to the United Nations

Discussant:
Prof. Ruth Iyob, Director Africa Program, International Peace Academy

11:15 – 12:30 **Panel 4:** *Use of Force in Peace Operations*

Chair: General Raimund Schittenhelm

Panel: Major General Clayton B. Yaache, Army Commander, Ghana
Major General Bernd Lubenik, Chairman of the European Union Military Committee Working Group

Discussant:

Dr. David Harland, Chief, Peacekeeping Best Practice Unit, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, United Nations

13:30 – 14:00 ***Prospects for Peace Operations in Sudan:***
Brigadier General Jan Erik Wilhelmsen, Head of Mission and Chairman, Joint Military Commission (JMC) and Joint Monitoring Mission (JMM) in Nuba Mountains, Sudan

14:15 – 15:15 **Introduction to the Breakout Groups 5 –7*: Cooperation and Coordination; Possibilities and Challenges***

Chair: Ambassador John L. Hirsch

Presenters:

5) UN perspective:
Dr. Ahmed Rhazaoui, Director and DSRSG, United Nations Office for West Africa, Dakar, Senegal

6) ***Child Protection in Peace Operations:***
Mr. Bert Theuermann, Child Protection Adviser, UNAMASIL

*7) **SHIRBRIG and Africa***
General (ret.) Günther Greindl, Chairman of the SHIRBRIG Steering Committee, Austria

15:30 – 17:00 **Breakout Groups 5 – 7:**

Facilitators:

5. **Dr. Ahmed Rhazaoui**
6. **Mr. Bert Theuermann**
7. **General (ret.) Günther Greindl**

18:30 *Dinner given by the Austrian Ministry for Foreign Affairs at the SAS Palais Hotel*

Address: Ambassador Hans Winkler, Deputy Secretary-General for Foreign Affairs, Austria

Saturday, July 3

09:00 – 10:45 **Plenary Session: *Conclusions from the Breakout Groups***

Chair: Ambassador John L. Hirsch

11:10 – 12:45 **Panel 5:** *Prospects for Peace Operations in Africa*

Chair: Ambassador John L. Hirsch

Panel: *Democratic Republic of Congo:*
Ambassador Lena Sundh, Former Deputy Special Representative for the Secretary General for the Democratic Republic of Congo

Sierre Leone and *Liberia:*
Lieutenant General Daniel Ishmael Opande, Force Commander, UNMIL, Former Deputy Chief of Defence, Kenya

12:45 – 13:00 **Chairs Conclusions**

WELCOMING REMARKS

GENERAL ROLAND ERTL
Chief of Staff

I would like to welcome you on behalf of the Austrian Minister of Defense on the occasion of the Vienna Seminar of the International Peace Academy which commenced today for the 34th time.

This year's topic "Peace operations in Africa" is a continuous follow-up to previous International Peace Academy initiatives in their "Africa Program". The International Peace Academy is particularly well placed to conduct these projects given its long-standing engagement with African institutions.

Over the last months, the unresolved conflicts on the African Continent have returned to the attention of the public interest. The exchange of opinions, realistic tackling with different views, and understanding for opposing positions, trust and mutual esteem are the prerequisites for future solutions. The International Peace Academy is a perfect platform to contribute to this aims, being an independent, international institution dedicated to promoting the prevention and settlement of armed conflicts among and within states through policy research and development. It is building on a strong foundation to engage in, and even lead, efforts within the international policy community to strengthen international organization, encourage innovative and effective approaches to conflict prevention, and to promote the peaceful and just settlement of armed conflicts in the 21st century.

European Security Strategy

During the European Council of 12th December 2003 in Brussels the European Security Strategy named "A secure Europe in a better world" was endorsed. With this strategy a credible and efficient performance of security policy of the EU should be reached. According to the concept, Europe should grow up to the level of global actor in the long term and therefore to be ready, to take on its part of the responsibility for the global security. Regional conflicts also far away have an effect on the European interests directly and/or indirectly. Somalia, Liberia and Afghanistan are quoted as examples for failed states. Failed states and sub regional conflicts undermine the world-order and contribute to instability.

This new European thinking arrives in a time of globalization, where far distant conflicts can have the same impact as conflicts in our neighbourhood. The basis for the international relations will continue to be International Law and the Charter of the United Nations. The Security Council of the United Nations has the primary

responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and the security. It is a European priority in accordance with the European Security Strategy therefore, to strengthen the United Nations and to equip it so that it can fulfill its responsibilities and can act effectively. From a European view multilateralism should be reached with the United Nations. A multi-polar standardized world-order is connected with the strengthening of the United Nations.

The European Union and the African Union

The European Council has strongly recommended that the improvements achieved until now through the support of the EU and the UN in Africa should be maximized and this momentum should be further used. These developments, embedded in the institutionalization of the African Union are reflecting the efforts of the African decision-makers to shape themselves the politics concerning the continent's security.

The European Security Strategy sees the prerequisite for each future improvement in a stable security in connection with political and economic developments. The European Union and its member states take part in different fora and share in all peace-activities of the United Nations at the African continent at present.

Different pacific dispute-settlements have been actively promoted through the EU member states as well as through the EC, its staff, financial, logistics, technical and political support. In the upcoming peace activities of the African Union a consecutive and substantial patronage and support through specialists and special equipment by EU and EC is taking place.

SHIRBRIG

During the calendar year 2004 Austria is holding the Chairmanship in the "Multinational Stand-by high readiness Brigade for UN Operations – SHIRBRIG". In the wake of the SUDAN involvement of SHIRBRIG several aspects of the need to intensify the cooperation between SHIRBRIG and the UN evolved.

It is my intention to address the United Nations expressing the desire of SHIRBRIG to achieve better ground for formalized cooperation with the UN. I will especially emphasize the use of the SHIRBRIG Planning Element as a whole for DPKO operational planning assistance.

One of the main objectives of the Austrian Chairmanship is to assist the African Nations in building up their own Peacekeeping capacities if the nations chose to use the SHIRBRIG model. In this aspect the Steering Committee decided to continue the

process of secondment of African Officers in the permanent Planning Element of SHIRBRIG.

Furthermore, Commander SHIRBRIG is in close contact with the Commissioner for Peace and Security of the African Union to structure the planning support of SHIRBRIG for the upcoming operationalization of the African Standby Forces providing the experiences of SHIRBRIG in this regard.

In preparation of our troops for participation of United Nations Peace Operations, they are trained by the Austrian Command for International Operation. I am proud to inform you, that the Austrian Military Observer Course in May this year has been chosen to be the pilot course for the new "United Nations Certified Training Program". Together with the Military Division / Training and Evaluation Service of DPKO this course was carefully evaluated and is requested to be worldwide the first course which will be quoted as "United Nations Certified Military Observer Course" as this will be in line with the project of DPKO. For these courses the Austrian Armed Forces are closely cooperating with DPKO to provide course slots for African students, as it occurred already during this course and for the next course in July 04.

Africa's Security Architecture, Strategic Decisions for Peace Operations in Africa, the Use of Force in Peace Operations and Prospects for Peace Operations in Africa will be the main focus of your discussions in the upcoming meetings during the next days.

The excellent co-operation among the International Peace Academy, the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Austrian Ministry of Defense, the Diplomatic Academy and the Austrian National Defense Academy already has a tradition and in this spirit I wish the conference an outstanding success.

SHOULD WE TAKE THE NEW AFRICAN UNION SERIOUSLY?
Remarks at the Outset of the 2004 Vienna Seminar

DAVID M. MALONE
International Peace Academy, New York

From July 6 to 8, African leaders gather in Addis Abeba, Ethiopia, to recommit to the ambitious goals of the forward-looking charter of the African Union (AU). This charter stresses the importance of basic rights, decent government, democratic practices and envisages international intervention to sort out internal crises dangerous to neighbouring states more forthrightly than does any other international organization does today. This is admirable.

But how to avoid the AU following the defunct Organization of African Unity down the path to oblivion? The OAU failed not because of poor leadership. Its last secretary-general, Salim A. Salim of Tanzania, was rightly admired for his energetic quest of peaceful settlement of the continent's conflicts. Rather, the OAU faded because its member states feuded relentlessly, undermining effective diplomacy through the pursuit of narrow national (sometimes personal) advantage. And the OAU secretariat suffered from "division of the spoils" syndrome under which each member state wanted its share of the staffing pie, no matter how inept its nominees.

The AU has a strong leader. While considerable doubt exists about the willingness of many African presidents to apply high-minded standards to their own behavior, the chair of the Union, Alpha Oumar Konare, not only led his own country, Mali, with vision and success, but stepped down at the end of his second term, allowing a democratic transition to take place.

The continent remains scarred by a band of recent and potentially renewed conflict, from Guinea-Bissau through Sierra Leone, Liberia and Ivory Coast on to Congo and Sudan. The majority of the UN's peacekeepers today, over 40,000 troops and numerous civilians, are engaged on the continent. Reflecting a profound shift in African thinking, UK military intervention to shore up the UN's peacekeepers in Sierra Leone, and similar French efforts in the Congo were welcomed in Africa. France's intervention to forestall further civil war in the Ivory Coast is also praised. Africans have mostly moved beyond the sensitivities of the immediate post-colonial period. They are looking for strategic partnerships to address the continent's problems.

But the resources that African conflict and post-conflict reconstruction are absorbing today may not prove sustainable. This is where the African Union, and the continent's several sub-regional organizations, will prove critical.

One innovation introduced in recent years by the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) has been peer review of the governance of African states. Early signals of how serious this review process will prove are mixed. But enough African

countries, such as Ghana, Botswana and Senegal, perform democratically that today there exists a good basis for comparison among African governments.

What are some of the critical issues the AU must address?

One will be how to address maturely problems left over from the colonial era, such as land ownership patterns in Southern Africa. While fiery speeches by Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe and Namibia's Sam Nujoma on the need to redistribute white-held lands to black ownership are often poorly received in the West (not least because Mugabe, unlike Nujoma, is a murderous, self-serving dinosaur), they point to a real issue that Western countries have done little to help resolve.

Another is a more systematic attack on the AIDS pandemic ravaging much of Africa. Several African states have tackled the spread of AIDS with aggressive and frank public education on patterns of sexual behaviour. Uganda and Bostwana stand out, and others are catching up. But troubling exceptions slow progress continent-wide. Otherwise forward-looking South African President Thabo Mbeki has exerted a considerable local drag on South Africa's AIDS prevention and care programs.

Relations between large African powers (such as Nigeria, Algeria and South Africa) and smaller countries remain a source of potential paralysis for the AU. Myths of the sovereign equality of states, nowhere more keenly supported than in Africa, confront the reality of strong leadership by both South Africa and Nigeria on continental security challenges. (South Africa has been prepared to place at risk large numbers of its own troops to bring a measure of stability to Burundi and Nigeria has done likewise in West Africa). Leading African scholar Adekeye Adebajo often refers approvingly to the larger powers as generally benevolent "hegemons". But large countries must accept that strong leadership needs also to induce followership, as President Bush has discovered over Iraq, while smaller states need to overcome their often petty carping about the pretensions of their larger partners.

Finally, the AU needs to resist the temptation to turn itself into a regional United Nations-type organization with a multiplicity of objectives. Africans need to focus today on a few key challenges rather than dissipating their energy and scarce resources in a structurally complex and expensive organization such as the European Union has built up, with vast resources, over 50 years of prosperity.

Only Africans can resolve Africa's problems. There is no point today, forty years after decolonization, to point to colonial experience to explain all of today's failures. Fortunately, most African leaders are embarked on a more hopeful course. But they need to set stringent priorities at least for the next five to ten years. A contrary strtaegy will result in the AU's ruin and contribute to the continent's continued economic stagnation amid preventable wars.

PEACE OPERATIONS IN AFRICA: CAPACITY, OPERATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

Report from the 34th annual Vienna Peacemaking and Peacekeeping Seminar

CYRUS SAMII
International Peace Academy, New York

1. Introduction

What are the priorities for boosting regional and global capacities to respond more consistently and more quickly to violent and destabilizing conflicts in Africa? How can peace operations in Africa be improved to further increase the odds that such conflicts do not recur and development can proceed? In the past year, international attention has concentrated on expanding capacity to conduct peace operations in Africa. To this end, African leaders have set upon improving the African Union (AU)'s ability to handle security and humanitarian problems on the continent. The AU has operationalized its Peace and Security Council and has elaborated its plans to develop regional "standby forces" in cooperation with the subregional organizations on the continent. At the Sea Island summit in June 2004, the G8 announced its Global Peace Operations Initiative, in which financial support was pledged to implement the AU's proposals. The EU has also taken steps to enhance its supporting role through ad hoc efforts in the Sudan and through the establishment of an Africa Peace Support Operation Facility to finance missions. These initiatives also come amidst the United Nations' (UN) own efforts to improve its headquarters capacity and to establish more effective mechanisms for conducting multinational operations.

However, these initiatives should not obscure one's appreciation of the current realities. Despite the enormous need and noble pledges of support, external commitments to support peace operations and related capacity-building in all of Africa amounted to only about USD 3 billion in 2004, a meager sum in comparison to commitments elsewhere. In addition, a prevailing sentiment among officials and officers on the continent is that external contributions have been too scant in areas of real need (e.g. logistical support for deployments). Despite the interest in regional capacities, Africa is also the primary region of operational engagement for the United Nations. Over a third of the UN's blue helmeted forces are deployed there, and most of them are from countries outside Africa. Finally, the EU's initiatives come in the wake of its Operation Artemis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Despite the success of this deployment, it revealed the self-imposed limits that European actors are likely to put on their deployments. It also revealed the magnitude of the assets necessary

for effective crisis response—assets that only a world power could pull together so quickly.

Table 1: Active UN Peacekeeping Operations in Africa, August 2004

Mission Name	Location	Year of Mandate	Type of Mandate	Mandated strength (Military and Civilian)	2004 Appropriations
MINURSO	Western Sahara	1991	Monitoring & verification	347	USD 44,040,000
MONUC	Dem. Rep. Congo	1999	Ch. VII	12,343	USD 746,100,000
UNAMSIL	Sierra Leone	1999	Ch. VII	10,638	USD 207,240,000
UNMEE	Ethiopia/Eritrea	2000	Monitoring & verification	4,370	USD 216,030,000
UNMIL	Liberia	2003	Ch. VII	16,112	USD 846,820,000
UNOCI	Cote d'Ivoire	2004	Ch. VII	7,754	USD 211,100,000
ONUB	Burundi	2004	Ch. VII	5,770	USD 106,330,000
Continental Totals				**57,334**	**USD 2,377,660,000**

Source: UNDPKO, http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko.

The existing gap between aspirations and realities suggests that more consultation is necessary between actors from the continent and external supporters. Such communication is necessary to prevent needless duplication of effort and to ensure that (limited) resources are applied to areas of real (and overwhelming) need.

The Thirty Fourth Annual Vienna Seminar on Peacemaking and Peacekeeping was convened to address this necessity. The Seminar was jointly hosted by the Austrian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Austrian Ministry of Defence, the Austrian National Defence Academy, the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, and the International Peace Academy, and it took place at the Diplomatic Academy on June 30 to July 3 2004. The goal was to collect views from practitioners and researchers to feed into the policy agendas of key organizations and states.

It was understood that the goals of the collective initiatives of the AU, G8, EU, and UN amount to a desire to respond more consistently, more quickly, and more

effectively to security and humanitarian problems in Africa. Such problems are, overwhelmingly, complex, violent civil conflicts "regionalized" through manifold transborder and substate linkages. The toll of these conflicts is dramatic, amounting in millions of lives lost or ruined and a generation of serious underdevelopment.

In addressing priorities for building capacity to respond to these conflicts, the basic findings of the seminar were as follows: In order to respond more consistently and more quickly, all relevant actors can and should enhance their inter-relations. Mechanisms should be developed and strengthened to ensure that willingness to intervene is most efficiently harnessed. Priority areas include clarifying relations between the AU and subregional organizations, building trust among AU members themselves, and creating menus of options for sustained external logistical support for contingents in peace operations in Africa.

In addressing priorities for improving operations, the basic findings can be summarized as such: The use of force in peace operations should be appropriately institutionalized so that it can efficiently contribute to consolidating peace. Mandates that call for the proactive use of force (Chapter VII mandates) must be provided proper rules of engagement, and force can only help promote peace if it is coupled with a well-designed peace agreement. In addition, the international community must remain vigilant to make sure that consent to the agreement is the most preferable option for parties on the ground, using all available economic, political, and moral sanctions and inducements in addition to the peace operations forces on the ground. Finally, success in peacebuilding requires making appropriate tradeoffs between security, development, and humanitarian priorities in order to make sure all three areas see continual progress.

This report will present a synthesis of the discussions at the conference. The basic findings described above will be discussed in more detail and in turn. The conclusion will discuss some positive and negative implications of current efforts.

2. Building Capacity

Efforts to strengthen regional security institutions in Africa are a part of the continuing evolution of the post-Cold War global security architecture. For the countries of Africa, the regional security context is marked by, inter alia, numerous fragmented civil wars, persisting colonial legacies, lower levels of US strategic interest, and inadequate resources for a self-sufficient security system to quell regionalized civil conflicts. Thus, the key security tasks that have demanded attention have been those of multi-dimensional peace operations. These operations have included an eclectic "cocktail" of regional actors, the UN, external powers, NGOs, and private contractors.

The end of the Cold War introduced a number of factors to which the continent is still responding. The strategic value of the continent diminished for the major powers. State disintegration and consequent regional destabilization in West Africa, Central Africa, and the Horn region were very much associated with the resultant withdrawal of superpower patronage. With the end of the East-West strategic deadlock over the continent's affairs, the UNTAG mission was finally deployed to assist with elections and consolidating peace, law, and order in the newly independent Namibia in 1989. The deployment came eleven years after the operation had been designed and mandated.

But the enthusiasm of the UN Security Council members to cooperatively intervene in Africa would eventually wane. The shock given to the US Task Force Ranger and UNOSOM in Somalia in 1993 led to the horrific neglect of Rwanda in1994. The humanitarian impulse of the external powers was dampened. Their attention shifted to the legacy of the Nigerian-led ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) intervention into Liberia, starting in 1990. The external powers seemed all too happy to pass the buck to regional actors who themselves felt compelled to take the lead. Regional security arrangements in Africa, and the once moribund organizations upon which they were based, were thus summoned to prominence.

2.1. Semi-regionalization of security in the Africa

General arguments over the strength and weaknesses of regional security arrangements versus the UN-centered regime are well rehearsed, and many of them were raised again during the discussions at the Vienna seminar. In the context of peace operations in Africa, the issue takes on a nuanced flavor. The development of regionalized approaches resulted in part from the perceived lack of attention from the UN Security Council. In addition, even when Security Council members' attention has been piqued, as in the cases of Burundi in the mid-1990s, Liberia last year, and Sudan currently, the commitment of serious resources has only been through a painfully slow process if they have been committed at all. Finally, the legacy of colonialism has impelled African leaders to assert their own right to manage the continent's security affairs. Over the past decade, regional security arrangements have been given the license and some means to develop their own capacity. The recent AU initiatives are the latest phase in this evolutionary process.

But importantly, because of resource limitations and questions over legitimacy, regional security arrangements in Africa can hardly be taken as moves toward self-sufficiency. This holds true of the most recent AU initiatives as well. The AU's new "standby forces" concept, for example, calls for the formation of five brigades to conduct peace operations. This would amount to at most 25,000 troops—about half of

what the UN has currently deployed to the continent—and demand for deployments is on the rise. As Table 2 makes clear, AU members currently contribute less than half (43%) of the troops deployed to UN operations in Africa. Given the need for troop rotation and given the likelihood that the brigades will be composed at least partially of the already-deployed troops, the implications are clear. A large gap would remain to be filled for AU member states to assume primary operational responsibility in peace operations on the continent.

Table 2: Military troop contributions to UN operations worldwide, June 2004

	Within AU region	**Outside AU region**	**Totals**
AU members	20,523	1,135	21,658
Percentage across regions	95%	5%	
Percentage of UN total	43%	10%	
UN total	47,380	11,376	58,756
Percentage across regions	81%	19%	

Source: UNDPKO, http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/

In recent peace operations on the continent, UN "absorption" of operations has typically followed initial regional actor engagement. This pattern is evident, for example, in the ongoing operations in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote D'Ivoire, and Burundi. All of these operations began as regional-organization-led interventions that were later transformed into UN-managed operations. In these cases, the division of labor that has emerged reflects the relatively quicker response capability of the regional organizations and the significantly larger resource capacity of the UN system. The pattern of peace operations that has emerged is the very opposite, for example, of what has happened in the Balkans. There, the EU and NATO have steadily taken over the long-term peacebuilding activities. The difference in approach is easy to explain: the UN is capable of bringing together vastly more resources than African regional and subregional organizations, while the inverse relationship is true when comparing the UN to the EU and NATO.

The current state of affairs might be more appropriately labeled "semi-regionalization" of security in Africa. Such semi-regionalization reflects the difficulties that African regional arrangements have had in providing uniquely "African solutions to African problems." Semi-regionalization also reflects decisions from within the UN secretariat to not be reliant on African regional organizations. The UN took a lesson

from the crisis that emerged after ECOWAS precipitously withdrew from Sierra Leone in 1999-2000 just as the UN mission, UNAMSIL, was establishing itself in the country. UNAMSIL and ECOWAS had agreed to share burdens, and ECOWAS was to make a significant security contribution using its own means. But the UN mission planners did not appreciate the degree of fatigue and frustration that was building within the ECOWAS countries as their calls for additional financing and logistical support seemed to fall on deaf ears in the international community. The lesson learned was that the costs of such naïve dependence on an unstable burden-sharing arrangement were counted in innocent lives lost.

The implication is that boosting capacities for peace operations in Africa requires (1) more efficient organization among actors on the continent matched by (2) the enhancement of external support mechanisms. During the course of the seminar, a number of areas of improvement were identified to help achieve these goals. They are discussed below.

2.2. Enhancing relations among actors on the continent

One area of improvement is in relations among actors on the continent. Three priorities were identified: (1) finding ways to manage the "implementation crisis" for the AU's security initiatives, (2) clarifying the relationship between the AU and the subregional organizations, and (3) improving relations between UN operations in countries that neighbor each other.

2.2.1. Managing the impending "implementation crisis" from within

The legacy of the Organization of African Unity is one of repeated "implementation crises", in which the high-reaching goals of the organization's initiatives regularly failed to attain sufficient commitment from the continent's leaders. Participants at the seminar expressed concern that a similar fate may await the AU's most recent security initiatives, a concern based significantly on the organization's own dysfunction. A key reason for the implementation crises, cited at the Vienna seminar, is that the level of trust between AU members has been insufficient. There is no easy way to shift attitudes when the memories of past misdeeds or antagonistic interactions remain trenchant. But such mistrust inhibits the cooperation needed to achieve the AU's goals. Other reasons are institutional. AU implementation must be continually negotiated among all members, despite their varying levels of commitment to the organization. There had been no accession process through which member countries had to take clear and costly

steps to solidify their commitments to the organization. Each AU member is left to wonder about whether contributions to the AU's goals will be worthwhile. How can a member be sure that its contributions to the peace operations financing pool (proposed to total $200 million per year until 2007) will be applied productively? How can a member be sure that its contribution to AU-led missions will be duly and promptly recompensed, as such contributors can expect when they contribute to UN missions? How can external donors be sure that their contributions will lead to results? It may require that the big states of the continent expend extra resources to get the process going.

2.2.2. Clarifying AU-subregional organization relations

The AU's security initiatives necessitate a clarification of relations between the AU and subregional organizations. There are at least 42 subregional organizations and institutions on the continent that would need to be integrated into the AU's structure. This task is compounded by the fact that a few of the subregional organization have already developed their own capacities in recent years to conduct robust deployments and/or meditation. The subregional organizations have taken on these roles precisely because *both* the UN and the AU/OAU have failed to act. Also, regional "lead states" may feel that they would simply be submitting themselves to additional constraints without any perceived benefit, particularly in their own regions. As one seminar participant put it, "the AU will have to earn the right to be the senior authoritative structure on the continent." Some key questions that will have to be answered include the following: What level of centralization should be established for decision-making and budgetary control? How should external support for subregional capacity development be related to AU structures?

The current AU policy framework relies heavily on the subregional organizations for creating the stand-by forces. But the AU's efforts in Sudan suggest that a continent-wide "coalition of the willing" approach may be taking hold. Rwanda and Nigeria have taken the lead in offering forces for an expanded AU mission in the Darfur region of Sudan. The AU security policy framework accepts coalitions of the willing as stopgap measures until the subregions come up to speed. But lack of progress in the subregions is not just an issue of one subregion being slower than another because of resource or logistical constraints. Rather, the difference is primarily one of motivation. Only ECOWAS has proven its ability to deploy for robust peace operations. Political differences have plagued past efforts to activate subregional security arrangements in East, Central, and Southern Africa. One wonders if the continent-wide coalitions of the

willing approach might be reconsidered as a complement to the subregions-up model in creating a more flexible structure for training arrangements and deployments.

2.2.3. Improving relations between different UN operations

The UN currently has seven operations on the continent, and a number are taking place in countries that neighbor each other, including the operations in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Cote d'Ivoire, and the operations in the DRC and Burundi. Based on this operational reality and also based on the regional nature of the conflicts across the continent, broad consensus has emerged on the need for "regional approaches". Such an approach would seek both to address regional conflict linkages and to develop within-region capacity to end civil wars, prevent them from spreading across boundaries, and promote regional economic development.

The UN has tried to implement a regional approach model, with mixed results. The UN office for West Africa (UNOWA) was established to help ECOWAS develop its headquarters capabilities and to facilitate coordination between the UN operations in the subregion. But these objectives have been inhibited by two key problems. First, UNOWA's office is located in Dakar and not Abuja (ECOWAS's headquarters city). The benefits of this arrangement would seem to come from the distribution of points of influence within the subregion; to have all subregional centers of influence in Nigeria may be exacerbate the Francophonie-Anglophonie tensions within the subregion. Nonetheless, these benefits need to be weighed against the major logistical constraints imposed by this arrangement. Conference participants generally agreed that these logistical constraints made UNOWA's role vis-à-vis ECOWAS quite ineffectual. Second, the UN operations are mandated to specific countries, and the military and civilian leaderships answer directly to UN headquarters in New York. Participation in UNOWA's efforts has tended to be at the convenience of operational leaders, reflecting their reluctance to subordinate their command to another bureaucratic layer. Participants at the Vienna seminar noted that a product of this situation was a lack of coordination between the neighboring disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) programs in West Africa. A lack of data sharing, differing compensation schemes, and different timing of program activities have created a perverse DDR "market" in the subregion. Combatants have sometimes participated in multiple programs to collect compensation more than once ("DDR shopping"), resulting in wasted resources and destabilizing flows of combatants across the subregion. These undesirable results suggest the need for a re-think on how a "regional approach" model might be implemented, especially when trying to link existing operations.

2.3. Enhancing relations between external and continental actors

The second area of improvement is in external actors' relations with actors on the continent. Four key issues were identified: (1) coordinating donor support with AU priorities, (2) recalibrating external support to the operational needs of actors on the continent, (3) institutionalizing external support for sustained operations, and (4) improving relations between the UN (including headquarters and the troop-contributing countries), the AU, and the subregional organizations.

2.3.1. Coordinating donor support with AU priorities

For the AU, it is uncertain whether the new institutional initiatives are likely to draw in significantly more funding from its members, and contributions from external donors may not fill in the resultant financing gaps for new initiatives. The institution has proposed a budget of $200 million per year over the next four years for the implementation of its peace operations capacity-building initiative. This constitutes about a third of its overall institutional reform budget, and sets a very high goal. The AU has had a hard time raising the $45 million for its most recent budget. The combined foreign debts of member states are equivalent to about half of their combined GDP. Current pledges and existing commitments from external supporters (see Table 3) are linked to discrete objectives. It may be that the AU will have to prioritize its objectives for the donor community, with the understanding that not all of its proposals will be implementable. If the AU does not prioritize and initiate consultations, then will the donors do it for the AU?

2.3.2. Recalibrating support to address operational needs

External support programs, such as those being launched by the G8 and the EU, should target the needs of the actors that the programs intend to help. The point should seem obvious—buy-in at the recipient level is necessary for the programs to be successfully implemented. But experience over the past decade has revealed that this obvious point has not been heeded regularly. The RECAMP (France) and the ACRT/ACRI (US) programs failed at first to gain support from those they intended to help because the programs were not developed initially with sufficient consultation. Actors from the continent saw the programs as being imposed and misguided. The situation with these programs has been improved significantly since then, with training being offered for hostile environments and with lethal weapons training now being included. (See Table

3) But participants at the Vienna seminar expressed that additional consultation was necessary to refine these programs, in particular to ensure that the different training programs on the continent adopt compatible operational concepts to permit interoperability.

Other external support initiatives have suffered from similar misinterpretations of the value of what was being offered. SHIRBRIG member countries, for example, have offered to train and provide support on the basis of the SHIRBRIG model. This model has also been received enthusiastically in the official policy development process for the African stand-by forces. But all key actors on the continent do not share this enthusiasm; this was made clear at the Vienna seminar. SHIRBRIG's restriction to operating under Chapter VI mandates and its relative lack of operational experience compared to organizations like ECOWAS may make the SHIRBRIG model irrelevant for the areas of highest demand. This should not be confused, of course, with a lack of interest in *operational* partnerships with SHIRBRIG, as was the case with the SHIRBRIG-ECOMOG cooperation in the September 2003 operation to set up an interim headquarters for the transition from ECOMIL to UNAMIL.

A key point raised repeatedly at the Vienna seminar (and many time elsewhere) was that training programs misdirect external resources and attention away from more important *operational needs*—in particular, logistical needs such as transportation (both strategic and operational) and basic field equipment (field lodgings, mess facilities, medical facilities, etc.). Officers at the seminar representing a number of African country forces expressed a willingness to deploy, but felt hampered by a lack of such basic logistical resources. Thus, by filling the logistics gap, capacity on the continent might be increased significantly. An important step toward filling this gap could be taken if potential donor countries offered a clearer "menu" of available support options. Such a menu could include options for reimbursement through the UN and through bilateral aid, and options for equipment acquisition through use of UN-owned equipment, direct bilateral support to contingents, and private contractors. The efforts by the EU to offer "one-stop shopping" for provision by European states to UN deployments could be such a welcome step if it were articulated with these needs in mind.

*Table 3: Foreign-Sponsored Capacity-Building Programs in Africa**

Program Name	Contributors	AU region recipients**	2004 Budget***	Aims
Renforcement des Capacités Africaines de Maintien de la Paix (RECAMP)	France	ECOWAS, CEEAC, and SADC members.	More than USD 11,000,000****	Officer training and field exercises in peacekeeping operations and offensive military operations. Provision of offensive weaponry for training. Doctrine and in-country training module development
Peace Support Operation Facility	EU	Continent-wide	USD 300,000,000 (trust fund)	Funding for ad hoc negotiations and operations.
Africa Conflict Prevention Pool (ACPP)	UK	Continent-wide	USD 100,000,000	Funding for ad hoc negotiations and operations, and regional organization institutional development. Peace operations training. Peacebuildiung program support.
Training for Peace	Norway	SADC region.	USD 870,000	Training of *civilian* peacekeeping and peace-building personnel.
African Contingency Operations Training Assistance (ACOTA, formerly ACRI/ACRF)	US	Senegal, Uganda, Malawi, Mali, Ghana, Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, and Kenya.	USD 15,000,000	Training in peacekeeping operations and offensive military operations, including light infantry tactics and small unit tactics. Doctrine and in-country training module development. Provision of offensive weaponry for training.

Africa Regional Peacekeeping Program	US	Nigerian, Senegalese, and Ghanaian units in Sierra Leone; Guinean units on Liberia border; African troops in the DRC, Burundi, Sudan, and on Eritrea-Ethiopia border.	USD 9,000,000	Equip, train, and support troops in peacekeeping operations. Training in offensive military tactics. Transfer of weaponry for training and operations.
International Military Education and Training Program (IMET)	US	48 countries in AU region + ECOWAS.	USD 17,250,000	Officer training in the US.
Enhanced International Peacekeeping Capabilities (EIPC)	US	Botswana, Ghana, South Africa, and Tunisia.	USD 300,000	Training in English language, non-lethal operations, and computer simulations. Doctrine and in-country training module development.

Sources: Association of Concerned Africa Scholars (http://www.prairienet.org/acas/); Federation of American Scientists (www.fas.org); U.S. Department of Defense (www.defenselink.mil); Training for Peace (http://www.trainingforpeace.org/); correspondence with French MFA/MOD staff; UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office Conflict Prevention programme (http://www.fco.gov.uk/).

**This is not intended to be an exhaustive list, but rather to indicate the types and scales of programs that are active to support peace operations capacity development in Africa. It does not include NGO programs and does not include funds budgeted for support to specific operations.*

***Recipients since initiation of program.*

****The budget figures are approximations based on publicly available data.*

*****Precise budget figures for 2004 (RECAMP IV) are not available because costs are disaggregated across ministries, bureaus, and French military units in Africa. Costs for RECAMP III ("Tanzanite") were to the tune of EUR 9 million, which is used here as a lower-bound figure for RECAMP IV.*

2.3.3. Institutionalizing support for sustained operations

The absorption of nearly all recent peace operations in Africa by the UN reveals the limitations in manpower, equipment, and other resources among regional actors in Africa. In order to nurture a conflict-torn country back to health, long-term operations are necessary. Enhancement of regional capacity to handle these types of operations will require the institutionalization of external support mechanisms for sustained operations. Participants at the Vienna seminar identified a number of related gaps to be filled. The EU has established a new mechanism for funding ad hoc missions, but a complementary mechanism for sustained operations remains to be established. The UK government has taken some positive steps in this regard through programs related to its Africa Conflict Prevention Pool (see Table 3). After the perceived failure of "wet lease" arrangements in some recent operations (particularly in UNAMSIL), new logistical support models have been sought out. One model is bilateral sponsorship of contingents. France, for example, has provided equipment and support for the Senegalese contingent in MONUC and contingents from Benin, Senegal, Niger, and Togo in UNOCI. Another area for further exploration is in expanding options for arrangements with private sector logistics contractors. The AU policy framework identifies arrangements with private contractors as an avenue to explore, particularly for airlift support. The US seems inclined to favor this option.

2.3.4. Improving relations between the UN, the AU, and the subregional organizations

At the operational level, UNDPKO itself has identified enhancing coordination mechanisms with the AU and the subregional organizations as a priority. UNDPKO has come to recognize, it seems, that the Brahimi report recommendations did not adequately address this important dimension of peace operations in Africa—which is remarkable, given that Africa is the site of most of UN operational activity. Some further efforts could include the exchange of liaison officers with operational expertise (as is the case, for example, with the NATO liaison officer at the UN), development of consultative mechanisms through which AU and subregional organization representatives may be able to voice their needs to the Security Council, establishing formal agreements with details on peace operations between the UN and all of the subregional organizations, and sharing operational lessons across organizations.

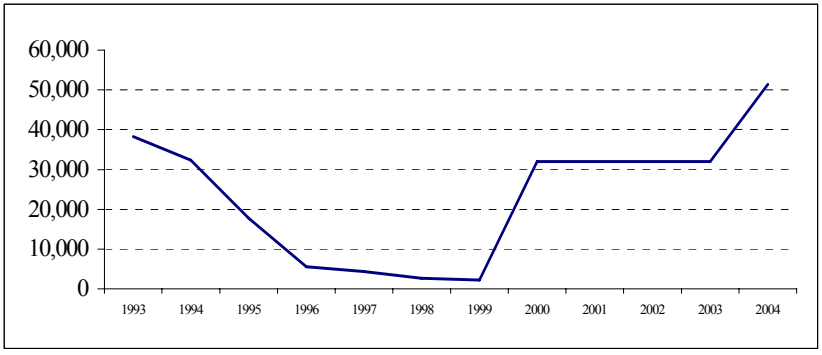
Improvement of UN-AU-subregional organization relations should not simply address headquarters-to-headquarters interaction; it must also address the major role of the troop-contributing countries. The UN represents two key elements of current

operations in Africa—the first element is the political and operational management element (i.e. the headquarters element), but the second, and equally important, element is the system through which troops are provided to UN missions on the continent. As mentioned above, most of the troops serving in UN missions in Africa are not from African countries (see Table 2). Even if African troops become the majority type deployed on the continent, foreign troops will continue to be a huge part of operations on the continent for the foreseeable future. Enhancement of UN interaction with regional actors in Africa should be viewed as an exercise in improving the relations between troop-contributing countries, the UN secretariat (which includes UNDPKO), the UN Security Council, the AU, and the subregional organizations. The recommendations to provide clearer "menus" for logistical support operations and institutionalizing support for sustained operations apply just as well to the troop-contributing countries.

3. Improving Operations

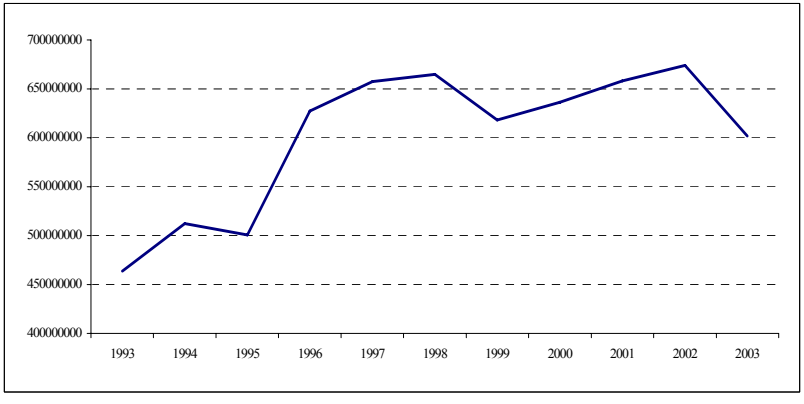
Peace operations in Africa bring together a broad array of actors and approaches, raising issues of prioritization and integration. Most current peace operations in Africa are marked by a number of traits. First, most of the UN missions on the continent are Chapter VII operations. The sense in the mid-1990s was that the UN would no longer engage in large-scale peace enforcement, but this sense proved wrong. Troop levels have risen to well above the previous peak in 1993 to help the continent cope with a profusion of conflicts affecting hundreds of millions of lives. (See Figures 1 and 2) Second, the main troop-contributing countries have almost no power in the Security Council mandating process. In addition, external powers have proved unwilling to operate within the UN framework. Thus, the Permanent Five members of the UN Security Council mandate risky operations that they would prefer to pass on to the poorer troop-contributing countries. The UN, essentially acting at the service of the Security Council, can hardly say no. This condition, sometimes referred to as "peacekeeping apartheid", has potentially negative consequences for the coherence the relationship between mandates and actual operations. Finally, these operations are multidimensional missions, emphasizing DDR and linked to institution-building and social recovery programs.

Figure 1: Number of UN troops deployed to the AU region, 1993-2004



Source: UNDPKO, http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/

Figure 2: Combined population of AU member states with active armed conflicts, 1993-2003



Sources: Uppsala Conflict Database (http://www.pcr.uu.se/database/); U.S. Central Intelligence Agency Factbooks, 1993-2003.

Based on these operational realities in Africa, discussions at the Vienna seminar focused on two key areas of improvement. The first area concerned how force ought to be used and institutionalized in a complex mission. The discussion touched on issues relating to rules of engagement and limits to the utility of force. The second area concerned the management of security, development, and humanitarian priorities in multi-dimensional operations. In such operations, urgent needs are multiple and simultaneous, but resources are limited. Success requires that mission leaderships master the art of trading off between security, development, and humanitarian needs to ensure long-term progress in all three areas. Experience in recent operations shows that these tradeoffs are particularly sensitive with respect to DDR, transitional justice, and child protection. At the same time, these are crucial elements of peace operations in Africa, either because they are taken as essential to progress in peace processes (DDR and transitional justice) or because they are simply too ubiquitous to ignore (child protection issues).

3.1. Institutionalizing force

Issues related to the use of force were high on the agenda at the Vienna seminar, given the prominence of Chapter VII mandates in Africa and the AU's interest in developing capacities to handle enforcement missions. The implication of a Chapter VII mandate is that force is accepted as a crucial element in the peace operation. The role of force in such operations is typically to either protect the mission personnel and civilians from aggression or, in some cases, to bring an end to fighting between belligerent parties. As such, the aim is to deter or actively prevent aggression, protect civilians, and generate consent to a peace process. A proper match between the mandate and the rules of engagement is obviously necessary for the mandate to be fulfilled; but such a proper match has not always been established. In addition, in developing models for peace operations in Africa, the international community should be well aware of the constraints on the utility of force, and thus develop mandates and operational models based upon this awareness.

Table 4: Six strategic considerations for peace operations mandates

Primary strategic question	Secondary questions
1. Does proposed mission make sense on its own terms?	• *Do the means in the mandate match its objectives?* • *Were all implementing parties engaged in negotiating the relevant peace agreement and in devising the mandate?* • *Do mandates address causes of continued fighting (e.g. economic agendas or political representation)?*
2. Does the mission make sense in the current worldwide context?	• *Is there headquarters capacity to handle a new operation?* • *Will the new operation dilute commitment of key resources (e.g. Francophone police or major power militaries) to other operations? Will this undermine the other operations?*
3. Should the mandate invoke Chapter VI or Chapter VII?	• *If Chapter VI is invoked, is there a strong likelihood that Chapter VII will eventually have to be invoked?* • *Is the decision based on the best local knowledge or on interpretations from a distance (e.g. UN HQ or capitals)?*
4. Should the operation be integrated?	• *What are potential troop contributors' attitudes toward SRSG control over troops?* • *If integration is not possible, then are adequate communication structures in place at all levels between security, development, and humanitarian actors?*
5. Are all partners identified and engaged?	• *Are all other organizations involved in the target area engaged?* • *Are all intra-organizational partners engaged (e.g., in the UN, UNDP, UNHCR, etc.)?* • *Are relevant regional hegemons or major powers engaged?* • *Are there bilateral relationships that may be helpful or hindering?*
6. Is there a strategic concept for ending the mission?	• *Would a very long-term sustained presence be worthwhile (e.g. as, arguably, has been the case in Cypress)?* • *What are the incremental goals of the mission?* • *What are the benchmarks to indicate that the mission can and should be concluded?*

Source: Adapted from presentation delivered at the 2004 Vienna seminar by Dr. David Harland, Chief, Best Practices Unit, UNDPKO.

3.1.1. Matching mandates and rules of engagement

Experience from the field has shown that mission mandates are regularly interpreted in different ways at strategic, operational, and tactical levels. As a result, the coherence of the mission suffers and expectations are often dangerously misaligned. Part of the problem, of course, is that the countries that make the mandates are not the same ones that serve in the missions. The Brahimi report had raised this issue, and UN Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1353 (June 2001) established UNSC consultation mechanisms for troop-contributing countries. Nonetheless, these prescriptions seem not to have cured the problem. Participants noted, for example, that when MONUC was authorized to use "all necessary means" under Chapter VII in UN Security Council Resolution 1493 (July 2003), the rules of engagement for contingents on the ground were not updated. Contingents continued to operate under the old rules, which prohibited any active intervention. The result has been differences in public expectations of what the forces are meant to do, damaging the mission's credibility. For example, following MONUC's inability to stop a June 2004 siege by mutinous forces in the eastern city of Bukavu, demonstrators took to the streets in Kinshasa, Lubumbashi, Kisi, Bukavu, and Goma, riotously protesting the impotence and passivity of the UN force.

MONUC's troubles have also demonstrated the difficulties of "scaling up" a mission. The difficulty is based on a number of constraints. Changing a mandate is insufficient if forces on the ground do not update their perceptions of what they are supposed to be doing. Countries that contribute to Chapter VI missions may get cold feet once they recognize the implications of the Chapter VII mandate, introducing unanticipated troop-withdrawal crises in an operation. These constraints were evident in the seven months that it took for MONUC to scale up to Chapter VII capabilities in eastern DRC. A lesson learned is that if there is reason to believe that enforcement will be necessary, then the operation should be mandated as Chapter VII from the outset (see Table 4).

Finally, given the eclectic "cocktail" of actors engaged in peace operations in Africa, an important area of concern is the harmonization of operational concepts, particularly parameters on the use of force. In developing African capacity, it may be useful to draw from EU-UN experiences. For example, the EU and the UN have different definitions for "force" and for other operational concepts, complicating their coordination. The AU policy framework hopes to prevent such a mismatch by developing capacities using UN parameters. But the experience in the conversion of the ECOMOG operation in Sierra Leone into UNAMSIL shows that formal harmonization may be insufficient; there may be difficulties in harmonizing between different "operational cultures" across organizations and contributors. Formal procedures cannot

harmonize conflicting attitudes on how force should be used and how complex tasks should be carried out. Joint training and joint experience are necessary.

3.1.2. Constraints on the utility of force

Discussions at the seminar touched on a number of factors that constrain the utility of force in peace operations in Africa. These include low levels of troops availability compared to operational need and limited political and operational intelligence compared to the complexity of many conflicts.

Box 1: Operational Lessons from "Artemis"

The French-led, EU Operation "Artemis" to Bunia in the DRC was deployed from June 1 to September 1, 2003 to help stave off an impending massacre and to facilitate the expansion of MONUC's presence into the Ituri region by securing the local air field.

At the seminar, Artemis was generally hailed as a success despite being a very limited operation. Discussions at the seminar reflected on elements that contributed to this success. The skill of the personnel involved in the mission was very highly regarded. In addition, the troops' French-language capabilities were taken as a major asset, allowing for more effective intelligence gathering and, as a result, more credibility on the ground.

Artemis also demonstrated the magnitude of the logistical capabilities required to conduct crisis response in a theater of operations as vast as the DRC. The deployment to Bunia required 243 flights from Entebbe, Uganda over three and a half weeks to place about 1,050 troops, 318 vehicles, and 740 tons of supply. The fact that the operation sustained no casualties meant that there was no need for additional medivac flights; the fact that the force was tightly concentrated around Bunia meant that there was no need for extensive helicopters resupply relays. Neither of these factors should necessarily be taken for granted in such crisis response missions.

Artemis would fall under the "Scenario 5" category of the AU stand-by force policy framework. It has been acknowledged in the AU's official implementation process that such operations will remain beyond the reach of any AU-led forces. The implication, of course, is that either national militaries in Africa expand their capabilities to fill the gap or that western forces are assumed to fill this gap. Given the current state of strategic transport capabilities on the continent, the latter option is more realistic for the near future.

Operations in Africa will never have enough escalation capacity to impose peace where the will to peace does not already exist. Even recently successful models may be difficult to replicate. In Sierra Leone, a troop to population ratio of about 3:1000 and a strong UK "over-the-horizon" capacity were sufficient for UNAMSIL to help consolidate the peace. If the situation were to deteriorate in Cote d'Ivoire, such a model would translate into a force of over 50,000 to accompany the French rapid reaction troops. In the DRC this would translate into an inconceivably large force of 180,000, for which an over the horizon capacity would have to involve very serious capabilities (see Box 1 on the assets required to conduct Operation Artemis). Of course these are simplistic calculations, but they help to emphasize an important point: force in such

peace operations can only be useful as an element embedded in a propitious political context.

Force is only useful if it is matched by sufficient political and operational intelligence. The political complexity of the conflicts is amplified by the challenges of bush and jungle terrain and, at times, urban environments. The UN has made some moves to enhance its intelligence gathering capacity, following from the Brahimi report recommendations. Lessons continue to be learned in the field. An important lesson from the French led Operation Artemis was a relatively simple one: being able to speak the language of inhabitants of the mission area provides a major boost to effectiveness. (See Box 1) Seminar participants agreed that intelligence issues in peace operations should receive considerably more detailed attention.

3.2. Peace agreements and political frameworks

Given the constraints on the utility of force, participants noted that peace operations in Africa depend heavily on the design of peace agreements and, often, on economic incentives. Discussions at the seminar suggested that these two factors deserve further investigation, particularly their relationship to each other. A peace agreement serves as a constitutive framework for the restoration of political order. For many conflicts in Africa today, fair management of natural resources is a crucial element in such a constitutive framework. It was pointed out that the 1999 Lome Agreement of the peace process in Sierra Leone had explicit provisions for managing natural resources, but that the agreement did not stick. The Global Accord in the DRC, however, does not contain extensive provisions for governing natural resources; participants involved in the peace process there cited this as a dangerous omission. The implication is that there is a complex relationship between a number of key factors. These factors include the degree to which belligerents are willing to commit to the agreement, the degree to which the agreement is silent on crucial factors like resource management, and the degree to which an agreement will allow for progress in peacebuilding. Careful analysis of these factors is needed to identify how the right balances can be found.

The strength of a peace agreement is dependent on the will of the parties on the ground to maintain commitments to the agreement. But external parties should certainly work to shore up the local parties' commitment to an agreement throughout the implementation process. Participants noted that the international community has failed to live up to this obligation with respect to the Global Accord governing the peace process in the DRC. External pressure—in the form of economic, political, and moral sanctions and inducements—flagged after the establishment of the transitional government, and this has allowed the peace process to slip off track.

The degree of specificity and coherence of a political framework also affects the degree to which force can promote peacebuilding. It is useful to take a lesson from elsewhere on the relationship between force levels and a political framework: the outbreak of major riots last March in Kosovo came despite the placement of KFOR's four brigades and specialized unit; without a coherent political framework, even the world's best forces cannot absolutely prevent disaffected groups from aggressively and violently taking matters into their own hands. The reverse situation prevails with respect to the Nuba Mountains Joint Monitoring Mission (JMM) in central Sudan. There, a ceasefire agreement drawn up in 2002 with significant local actor participation has allowed a lean intervening monitoring presence to be reasonably successful in helping to build peace. Regularized joint consultations between the JMM and the parties to the agreement have been crucial in pushing the peacebuilding process forward. The value of such deep and regularized joint participation should not be overlooked.

3.3. Balancing priorities in peacebuilding

Mission mandates for peace operations have expanded to include elements of economic and social recovery. Operations thus combine security, development, and humanitarian goals. In the long run, attainment of each of these goals helps to promote the attainment of the others. But in the short run, operations are often faced with dilemmas involving tradeoffs between immediate needs in each of these three areas. These dilemmas produce tensions within an operation that are often times unavoidable. During the discussions at the seminar, a number of important tensions were discussed, particularly those that are related to DDR, transitional justice, and child protection.

3.3.1. DDR

Discussions at the seminar touched on the manner in which DDR priorities should be balanced against other development and humanitarian concerns. Focusing on ex-combatants, some argue, comes at the expense of providing relief for larger, more needy populations. For example, according to UN-OCHA figures on conflicts in Africa, there are often 10-20 refugees and internally displaced persons for every combatant that is to be disarmed. There is also concern that "rewarding combatants" through targeted reintegration programs may send the wrong signal. Finally, combatant dependents may not be identified for targeted benefits, leaving them with few opportunities for their own reintegration. Many participants at the seminar favored a "holistic" and "community"

approach to reintegration programs that addresses these tradeoffs with fairness and at the community level.

Nonetheless, such an approach to DDR must still pay heed to the technical soundness of disarmament and demobilization operations. Disarmament and demobilization operations are phases of a peace process during which poor design can precipitate avoidable crises. Such was the case during the early start of the DDR program in Liberia in December 2003. It has become accepted wisdom that local authorities should have some ownership over DDR. But participants at the seminar questioned whether local authorities should have complete discretion over the disarmament and demobilization phases of DDR when their commitments to the process may not be credible and when operational flaws can have disastrous consequences. Such questioning was targeted at the current programs in the eastern DRC and in Burundi.

3.3.2. Transitional justice and peace operations

A key tension in the relationship between transitional justice and peace processes is the tradeoff between strengthening human rights norms and attaining immediate agreement to a peace agreement. At the seminar, a widely held view was that justice mechanisms should be initiated as quickly as possible, but that the process may also necessarily be a long term one. In some cases "as quickly as possible" may mean that significant time must pass. As an example, in Zimbabwe, proceedings to bring about justice and reconciliation following the atrocities committed by the Fifth Brigade in Matebeleland in the 1980s were not initiated until ten years later. Recent events related to the indictment of Charles Taylor by the Special Court in Sierra Leone have also demonstrated how the complex contingencies of peace processes make it difficult to unwaveringly pursue transitional justice. Taylor was not arrested while attending peace talks in Accra after the indictment against him was unsealed, and neither the AU nor ECOWAS have pushed to have Taylor extradited from his refuge in Nigeria to the Special Court. The regional nature of the conflicts in West Africa and, reflexively, the peace process there make this tradeoff especially difficult to master.

3.3.3. Child protection and child soldiers

Dilemmas related to child protection and child soldiers are unavoidable in peace operations in Africa. For example, in Sierra Leone, half of the population is under the age of 18, and 10,000 out of 70,000 combatants are estimated to have been children. On

the one hand, children constitute a high number of innocent bystanders in a conflict zone, and their protection is paramount. On the other hand, the unpredictability of the behavior of child soldiers means that their presence significantly increases the riskiness of a conflict zone. In addition, organizations like UNICEF simply do not have the resources to deal with all child-related issues in such conflict zones. Finally, guidelines for behavior vis-à-vis children in conflict zones are not clear-cut. Child combatants are not afforded any special status in the laws of war, and identification mechanisms like birth certificates are often nonexistent.

A number of ways to handle child protection dilemmas were identified during the discussions at the seminar. Proposals to include training modules and stress counseling in operational training were favorably received. Experience from the field has shown that certain types of local figures, like religious leaders and teachers, can be important partners in securing the release of child soldiers from combatant groups. Finally, preventing a child from returning to combat requires a sustained approach to reintegration. Conflicts disrupt social value systems, thus one cannot assume that traditional patterns of relationships will still exist to absorb children.

4. Conclusion and Implications

The efforts described and the measures suggested above have the aim of boosting capacity for peace operations in Africa—that is, to enhance the ability of regional actors and organizations in Africa, of external countries, and of the UN system to respond more quickly, consistently, and effectively in order to halt violent and destabilizing conflicts on the continent. This aim is also linked to a number of greater goals for the continent. By halting such conflicts, a political context may be created in which economic growth may proceed and human rights may be less vulnerable to abuse. Many of the conflicts in Africa are over the continent's wealth of extractable resources. The implication is that a halt to such conflicts could produce an enormous peace dividend.

Nonetheless, it is also worthwhile to think through some of the possible drawbacks of such initiatives. For one thing, concentrated attention on expanding peace operations capacity steals attention away from other issues of concern. While contributions from, say, Rwanda and even pledges from Somalia's Transitional National Government may be welcomed in the context of the AU standby forces agenda, they also raise questions. To what extent will such contributions distract from progress on reforms within the contributing countries themselves, especially in the security sector, in institutionalizing the rule of law, and in establishing representative political institutions? Outcomes over the past decade and half in other countries—in Pakistan, Nepal, and in other major troop contributing countries—do not show that

contributions to UN peacekeeping necessarily correspond to progressive domestic institutional change through socialization to UN norms or other such processes. Is there reason to believe that the results will be different within the AU?

One also wonders to what degree the AU initiatives are being conducted with the interests of the continent's citizens in mind. It is ironic that once democracy began to flourish in Nigeria with the election of Olusegun Obasanjo in 1999, the country's leadership began to feel pressure to withdraw Nigerian troops from the peace operation in Sierra Leone. Similar pressures were felt in other countries in the sub-region—all of which contributed to the ECOWAS's precipitous withdrawal in 2000. Would democratization in the AU member states create impediments to the AU's agenda? If so, what does this suggest about the value of the AU's agenda?

Finally, progress across the continent toward reaching governance and human rights goals has been lagging despite pledges made via the NEPAD framework and the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa. This leads one to wonder whether the effort of military and political elites to implement the AU's security agenda is an example of dealing with symptoms but avoiding the disease. If peace operations are to minimize the likelihood that violent conflict recurs in a war-torn country, institutional measures must be introduced that effectively target the interests of all relevant parties to the conflicts. External actors intervening in Africa have shown that they have neither the knowledge nor the stamina to solve such complex puzzles. Regional actors may be better endowed in both ways. But the question remains: do regional actors have the necessary credibility?

SECURITY CHALLENGES FACING AFRICA: ASSESSMENTS AND LESSONS LEARNED

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1. Introduction

Since the early 1990s the European Union (EU) and its Member States have been faced with a more and more apparent failure of development policies in sub-Saharan Africa. The rising number of violent conflicts on the continent has put greater pressure to reconsider EU policies towards the region. In addition, in the most recent years the increasing number of inter-state conflicts in Africa and in the rest of the developing world has forced the Western countries to concentrate more on the questions of security and stability. New global threats, failed states, corruption and conflicts have led to a paradigm shift with security being considered as a precondition for development.

The "ideological" gap between the culture of development and the culture of peacekeeping has caused some damage in the implementation of peace agreements. The development culture is based on the principles of identifying and transferring the appropriate technology to the recipients countries and teaching them how to us it. The time necessary to do this is of secondary relevance. What is essential is the principle of ownership of the recipient. If somebody is starving do not give him/her a fish but rather give a fishing rod and teach him/her how to catch a fish. Development culture has rarely considered engagement and investment in security aspects and stability arrangements as a precondition for sustainable development.

In a peacekeeping operation the basic objective is to keep the peace process on track and complete it in the shortest possible time by finally holding free and fair elections. Ownership is more important in the phase of negotiation than in the phase of implementation, when the UN, in its capacity as an impartial broker, should be in the driver's seat, and in some cases, like DDR, it is even counterproductive. Contrary to the long period needed for the implementation of development programmes, time is of paramount importance for DDR. Time is money – a peacekeeping (- making, - enforcement) operation is extremely expensive - and fast implementation is crucial in keeping the political momentum. Losing momentum would produce severe delays in the entire peace process and even put it at risk.

Today the EU recognises the ever growing interdependence and the need to develop strategies that address the whole conflict cycle in a comprehensive approach. Furthermore, worldwide security and prosperity increasingly depend on an effective multilateral system with well functioning international institutions and a rule-based international order.

2. Regional and sub-regional mechanism

For the EU as well as for the African Union (AU) the primary role and responsibility for conflict management and resolution lies with the United Nations (UN). In the light of the failure of peacekeeping operations in Somalia, Rwanda and Angola in the 1990s the UN appeared to be unable to deal with African crises and not equipped to move from peacekeeping to peace making or peace-enforcement. In this situation the re-discovery of concepts such as "African ownership" and "African solutions to African problems" was appealing and considered being a way out of the crisis.

The idea was to subcontract to African regional and sub-regional organisations the prevention and management as well as the resolution of an increasing number of crises in the African continent. This approach was convenient for the western countries and for the African actors, obviously for different reasons. Africans were moved by the pride and the will to take their destiny in their hands, Westerners by their desire to get rid of the African crises. Unfortunately this approach proved to be more clever than wise and African crises have been pushed out of the door by the western countries only to come back trough the window.

In fact regional and sub-regional organisations are not able to prevent, manage and resolve African crisis without the political umbrella of the UN and the financial and logistic support to military operations by the donor countries. Under these conditions, where is the comparative advantage in using regional and sub-regional organisations instead of the United Nations?

An argument often used in favour of sub-regional organisations is the better knowledge of the local situation due to the vicinity of the organisations to the zone of crisis. This argument however is not sustained by experience. On the contrary, often the vicinity has proved to be counterproductive. Being too close to the centre of the crisis the sub-regional organisations are perceived as being not neutral. Member States of a sub-regional organisation have their own national interests which can be conflicting with the interests of the country affected by the crisis.

Even if this would not be the case, what is important is not the truth as such, but the perception of the truth and a lack of neutrality and impartiality - real or presumed - is the perfect recipe for failure. For instance, SADC could not play a positive role in the solution of the crisis in the DRC since there was a strong presumption of partiality and lack of a uniform approach, while some of the Member States were even directly involved in the crisis as belligerents (Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe). Although ECOWAS has developed an extensive experience over the last decade and was hence capable of dealing with the major conflicts in West Africa (in Sierra Leone and Liberia), it has to be noted that the significant commitment of the United Kingdom in the case of

Sierra Leone and the United States in the case of Liberia were fundamental to the relative success.

The case of regional organisations is different. Though the AU has the same technical and financial problems as most of the sub-regional organisations, its impartiality, however, can not be questioned. Furthermore, as a regional organisation the AU, if provided with financial and logistic support, can deploy a peace keeping/enforcement mission in much shorter time than the UN and the costs of the mission can be significantly lower. This seems to be the most relevant comparative advantage of the AU. For both, the regional and sub-regional organisations, we still have to solve the problem of funding, equipping and logistically supporting them when they engage in a peace operation.

In the context of the rapidly growing number of peacekeeping operations (PKO) two questions have to be asked: first, why has the UN mostly failed in Africa? From the analysis of different case studies it is obvious that there was lack of political will of the international community to deal adequately with the conflicts. As a consequence, lack of or scarce financial resources increased substantially the risk for failure. Both deficiencies led almost automatically to an inadequate mandate with an insufficient number of military forces and ineffective equipment.

From this consideration the second question follows: is the international community ready to give to the regional (the AU) and its sub-regional organisations (ECOWAS, SADC, IGAD, etc.) what it was not ready to provide for the UN? In looking at the most recent example in Burundi, there is no reason to be optimistic. The AU Mission in Burundi (AMIB) was made possible thanks to the decision of the EU and the Burundian Government to make 25 million Euro available from the European Development Fund (EDF), out of the B-envelop of Burundi. The contribution of the rest of the international community was marginal and almost non-existent. Few months later the mission had to be transformed into a UN peacekeeping operation (ONUB) because it was financially not sustainable for the AU.

However, two lessons can be learned from this mission: First by deploying three battalions in a very short time the AU contributed effectively to stabilising the situation in Burundi over about one year and gave time to the UN to set up and deploy a more robust mission incorporating the AMIB contingent and adding new troops. This formula should be retained as the best way to use regional or sub-regional organisations to bring peace and stability to the African continent.

Second, even for short term operations and to fill the gap between the explosion of a crisis and the deployment of a UN operation, there is no way that these operations can be funded by voluntary contributions of the donor community. An assessed budget is necessary and the countries of the region can not provide this. Up to now only the EU

has come up with a concrete financial assistance in setting up a special fund for Africa (the Peace Facility) providing 250 million Euro for the AU and the sub-regional organisations. This amount is just seed money that should allow the African peace and security architecture to take off. Much more is necessary to make it work on regular basis.

3. Co-operation between Europe and Africa

Since the establishment of the AU in 2002 and the official launch of its Peace and Security Council (PSC) in 2004 the EU and all its international partners started to recognise the AU's political will in setting up an African peace and security architecture. To a certain extent there is still little confidence in this endeavour and a change of attitude of some of the main actors of the international community could be beneficial to the process. Important organisational changes have been made and they are accompanied by the serious commitment of the leading figures of the institution. To give the African organisations trust by supporting their efforts with all means available could be one of the litmus tests for African ownership.

The main problem African organisations are faced with is funding and lack of training of their forces. A recent EU fact-finding mission to the AU and sub-regional organisations was tasked to find out what their needs and requirements are as well as what they expected from (future) EU support. In the co-operation between the AU and several donors of the international community the request for support in these areas has been recognised.

The AU has developed an "African Peace and Security Architecture" which intends comprehensive interaction between the AU and its sub-regional organisations as well as with the UN and the EU. This design builds on five instruments: the Peace and Security Council (PSC), an African Standby Force (ASF, relying on up to 5 regional standby brigades), Early Warning Systems (EWS – continental and in co-ordination with sub-regional systems), Panel of the Wise (PoW) and a Common African Defence and Security Policy (CADSP) which includes a non-aggression pact, commitments regarding disarmament (SALW) and a possible post-conflict reconstruction dimension.

4. Co-operation between EU and UN

The criticism of the malfunctioning of UN-PKOs should bear in mind that the UN system depends heavily on its member nations. Apart from making the bureaucracy more efficient, UN members will have to increase their political, financial and

operational support to peace keeping/enforcement and they should abandon pursuing their national interests through the UN. Developed countries are less and less willing to supply troops and operational support. This confronts us with the paradoxical situation that only developing countries, mainly for economic reasons, are eager to provide to the UN troops often badly trained and equipped, while the well trained and well equipped armies of western countries are not available for peace keeping/enforcement operations.

Recently some progress has been made to allow UN-DPKO to use the expertise of the EU and its Member States. In September 2003 the EU and the UN signed a declaration establishing a joint consultative mechanism on co-operation in crisis management. The task is to examine ways and means to enhance mutual co-ordination and compatibility in areas such as planning, training, communication and regular information. This declaration was followed up by the EU-UN co-operation in military crisis management endorsed by the European Council in June 2004 as part of the Presidency's progress report on European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP).

The Council has agreed a way ahead for the elaboration of modalities for the potential provision by the EU of military capabilities in support of the UN, which are being drawn up in close consultation with the UN and which encompass possible rapid response. Practical co-operation with the UN continued in the context of a joint fact-finding mission to Burundi in February 2004 investigating the possibility to deploy a UN peacekeeping operation. The EU, following consultation with the UN, is currently providing assistance for the establishment and training of an Integrated Police Unit (IPU) in Kinshasa.

For the provision of national military capability to UN-DPKO two important concepts were put forward for future operations, namely the "clearing-house" mechanism and the establishment of "battle-groups". The new instrument of the "clearing house" process aims at creating a framework by which EU Member States can exchange information on contributions to be given to a UN-PKO as well as to share and co-ordinate their national contributions to the UN. As a second instrument for PKO, in answer to a request from the UN, the EU is developing rapid reaction battle groups, to be operational in 2007, that could function as a bridging model (such as Artemis in Ituri/DRC and Shirbrig in the Eritrea/Ethiopia border conflict). They could also provide some units to support the UN-PKO at the moment of take-over (re-hating). As stand-by forces they could serve as a "over the horizon reserve" and as an extraction force. In any case, some of these ideas still need more in-depth reflection and discussion, in particular in situations where a more complex operation is designed.

Additional support is currently under consideration and the EU is discussing a Memorandum of Understanding for the use of the EU Satellite centres (SATCEN) products sharing intelligence (e.g. with MONUC in the Kivus/DRC). As the MONUC

mandate is up for renewal joint planning with the UN has started to examine the requirements and possibilities for the urgent reinforcement of MONUC.

5. Conclusions:

- The tasks undertaken by PKO have progressively become more complex and ambitious which at the same time diminished the chances to live up to the high expectations and to fulfil the mandate.
- Three main factors can become critical for the success of a peacekeeping mission: the motivation of the parties to the conflict;
  - the involvement of outside actors (neighbouring states, regional powers, international community/UNSCmembers);
  - national resources (which fuel a conflict and can become a perpetuating cause to it) and other unsolved root causes.
- To decrease the risks of failure, elements such as the overall politics of the Security Council, the exact mandate for an operation and any other aspect such as outside pressure, including from the media, have to be considered. Equally important is the question who will be chosen to lead the operation, which countries are contributing troops or other support and how the mandate is interpreted. A chapter VII mandate as in the case of MONUC does not necessarily guarantee peace enforcement if the rules of engagement are still the same as under chapter VI and if no additional reinforcement of troops and equipment (quality and quantity) is provided.
- On the side of the host country consideration has to be given to the history and the causes of the conflict, the type of peace agreement, how it was negotiated and how the whole peace process as been owned by the country. In several cases of African conflicts peace agreements have been pushed through by the international community and the willingness of former warlords to give up fighting and to co-operate in the implementation of the peace agreement often depends on the reward with influential government posts agreed upon in the negotiations.
- The challenges facing the international community in the area of peace and security will remain on the agendas of several organisations, bilateral and individual actors. Their capability to enhance effective and efficient co-operation and co-ordination will determine the success of future peacekeeping operations under the umbrella of the UN. Comparative advantages and the strength of different global, regional and sub-regional players have to be analysed in order to move towards the creation of strategic partnerships capable of dealing with the scattered crises and conflicts in Africa. At present the principle of African ownership can only serve the objectives when the UN, the EU and other powerful countries help to enhance effectively African capacities and capabilities.

FROM CAPE TO CASABLANCA: AFRICA'S EVOLVING SECURITY ARCHITECTURE[♣]

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Africa. A breathtaking continent of spectacular beauty conjures up extreme images of paradisic Eden as the birthplace of humankind and, in the eyes of Afro-pessimists, a conflict-ridden, disease-afflicted "dark continent" that offers a glimpse of apocalyptic Armageddon. Post-independence Africa still struggles with the legacies of a deformed colonial past as well as the destructive machinations of external powers – particularly the United States (US), the Soviet Union and France - during the Cold War. The continent came to be seen as an area of low strategic interest after the end of the Cold War, as most dramatically evidenced by the irresponsible abandonment and willful neglect of Somalia and Rwanda in the 1990s by the United Nations (UN) Security Council. This essay will examine Africa's evolving security architecture focusing on West, Southern, Central, Eastern, and North Africa. It examines efforts by Africa's subregional organisations and actors to achieve a *Pax Africana*: an attempt by Africans to establish and consolidate peace on their continent through their own exertions.[1]

The post-Cold War neglect of Africa by external actors forced local actors like the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) – now the African Union (AU) -, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), many of them primarily economic organisations, to adopt security roles. The loss of external support also led African leaders to seek to protect their regimes from rebels and putschists through these security mechanisms. However, these organisations remain weak institutions, lacking financial and logistical means as well as adequate and well-trained staff. Regional interventions have also become embroiled in political difficulties and often been viewed as partisan and lacking legitimacy.

Amidst these difficulties, some progress has been made in stemming some of Africa's most intractable conflicts largely through the efforts of regional peacekeepers. Nigerian-led ECOMOG (ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group) interventions in Liberia and Sierra Leone between 1990 and 1998 cost over $1billion and resulted in more than 1000 peacekeeping fatalities. ECOWAS also sent peacekeepers to Guinea-Bissau (1999) and Côte d'Ivoire (2003), while West Africa's aspiring hegemon, Nigeria, led back a peacekeeping force into Liberia in August 2003 which was

♣ The author would like to thank Mark Chingono, Christopher Landsberg and Musifiky Mwanasali for their comments on an earlier version of this essay.
[1] See Ali Mazrui, *Towards a Pax Africana*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967).

subsumed under the UN three months later. South Africa, the continent's other potential hegemon[2], launched an intervention into Lesotho in 1998, and currently has peacekeepers in Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).

The return of UN peacekeepers to Africa by 2000 was, however, a clear manifestation of the continuing weakness of Africa's regional organisations. Despite efforts by these organisations to create security mechanisms to manage local conflicts, the UN's role remains significant to Africa's evolving security architecture. The recognition of the link between bad governance and insecurity has also resulted in increased efforts by Africa's civil society actors to contribute to peacemaking and democratization efforts. This has resulted in Africa's leaders, led by South Africa's Thabo Mbeki, Nigeria's Olusegun Obasanjo, Senegal's Abdoulaye Wade and Algeria's Abdelaziz Bouteflika, devising a New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) which seeks greater western aid, investment and debt relief in exchange for a self-monitored voluntary peer-review system of good governance.[3] We will next assess regional conflict management efforts in Africa's five subregions.

West Africa: The Heirs of Nkrumah At the time of the creation of the OAU in 1963, Ghana's founding president, Kwame Nkrumah, was in a minority of one in calling for the establishment of an African High Command. The idea was to establish a supranational standing army involving all independent African states pooling their resources to advance the liberation of the continent and to protect Africa from external intervention. Newly-independent African leaders distrusted Nkrumah's intentions, and many placed more faith in defence agreements with external powers, most notably France. Africa's leaders sought instead to freeze the colonially-inherited map of Africa, stressing the inviolability of borders and seeking to entrench their own positions behind the shield of sovereignty. Today, Nkrumah's West African heirs are seeking to establish the common security institution that the visionary Ghanaian leader had advocated four decades ago. West African leaders have gone further than any other African subregion in devising a security mechanism.

Before assessing the ECOWAS security mechanism, some background is needed on the factors that led to its establishment in 1999. The three civil conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau in the 1990s claimed over 250,000 lives and spawned

[2] See Adekeye Adebajo and Christopher Landsberg, "South Africa and Nigeria as Regional Hegemons," in Mwesiga Baregu and Christopher Landsberg (eds.), *From Cape to Congo: Southern Africa's Evolving Security Challenges,* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner, 2003), pp.171-203.

[3] See, for example, Adebayo Adedeji, "From Lagos to NEPAD", *New Agenda*, Issue 8, Fourth quarter 2002, pp. 32-47; International Peace Academy, "NEPAD: African Initiative, New Partnership?", report of a policy seminar in New York, July 2002; and Christopher Landsberg, "From African Renaissance to NEPAD….and back to the Renaissance", in *Journal of African Elections*, vol.1 no.2, September 2002, pp.87-98.

more than 1.2 million refugees.[4] Liberia and Guinea remain fragile today, Guinea-Bissau suffered its second *coup d'état* in four years in September 2003, while Côte d'Ivoire's government is currently faced with an insurgency that has exposed the country's ethnic and religious fault lines. In response to these crises, ECOWAS leaders have established the following organs to implement security decisions: a Mediation and Security Council, a Defence and Security Commission, and a Council of Elders. Local bureaus for gathering political, economic, and social information for ECOWAS' early warning system are currently being set up in Burkina Faso, Benin, Gambia, and Liberia. An observation center is being established at the ECOWAS secretariat in Abuja, Nigeria, to analyse early warning information.

Encouragingly, civil society groups in West Africa have been consulted by ECOWAS to determine how they can contribute to its early warning system. The ECOWAS security mechanism also reflects some of the lessons learned from ECOMOG's peacekeeping experiences in the last decade. The Mediation and Security Council was inspired by the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia which coordinated subregional peacemaking efforts in the 1990s. Ten members are now elected to two-year terms, with decisions being made by a two-thirds majority of six members, and regular meetings have been held. The Defence and Security Commission, consisting of military technocrats, advises the Mediation and Security Council on mandates, terms of reference, and the appointment of force commanders for military missions. ECOWAS defence ministers and chiefs of defence staff have already met to discuss the establishment of an ECOMOG stand-by force. Members of ECOWAS' Council of Elders have observed elections in Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Zimbabwe. ECOWAS has set up a parliament in Nigeria that now meets regularly.

The ECOWAS security mechanism is establishing a stand-by force of brigade-size consisting of specially-trained and equipped units of national armies ready to be deployed at short notice. All three ECOMOG interventions clearly exposed the logistical weaknesses of West Africa's armies. For the foreseeable future, such logistical support will have to come from external actors until the subregion develops its own capabilities. The issue of financing is particularly important to the building of ECOMOG's stand-by force. Nigeria ended up footing more than 80 percent of these

[4] For accounts of these civil wars, see Adekeye Adebajo, *Building Peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau*, (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002); Adekeye Adebajo, *Liberia's Civil War: Nigeria, ECOMOG and Regional Security in West Africa*, (Boulder And London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002); Eric G. Berman and Katie E. Sams, *Peacekeeping in Africa: Capabilities and Culpabilities*, (Geneva and Pretoria: UN Institute for Disarmament Research and Institute for Security Studies, 2000); Herbert Howe, "Lessons of Liberia: ECOMOG and Regional Peacekeeping", *International Security*, vol.21 Issue 3, Winter 1996/1997; and Robert Mortimer, "From ECOMOG to ECOMOG II: Intervention in Sierra Leone", in John W. Harbeson and Donald Rothchild (eds.), *Africa in World Politics: The African State System in Flux,* (Colorado and Oxford: Westview Press, Third Edition, 2000), pp.188-207.

costs and providing over 75 percent of the troops in both Liberia and Sierra Leone. Under the new ECOWAS mechanism, a Special Peace Fund is to be established to raise revenue through a community levy, with funding also expected to be provided by the rest of the international community. Peacekeeping costs can prove a disincentive to future missions in a subregion saddled with a crippling debt burden. A more stable financial arrangement will be essential if future peacekeeping missions are to succeed in West Africa.

Southern Africa: Gulliver's Troubles An analysis of security in Southern Africa must necessarily begin with the centrality of South Africa's role in the subregion. Apartheid South Africa used its military strength aggressively to subdue its neighbours through a destructive policy of military destabilisation that resulted in about one million deaths and cost Southern Africa an estimated $60 billion between 1980 and 1988.[5] This situation had pushed neighbouring states to form the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) in 1980 as an explicitly anti-South African alliance. But South Africa accounted, as it does today, for 80 percent of the subregion's economic strength, and the regional Gulliver's infrastructure and capital proved to be irresistible magnets for regional Lilliputians.[6] Despite their attempts at lessening their dependence on Pretoria, many of the subregion's states still traded covertly with, and depended on, South Africa.

A democratic South Africa joined a reformed Southern African Development Community in 1994.[7] During Nelson Mandela's presidency between 1994 and 1999, South Africa largely shunned a military role in the subregion out of fear of arousing charges of hegemonic domination. As SADC chair, Mandela, however, became embroiled in a spat with Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe over the structure of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security which Mugabe chaired.[8] South Africa's first

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[5] Adebayo Adedeji, *South Africa and Africa: Within or Apart*? (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1996), p.9.

[6] See, for example, James Barber and John Barratt, *South Africa's Foreign Policy 1948-88: The Search for Status and Security,* (Johannesburg and Cambridge: Southern Book Publishers and Cambridge University Press, 1988); Deon Geldenhuys, *The Diplomacy of Isolation: South African Foreign Policy Making*, (Johannesburg: Macmillan, 1994); and Joseph Hanlon, *Apartheid's Second Front: South Africa's War Against its Neighbors*, (London: Penguin, 1986).

[7] Other members of SADC include: Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

[8] See, for example, Laurie Nathan, "'Organ Failure': A Review of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security," in Liisa Laakso, *Regional Integration for Conflict Prevention and Peace Building in Africa: Europe, SADC and ECOWAS*, (Helsinki: Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2002), pp.62-102; Rocklyn Williams, "From Collective Security to Peacebuilding? The Challenges of Managing Regional Security in Southern Africa," in Christopher Clapham, Greg Mills, Anna Morner, and Elizabeth Sidiropoulos (eds.) *Regional Integration in Southern Africa: Comparative International Perspectives* (Johannesburg: The South African Institute of International Affairs, 2001), pp.105-113;

major peacekeeping mission was also marred by controversy. After a constitutional crisis in Lesotho, its government invited South Africa to send troops to the country to help restore order. South Africa undertook the intervention with Botswana in September 1998, but faced stiff opposition from sections of Lesotho's army and parts of the population, resulting in widespread disorder before the situation was brought under control. The legitimacy of the intervention as a SADC-sanctioned action has been widely questioned. The leadership of the peacekeeping force by white South African officers from the apartheid army further fueled passions.[9] Chastened by Mandela's bitter foreign policy experiences, his successor, Thabo Mbeki, has consistently sought multilateral solutions to resolving regional conflicts and skillfully used both a strategic partnership with Nigeria and his chairmanship of the AU between 2002 and 2003 to pursue his goals. Mbeki has been more prepared than Mandela to send peacekeepers abroad,[10] and South Africa contributed to peacekeeping missions in Burundi and the DRC.

Like ECOWAS, SADC is currently attempting to create a security mechanism with clearly articulated structures to promote more predictable decision-making. The dispute over the SADC security organ has now been resolved with the establishment of a troika system whereby the current, past and future chairs take joint decisions on security issues. At SADC's summit in Malawi in August 2001, a Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation was agreed, outlining criteria for subregional interventions and calling for collaboration with the AU and the UN. The SADC summit in Tanzania in September 2003 saw the signing of a Mutual Defence Pact which commits all 14 of its members to come to the assistance of any country facing external attack. [11] With the political divisions and financial deficiencies within SADC, it remains to be seen whether Southern African states can successfully implement these decisions and establish an effective security mechanism to manage local conflicts.

Central Africa: The Great Lakes of Crocodiles The Great Lakes region encompassing Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda, contains some of Africa's most spectacular landscape: rolling hills, dense forests, rising mountains and lush valleys. Recent events have, however, turned a natural paradise into a man-made disaster: the

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and Agostinho Zacarias, "Redefining Security," in Baregu and Landsberg (eds.), *From Cape to Congo*, pp. 31-51.

[9] See Khabele Matlosa, "The Lesotho Conflict: Major Causes and Management," in Kato Lambrechts (ed.), *Crisis in Lesotho: The Challenge of Managing Conflict in Southern Africa*, Foundation for Global Dialogue, South Africa, African Dialogue Series no.2 March 1999, pp.6-10; and Roger Southall, "Is Lesotho South Africa's Tenth Province?", in Lambrechts (ed.), *Crisis in Lesotho*, pp.19-25.

[10] For a rich comparison of the foreign policy styles of Mandela and Mbeki, see Christopher Landsberg, "Promoting Democracy: The Mandela-Mbeki Doctrine", *Journal Of Democracy,* July 2000, vol.11, no.3, pp.107-121.

[11] See Naison Ngoma, "SADC: Towards a Security Community," *African Security Review*, vol.12 no.3, 2003, pp.17-28.

Great Lakes have become infested with ethnic crocodiles of the genocidal species. Rwanda and Burundi are tragic twins seemingly fated to repeat cycles of bloody massacres in a struggle between a Hutu majority and Tutsi minority with deep roots in a pernicious process of colonial social engineering under Belgian rule. The conflict in the DRC has involved seven foreign armies and a myriad of militias and mercenaries in a state the size of western Europe that was destroyed by the 31-year autocratic misrule of the western-backed Mobutu Sese Seko.[12] Military clashes between former allies, Uganda and Rwanda, and their reported looting of the Congo's mineral resources, further exacerbated the conflict. An estimated 2.5 million people have died in the Congo since August 1998, and the war has spawned more than 600,000 refugees. The withdrawal of most of the foreign armies from the country by 2002 offers an opportunity for the UN Organisation Mission in the Congo (MONUC) to oversee peace efforts.

Rwanda, still fragile after the genocide in 1994 which resulted in an estimated 800,000 mainly Tutsi deaths, held a controversial election in August 2003 which the incumbent Tutsi president, Paul Kagame, won with over 90 percent of the vote after incarcerating and intimidating his major Hutu opponents. The civil war in Burundi has lasted for a decade and resulted in over 200,000 deaths. Under the auspices of the African Union, the South African-led African Mission in Burundi (AMIB), bolstered in 2003 by Ethiopian and Mozambican troops, is currently attempting to implement a fragile peace accord. A reluctant UN has been asked to take over the force and to deploy additional peacekeepers.[13]

Two of the major challenges of conflict management in the Great Lakes region are the reluctance of the UN Security Council to play a substantial peacekeeping role, and the lack of effective security institutions in this subregion. Since the UN withdrew from Rwanda in 1994, it has consistently declined to send peacekeepers to Burundi and has sent an insufficient force of 10,751 to the DRC. The Great Lakes region itself does not have an established institutionalised framework for managing conflicts. The *Communauté Économique des Pays des Grand Lacs* (CEPGL), involving Rwanda, Burundi and the DRC, has long become moribund. The potential of the Congo to play a lead role in the Great Lakes, as Nigeria has done in West Africa and South Africa in

[12] See Rene Lemarchand, *Burundi: Ethnic Conflict and Genocide* (New York: Woodrow Wilson Center and Cambridge University Press, 1994); Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism and Genocide in Rwanda*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001); Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo: From Leopold to Kabila*, (London and New York: Zed Books and Palgrave, 2002); Gérard Prunier, *The Rwandan Crisis: History of a Genocide*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); and Crawford Young and Thomas Turner, *The Rise and Decline of the Zairian State*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

[13] See Henri Boshoff and Dara Francis, "The AU Mission in Burundi: Technical and Operational Dimensions," *African Security Review*, vol.12 no.3, 2003, pp.41-44; and Shannon Field, "The Best Chance Yet for Burundi," *ThisDay* 13 October 2003, p.15.

Southern and Central Africa, has been diminished by the fact that the Congolese state has become a carcass on which neighbouring vultures have feasted.

The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) was created in 1983 to promote regional integration between its eleven states.[14] At a meeting in Gabon in 1997, Central African leaders proposed the creation of a security mechanism for the prevention and management of conflicts. The aim of the mechanism was to establish a legal and institutional framework to promote and strengthen peace and security in Central Africa. The *Conseil de Paix et de Securité de l'Afrique Centrale* (COPAX) was established under the auspices of the UN Standing Committee for Security Questions in Central Africa.[15] However, technical problems with creating ECCAS's structures, as well as the pursuit of parochial national interests, have frustrated the effective operation of this security mechanism. ECCAS members have struggled to agree on the relationship between ECCAS, COPAX, and its early warning mechanism. Central African states have moreover responded to the failure to create an institutional framework for managing conflicts by seeking membership in alternative subregional organizations: the DRC joined SADC in 1997, while Burundi and Rwanda have applied to join the East African Community (EAC) consisting of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda.

In contrast to ECCAS, SADC members have been active in recent peacemaking efforts in the Great Lakes. SADC's ability to address the conflict in the DRC had previously been constrained by differences between South Africa on the one hand, and Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia, on the other. But South Africa has now emerged as the key peacemaker in the DRC and Burundi. Thabo Mbeki has been an indefatigable peacebroker in the Congo, turning Pretoria into the capital of peace efforts and putting his government's formidable resources at the disposal of the parties. Former South African president, Nelson Mandela, was the chief mediator of the peace deal in Burundi, while South African deputy president, Jacob Zuma, has more recently led peacemaking efforts. As earlier noted, South Africa has also contributed peacekeepers to both countries.

As it did in Arusha in 1993 during the Rwandan conflict, the OAU led mediation efforts in the Congo. At a meeting in Lusaka in July 1999, Angola, DRC, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda and Zimbabwe signed a peace accord. The UN was asked to deploy a peacekeeping force to the Congo, in collaboration with the OAU. Lusaka called for a Joint Military Commission (JMC) which was mandated to verify the disarmament of armed groups and to monitor the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Congo. [16]

[14] ECCAS' members are: Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic (CAR), Chad, Congo-Brazzaville, DRC, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rwanda, and São Tomé and Principe.
[15] See Musifiky Mwanasali, "Politics and Security in Central Africa", *African Journal of Political Science*, Vol.4 No.2, 1999.
[16] On the Lusaka accord, see Musifiky Mwanasali, "From the Organization of African Unity to the African Union", in Baregu and Landsberg (eds.), *From Cape to Congo*, pp.213-215; and Report of the

Energetic South African diplomacy eventually produced results. In July 2002, Thabo Mbeki brokered the Pretoria accord between Rwanda and the DRC, in which Rwanda agreed to withdraw from the Congo in exchange for Congolese leader, Joseph Kabila's agreement to track down and disarm Hutu militias based in his country. A month after South Africa's diplomatic triumph, Angola brokered the Luanda accord between Uganda and the DRC, in which Uganda agreed to withdraw its troops from the Congo. In December 2002, the Global and All-Inclusive Agreement on the Transition in the DRC was signed in Pretoria by all of Congo's main parties. The accord called for a two-year transition period during which Joseph Kabila would run the country with four vice-presidents selected by all the parties. Despite this progress, instability remains in the Congo's Kivu and Ituri provinces, and it is unclear whether the UN will provide the sizeable force needed to police this huge country at the heart of Africa.

Eastern Africa: Nyerere's Legacy Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, Tanzania's founding president, left an enduring legacy on Africa's security architecture. Nyerere, an ardent supporter of the decolonization struggle in Southern Africa who hosted the OAU's Liberation Committee, ordered his troops into the Eastern African state of Uganda in 1979 to end the tyrannical reign of Idi Amin whose soldiers had earlier launched incursions into Tanzanian territory. Nyerere's action, launched without the approval of the OAU or the UN, was a rarity in the history of post-colonial Africa where the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states was sacrosanct to regional states. In a sense, Nyerere's intervention was a precursor of Nigeria's intervention into Sierra Leone in 1998 which ousted a military regime and restored democratic rule. More recently, Africa has seen the emergence of guerrilla leaders like Uganda's Yoweri Museveni, Rwanda's Paul Kagame, and Eritrea's Isais Afwerki who, even after taking power, have been prepared to use force in a bid to achieve political ends in neighbouring states. The revered Nyerere was a patient and skilful mediator who dedicated his last years to trying to find a solution to the conflict in Burundi. He thus left a legacy on security issues in Southern, Eastern and Central Africa.

Nyerere's heirs in the Eastern African states of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda are members of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, a subregional body originally created in 1986 to combat drought and promote development. IGAD has since developed a Conflict Early Warning System (CEWARN) in Ethiopia in 2002, with strong assistance from civil society groups. But like Africa's other subregional organisations, IGAD remains poorly-staffed, poorly-funded and poorly-equipped. Its members also remain deeply divided: Ethiopia and Eritrea fought a bloody border war between 1998 and 2000; Uganda and Sudan have

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Secretary-General on the United Nations Preliminary Deployment in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. S/1999/790, 15 July 1999, pp.1-3.

supported each other's rebels; Eritrea has clashed with Djibouti and Sudan; and Ethiopia and Somalia have lingering historical animosity resulting from Somalia's failed irredentist bid to claim Ethiopia's Ogaden region in 1977-1978. Somalia itself currently remains a failed state after a botched UN peacekeeping mission was withdrawn from the country in 1995.

Significantly, under the chairmanship of Algerian leader, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, it was the OAU, and not IGAD, which devised the peace plan for ending the Ethiopia/Eritrea war in 2000, which UN peacekeepers then had to implement. This revealed IGAD's weak peacekeeping capacity, and many have also pointed out the lack of a local hegemon in this subregion which could play a leading security role.[17] But despite its deficiencies, IGAD has contributed substantially to peacemaking initiatives to resolve the disputes in Sudan and Somalia with the financial support of the US and members of the European Union (EU).

The Maghreb: Saharan Sphinx The Maghreb region has been compared to a bird, with Algeria, Mauritania, and Tunisia constituting the body and Morocco and Libya the necessary wings for the bird to fly. But this is a bird which has been so incapacitated with conflict between its various body parts, that it has had difficulty lifting off. Morocco and Algeria have used the Western Sahara as a stage to play out their rivalry over leadership of the Maghreb. Algeria has been embroiled in a bloody civil war since its military brass hats annulled democratic elections that Islamists were poised to win in 1991. The Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) created in 1989 to promote economic cooperation between its members has thus become dormant due to the continuing friction in bilateral relations between Algeria and Morocco. With the conflicts in Western Sahara and Algeria and devastating terrorist attacks in the Moroccan city of Casablanca in May 2003, the Maghreb could yet become a boiling cauldron whose eruption into further violence could engulf the entire subregion.

The three-decade Western Sahara conflict has been relegated to the background of the world's concerns. The failure, since UN peacekeepers arrived in 1991, to implement a peace agreement to hold a referendum in Western Sahara has been due to three main factors. First, both Morocco, which has illegally occupied the territory since 1975, and the Algerian-backed liberation movement, the POLISARIO Front, transferred the military conflict that was waged for fifteen years to the diplomatic battlefield, and efforts at identifying voters for the referendum effectively became a proxy for waging war by other means. Second, the main external implementing agents of the peace agreement, the UN and the OAU, were distrusted by both parties. Third, two of the five

[17] See International Peace Academy/Makerere University/Africa Peace Forum, "Building Peace in Eastern Africa", report of a policy seminar held in Entebbe, Uganda, December 2002. (Available at www.ipacademy.org).

permanent members of the UN Security Council - the US and France - are traditional allies of Morocco and have desisted from applying pressure on the kingdom for fear of triggering domestic instability.

For the first time in this conflict that represents Africa's last act of decolonization, there was a real possibility, with the completion of the tortuous identification process by the UN in 1999, that a successful referendum would finally answer the perennial Western Sahara question. However, initial proposals by former US secretary of state and UN Special Envoy, James Baker, would have effectively legitimised Moroccan population transfers to the territory and granted the right to vote to people excluded from the UN's own referendum list. A revised plan submitted in May 2003[18] was accepted by the POLISARIO Front, but is still being rejected by Morocco which insists, contrary to its earlier acceptance of the UN's referendum plan, that the independence of Western Sahara can not be an option in any referendum. The UN has spent thirteen years and $600 million organising a referendum that, even if Morocco accepts the peace plan, is five years away. It is tragic that the long-suffering Saharan refugees who have inhabited the barren, inhospitable Algerian desert for the last three decades, may never be offered a free and fair referendum through which to express their right to determine their own political future.[19]

Towards a Pax Africana

This essay has assessed Africa's evolving security architecture from the Cape (Southern Africa) to Casablanca (North Africa). In concluding, we will analyse recent efforts by the African Union to establish a security mechanism and offer some policy lessons for constructing an effective security architecture involving the AU coordinating the efforts of Africa's subregional bodies, its civil society actors, and the UN. Despite the creation of the OAU security mechanism in 1993, the organisation's deployment of tiny military observer missions to Rwanda, Burundi and Comoros failed to stem instability in these countries and exposed the organisation's logistical and financial weaknesses. The new AU has not yet defined a proper division of labour between itself and Africa's security mechanisms and actors. Unlike the OAU charter, however, the AU's constitutive act allows for interference in the internal affairs of member states in cases of

[18] See Report of the Secretary-General on the situation concerning Western Sahara. S/2003/565, 23 May 2003, annex II.

[19] See Adekeye Adebajo, "Selling Out the Sahara? The Tragic Tale of the UN Referendum," Occasional Paper Series, Cornell University Institute for African Development, Spring 2002; William Durch, "The United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara", in William Durch (ed.), *The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping: Case Studies and Comparative Analysis*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), pp.406-434; and Fatemeh Ziai, "Keeping it secret: The United Nations Operation in Western Sahara", *Human Rights Watch Middle East*, vol.7 no.7, October 1995.

unconstitutional changes of governments, genocide, and conflicts that threaten regional stability. The act also provides for the participation of African civil society actors in the activities of the organisation, and calls for the establishment of a Pan-African Parliament. If implemented, these innovations are potentially revolutionary in light of the OAU's rigid, non-interventionist posture in the first three decades of its existence.

AU leaders established a 15-member Peace and Security Council in March 2004 to make decisions on conflict prevention and peacebuilding.[20] An African stand-by force of brigade size is to be established by 2010 to undertake peace support operations, with each of Africa's subregions mandated to develop the capacity to undertake such missions.[21] The AU has been explicitly mandated to coordinate the activities of Africa's subregional mechanisms. But the AU, now under the visionary leadership of former Malian president, Alpha Konaré, still suffers from many financial and personnel deficiencies that could hamper its conflict management ambitions. The EU has announced the creation of an African Peace Support Facility (APSF) to establish an African peacekeeping fund of about $250-300 million a year. These funds could provide the resources that African security organisations have so far lacked, but the dangers of relying excessively on external donors for such an important task could prove unsustainable in the long run. The AU must also improve its internal financial processes before it can absorb such large funds. Furthermore, the AU – headquartered in Ethiopia - remains geographically distant from many of Africa's conflicts, and it is clear that the UN and subregional actors will continue to lead local peacekeeping efforts in the near future. Operationalising the AU's new security mechanism will also require a political will and commitment that its leaders have not always demonstrated in the past.

There remains an urgent need for western donors to demonstrate a similar generosity to Africa as they have done in Bosnia, Kosovo, East Timor and Afghanistan. For example, in 2000, while $2 billion was pledged for the reconstruction of the Balkans, barely $150 million was pledged for Sierra Leone. There is a pressing need to establish a proper division of labour between the UN and Africa's fledgling security organisations. Rwanda's Arusha agreement, the Congo's Lusaka accord, and the Algiers accords that ended the Ethiopia/Eritrea conflict all clearly revealed the military weakness of the OAU/AU whose members lacked the resources to implement agreements they had negotiated without the deployment of UN peacekeepers. In Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Côte d'Ivoire, the UN took over ECOWAS' peacekeeping duties. The willingness of western peacekeepers who have both the equipment and resources to

[20] See Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union. Adopted in Durban, South Africa, 9 July 2002.
[21] See Jakkie Cilliers, "From Durban to Maputo: A Review of 2003 Summit of the African Union," Institute for Security Studies paper 76, August 2003; and Musifiky Mwanasali, "Emerging Security Architecture in Africa," Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg, Policy: Issues and Actors, vol.17 no.4, February 2004.

continue to contribute to UN missions in Africa remains important. The British intervention in Sierra Leone in 2000 demonstrated that, even if only to provide logistical support and strengthen weak peacekeeping missions, the involvement of such armies is crucial in filling gaps created by the deficiencies of armies from developing countries. The more limited American intervention in Liberia between August and October 2003 provided some logistical support to Nigerian peacekeepers.

The missions in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Burundi and Congo could signify an innovative approach to UN peacekeeping in Africa based on regional pillars supported by local hegemons like Nigeria and South Africa whose political dominance is diluted by multinational peacekeepers from outside their subregions. By placing regional forces under the UN flag, the hope is that the peacekeepers will enjoy the legitimacy and impartiality that the UN's universal membership often provides, while some of the financial and logistical problems of regional peacekeepers can be alleviated through greater burden-sharing. Kenyan political scientist, Ali Mazrui, the intellectual father of the concept of *Pax Africana*, wondered aloud in the 1960s: “Who will keep the peace in Africa now that the colonial powers are departing?” Today, the urgent question that many Africans are asking is: “Who will keep the peace in Africa now that the Cold Warriors have left?”

STRATEGIC DECISIONS FOR A PEACE OPERATION IN AFRICA
Speaking notes

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- **Why ESDP?** EU Member States want to go beyond economic integration, Monetary Union, Common Agricultural Policy and outside border control, to forge a Common Foreign Policy, including a capability for Crisis Management. If you are serious about this, you need the power to back up your actions, including with military means. Second, the US may not be interested to intervene in all crises, or in situations where European interests are at stake. This was the case in the Balkans in the early Nineties and may still happen in, say, Africa. Following the Iraq crisis, the Transatlantic relationship will likely lose its strength and attraction. We simply do not know how the world is going to be perceived in Washington in ten, twenty years from now.

- **What has been achieved?** First, in a negative sense, we are not going to build a European Army; nor are we going to witness a significant increase in defense budgets. But we have a HR/SG and the institutional structure for decision-making with improvements to follow as part of the agreed Constitution. We have a European Security Strategy setting out the main threats we are facing and calling for the EU to be more active, capable and coherent. We have the Helsinki Force Catalogue, although with residual military weaknesses and shortfalls. And we have an emerging capacity to deploy multifunctional civilian crisis management resources in an integrated format. All of this is now available; and I am not without hope that we will also meet the final requirement: that the Member States of the enlarged Union will be ready to speak with one voice, to intervene in crisis areas and failed states and to become a global actor commensurate with Europe's demographic, technological and economic weight.

- **Operation Artemis** was the first autonomous EU military operation, without recourse to NATO support, in Africa. Based on a request from SG Annan and UNSCR 1484 containing the mandate, the force of 1200 was deployed to Bunia, Eastern Congo last year in order to stabilize the situation, protect the airport and IDP's and to provide safety to the civilian population, as required. This was a bridging operation of short duration (12 June - 1Sep) to enable MONUC to be reinforced.

Main lessons learned are:

- Need for political will and flexible mechanisms to reach decisions to act quickly.
- preparedness to use diplomatic instruments, in order to prevent outside intervention, and to support the Congolese peace process (Ajello).
- Use of Community Rapid Reaction Mechanism for immediate relief of the population and rehabilitation.
- Use of civilian crisis management instruments to help train and equip an Integrated Police Unit in Kinshasa.
- Develop the role of an EUSR to ensure coordination on the ground.
- But also: impact of shortfalls in military capabilities, notably strategic airlift.
- Remain engaged: Situation in DRC remains fragile; continuous need for political support for the Transitional Government; UNSC called on DPKO to plan rapid reaction capability for MONUC. EU non-committal.

- **United Nations, Battle groups**

On the basis of the EU-UN Joint Declaration of 24 September, a joint consultative mechanism has been established in order to enhance cooperation at the working level in planning, training, early warning and best practices. The focus thus far has been on Africa, leading to informal exchanges at the Secretariat level on actions in crisis areas like DRC, West Africa and the Sudan.

Possible arrangements in support of UN peacekeeping involve a clearing house mechanism for national force contributions; a Bridging Model both as an initial entry element prior to the deployment of a UN force or as a support to changes to an on-going operation. We assess this model as feasible, indeed it has been successfully implemented last year with Artemis. But the duration of the arrangement and the end-state must be clearly defined in advance. The Standby Model, finally, including the provision of an over-the horizon reserve or extraction force in support of the UN is probably of more limited utility as the EU has no standing HQ's.

The EU is ready to make available to the UN force packages at high readiness as a response to crises in Africa and elsewhere. The Battle Groups Concept, based on an UK/F/D initiative, involves the deployment of combined arms battalion sized units within 15 days. Some 7-9 such Battle groups including strategic lift, sustainability and debarkation assets are planned to become operational by 2007.

- **Africa**

A recent Council Common Position concerning conflict prevention, management and resolution in Africa advocates a proactive, comprehensive and integrated approach bringing together all instruments at the EU disposal (development, trade, economic, diplomatic, politico-military).

EU should take advantage of the momentum that seems to be building. The launching of the African Union in July 2002, the African Peace and Security Council coming in place and increased efforts by African countries themselves to resolve conflicts and crises (Great Lakes, Sudan, West-Africa) underline this new optimism.

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) has identified the following areas in the field of peace and security: early warning capacity, security sector reform, DDR (disarmament, demobilization, reintegration), proliferation of light weapons and illicit arms trafficking.

As regards African peacekeeping capabilities, the AU has drawn up a policy framework to establish an African Standby Force and Military Staff Committee. The AU Assembly requested the EU to fund peace support and peacekeeping operations conducted under the authority of the AU.

- **EU Support**

Against this background, the Commission has developed the Peace Facility for Africa with the overall objective to build the African capacity and ownership to promote peace and security, as well as to encourage African solidarity. The aim is to increase the capacity of the AU and sub-regional African organizations in the planning and conduct of Peace Support operations by African forces. The total financial envelope will be Euro 250 million. Any action should be built upon African ownership and needs and include institution building as an important element of effective conflict prevention. Building on the Council Common Position, initial thought has also been given to use ESDP capabilities in support of AU or sub-regional (ECOWAS, IGAD, SADC) crisis management, including early warning, training, logistics support and support in operational planning. Work will be taken forward in close coordination with the UN. A concrete example is the support the EU is presently providing, together with the US, to efforts of the AU at observing a cease fire agreement in Darfur.

Concluding remarks

- Crises may develop quickly, hence the need for the International Community to respond more rapidly.
- Transformation needs to include capability to conduct rapid response but also to consider conflict prevention.
- This is why EU is now actively involved in Africa.

- Important to understand local environment/culture/ society. Tailor intervention, may be welcomed initially but longer term problems may develop (Iraq).
- Need to build local capacity, transfer ownership.
- Majority of conflicts are result of previous conflicts which have not been fully resolved. Underlines importance of long-term stabilization and reconstruction.
- Making use of a wide range of military and civilian instruments: Police strengthening and substitution, the rule of law, civil administration and civil protection, the EU has the capability to carry out a broad range of tasks including humanitarian, rescue, peacekeeping and peacemaking missions.
- Establishment of a Civil-mil Planning Cell is not an attempt to create a standing Operational Headquarters. It will be a core structure for early warning and planning for integrated civil-military missions. For creating synergies between civilian and military crisis management instruments for a broad variety of missions including monitoring, mediation, DDR. This gives the EU added value. The Commission will be closely associated.
- Need for coherence and coordination on the ground between all international actors and within the EU family.

WESTERN STRATEGIC DECISIONS FOR A PEACE OPERATION IN AFRICA
A United Nations perspective

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Introduction

I am sure you are aware that the majority of our more than 55.000 peacekeepers are based on the African continent. We have fragile peace processes in Eritrea and Sierra Leone and an expended and very volatile mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Since I spoke here last year, new missions were launched in Liberia and Côte d' Ivoire and we are now deploying troops in Burundi and Haiti with an assessment mission underway for Sudan, one of our biggest challenges for the second half of this year.

Challenges

The operational environment of peacekeeping operations today is particularly threatening. Two of the many challenges the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and therefore the international community at large face today are.

- How can we meet the increase in demand, not only in numbers but increasingly important: with the right qualities and mindset; are the troops trained to operate in a very volatile scenario and are they prepared to us up to deadly force to protect civilians under imminent threat? And
- How to meet this demand by working with peacekeeping partners, who sometimes are committed in non-UN lead missions (DRC-Bunia).

Troop contribution of Western countries

My presentation on "Western Strategic Decisions for a Peace Operation in Africa" will focus on what might or might not constitute a reason for Western countries to participate in a UN peacekeeping operation in Africa and what could be done by these

* This paper was prepared for delivery at the seminar. For urgent reasons, however, Major-General Cammaert could not participate.

countries to contribute more to peace and security in Africa. For the purpose of this presentation, I have defined "Western Countries" as: Western Europe, including Scandinavia, the US and Canada.

Let me first amuse or annoy your with a few statistics on the contribution with manpower to four of our largest and most complex missions in Africa:

	Total	African Contributors		Rest of the World contribut.		Western Countries	
Congo	10.715	3.851	36 %	6.712	62,5 %	152	1,5 %
Sierra Leone	11.655	4.380	38 %	7.194	62 %	81	0,006 %
Liberia	14.624	7.137	49 %	6.679	46 %	808	5 %
Cote d'Ivoire	3.096	2.400	76 %	479	15 %	217	8 %
Totals/ Average %	40.090		50 %		46 %		4 %

You will note that African Contributors with the Rest of the World (minus Western Countries), have a lion share of more than 95 %, while Western Countries contribute an average of about 4 % to the most difficult of the missions we run in Africa these days.

It is obvious that there is "some" room for improvement for western countries and I will illustrate that it is not only necessary, but also relatively easy for these countries to jump from 4 % to 10 or 15 %.

Foreign Policy challenges and decision-making

A recent report of the Center for Global Development lists the fundamental foreign policy challenges of our time: terrorism, transnational crime, global poverty and humanitarian crises.

All are very diffuse and very complex, with wildly varying causes. Yet a common thread runs trough all of them. They originate in, spread to and disproportionately affect developing countries where governments lack the capacity and sometimes the will to respond. The failed state scenarios looming.

Western participation

It should come as no surprise that strategic decisions of western countries are primarily based on the potential for national economic growth, intertwined with ensuring security and stability *in the region*. In short: "self-interest" and "indirect self-interest". If we take a look at the deployments of NATO troops in Afghanistan and bearing in mind a recent remark by the Secretary-general of NATO, that "we cannot close our eyes for Iraq", typically the term "region" has been given greater meaning. But does the same term "region" apply to Africa as well? And if not, why not?

The remark by the NATO Secretary-General was an attempt to sensitise western countries to contribute troops. And the US President echoed the remark some weeks ago at the G-8 summit. However, various western leaders expressed reluctance or simply disagreement as to NATO's role. The global character or our economy and the growth of transnational terrorism have expanded the definition of "region". European Union – led troops are still operating in both Afghanistan and Iraq. Motives for western countries to operate out-side their area of responsibility thus include:

- The potential spreading of instability if no governments in place (failed state scenario) or if countries provide shelter to terrorists; The Supreme Allied Commander Europe, General James Jones, confirms this motive. In Janes' Defence Weekly he argues for more strategic agility, as the US is currently considering how to change its global basing presence as part of a larger transformation effort. He maintains that forces that are currently based in Europe will be deployed to do theatre security, interoperability exercises and response to crisis. He mentions forward operating locations, many of which could be located in Africa or on its periphery. Such a re-alignment with greater emphasis on Africa will be necessary as Jones put it "because Africa is a looming center for attention". He continues that "large ungoverned areas could be heaven for terrorists of the future. The governments that cannot control their borders are going to be threatened by insurgencies. Merchants of weapons of mass destruction are going to be able to us those placed to hide and these places are going to be the battlegrounds of the future."

Other motives to operate outside the area of responsibility include:

- The protection of direct economic interest (be it based or not upon historical ties) or in the area or "future economic" or "anticipated interest" by supporting certain lead nations;

- And only for a very limited period: humanitarian suffering (Ituri, Eastern Congo), just enough for the UN to regroup and reinforce its troops.

Sudan will be a new test case. Are Western countries willing to contribute to international peace and stability? Here no direct strategic interest at stake but large-scale humanitarian suffering and massive violations of human rights occur. The signs however are not positive, with the tardy and hesitant response for the mission in Liberia in mind.

Why we need Western troop contribution to UN Operations.

Why does the United Nations need Western countries to play a role in African peacekeeping operations?

First of all the obligation stems from the Charter: "collective peace and security": meaning sharing responsibilities. The checkbook alone will not do. Sharing responsibilities means also boots on the ground and sharing the dangerous tasks.

Secondly, what we need in complex operations are well-trained and well-equipped troops with Armed Personnel Carriers and helicopters, able to sustain operations independently for some time. In addition there is a more general need for enabling forces, engineers, hospitals etc. Though many non-western countries possess these or some of these qualities and capacities, not all countries do. Peacekeeping in a region with neighbours playing a not always helpful role, means also to need to monitor movements and intercept communications along border, air- and seaports. Under these circumstances, air reconnaissance assets and specialized communication units are required and these assets are more likely available with western countries.

Lastly, there is an increasing need to have force and sector headquarters, trained and equipped to lead complex operations. It requires excellent staff, management skills, technical and computer skills and language capabilities. To fly-in some containers with computer hardware from Brindisi, does not automatically mean that your staff will be operational and ready to take up challenges such as faced by or mission in Congo.

What is needed to convince western governments and how will the UN be able to influence decision-making when it comes to peace operations in Africa?

First of all, a relentless effort by the UN Secretary General and his staff to promote UN peacekeeping is necessary, hammering on humanitarian duties, and doing away, once and for all, with misperceived dangers of peacekeeping in Africa. These dangers are too often exaggerated. Statistics in fact show the contrary: one of the major dead causes in peacekeeping unfortunately is traffic-incidents. I may come as a surprise that we are still repatriating soldiers and UN military observers for failing the driving-test.

Totally unacceptable and off the mark are observations by senior politicians such as "we do not want to see our western soldiers fighting child-soldiers in the streets of Monrovia". It illustrates a narrow-minded understanding of a complex situation and flies in the face of many countries that do not hesitate to act in more difficult circumstances.

Moreover, miscommunication about contributions to the UN and requests for troops not reaching appropriate senior levels, have occasionally resulted in missed opportunities. Not always are large numbers needed. Small but effective contributions may equal the output of a mechanized battalion.

Simultaneously, Western governments are starting to realize that while they are spending billions a year in development projects in numerous African countries, long-term progress is all but guaranteed. One way to contribute to long-term stability throughout Africa is to participate in peacekeeping. The success or loss of these billion projects in the long run is strongly dependent of the success and quality of UN peacekeeping.

The same arguments are valid for multinationals: escalating civil strives in Nigeria may force Royal Dutch/Shell group to quit onshore production, which supplies 9% of the companies' oil. Shell has shipped oil from Nigeria for 50 years. Deploying troops may contribute to stabilization of the situation.

Let me defuse the issue of Command and Control, as some countries are reluctant to put troops under UN control, pointing out perceived weaknesses of the system. I think this critique is long overdue and stems from the mid-nineties: the combination of a UN and US lead operation in Somalia and troublesome coordination mechanisms between NATO and UN in Bosnia.

Command and Control

The Command and Control structure in the UN is rather straightforward: the Peacekeeping operation is an implementing organ of the United Nations. The overall executive authority over the operation is vested in the Secretary-General who delegates the responsibility to the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations.

The Secretary-General will appoint his Special Representative as the Head of the Mission and he appoints the Force Commander of the military component. The Force commander has operational control over all military units and personnel and is responsible to the SRSG for the implementation of the tasks assigned to the military component. In fact, national systems are not much different, as commanders do report to political leaders as well.

Weak mandates?

Another argument used by countries for not participating in UN operations concerns the critique of unclear and weak Mandates and Rules of Engagement. This argument no longer flies. What we have seen over the last few years were clearly written mandates with enough room for initiatives by the Force to act if the situation on the ground changes. Rules of Engagement have been developed for all new mission. Force, up to an including deadly force can be used not only in self-defence, but also to protect civilians under imminent threat.

The Assessed Scale Contribution to UN Peacekeeping

I have illustrated in the beginning that member states do not all pay their fare share as it comes to contributions with troops to African peacekeeping. As we see with Memberships of international organizations, financial contributions are often based on an assessed scale, related to gross national product or income, adjusted with certain factors. With NATO, troop contributions have long been based on agreed minimum levels, aiming to meet the security threat.

A similar Assessed Scale Troop Contribution would work well for the UN. Troop contribution would be based on a minimum percentage of the national armed forces strength, taking into consideration the average needed capacity by the UN, adjusted with factors such as specialized units and equipment. Such an Assessed Scale Contribution would create a sense of clarity amongst the UN Member States and will result in a fare share for all in UN peacekeeping. It would also improve the UNSAS database that only partially meets our interest and expectation.

The scale could also be published on the UN website and would show and remind troop contributors who is below and who is above the Assessed Scale Contribution. It would be a more friendly scale for almost all, as the actual troop numbers needed to deploy could be met easily by most of the contributors.

Supporting African peacekeeping

Other decisions with impact on African peacekeeping are to assist Africa in building capacity for peacekeeping in the various regions. During the recent G-8 summit, leasers have pledged to support this and many bilateral initiatives are already ongoing. In fact an “Action plan” has been concluded between the AU and its external partners, in particular, the G-8 and the EU, with the aim of strengthening the capacity of African

countries, the AU and sub-regional organisations to engage more effectively to prevent and resolve violent conflicts on the continent, and to conduct peacekeeping operations.

The implementation of such a plan will require good coordination among donors and with African partners to avoid duplication and ensure cost-effectiveness. Regular consultations among donors and with their African partners on their military and civilian programmes prove to be the most effective means of identifying priorities and developing transparency. Military programmes could vary from assisting in training programs to "adopting" a Stand-by Peacekeeping brigade, exchange of staff officers or exchange of subordinate units of company level with a western unit. Finally, combined peacekeeping exercises with African Stand-by peacekeeping forces would be an end-goal.

Let me finally mention four areas where I see a possible role, although not exclusively, for western countries. It concerns Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration, Security Sector Reform, Tracking and Tracing of Small Arms and the Rule of Law. The UN will increasingly play a role in these areas and expertise from contributors is urgently needed to develop strategies to support these processes in the most effective way.

U.S. PERSPECTIVES ON PEACEKEEPING IN AFRICA
Speaking points

NANCY J. WALKER
AfricaNet

OVERVIEW

- U.S. Interests in Africa – Where Peacekeeping Fits In
- Security Challenges Broadly Defined
- Evolution of U.S. Efforts to Support African Peacekeeping
- Current Policies and Programs
- Recommendations for the Future

U.S SECURITY INTERESTS

- Protection of Americans
- Counter Terrorism
- Counter Proliferation
- **Conflict Prevention and Management**
- Access (for operations)
- Resources (oil, etc)
- **Peace and Stability**
- **Professional Security Forces**
- Open Markets
- Sustainable Development
- Democratic Governance

AFRICA AND U.S. (DEVELOPMENT PARTNER) – REDEFINE RELATIONSHIPS

- Cold War
  - Many African countries clients states of the United States and Soviet Union
- Post Cold War
  - Africa no longer a security priority
  - Perceived declining U.S. strategic interests
  - Weakening of former colonial power resources and influence
  - Some cooperation among U.S. and European countries
- New Millennium
  - Recognition of threats (HIV/AIDS, failed states, terrorism)
  - Recognition of interests (oil, CT, stability and peace, markets, global health)
  - Broader definition of security – human not state security
  - U.S., UK, France seek closer cooperation and coordination of efforts in Africa, also Belgium, Portugal, Canada, Germany

- Africans seek partnership not patronage

EVOLUTION OF U.S. EFFORTS

- Cold War
- Post Cold War – Early Clinton Administration
- Post Cold War – Post Somalia/Republican Congress
- Post Cold War – Post Rwanda/ACRF
- New Millennium

EARLY CLINTON ADMINISTRATION

- Priority to develop a peacekeeping policy – Presidential Decision Directive 25 in draft
- Strong support for the UN and DPKO
  - Technical assistance to DPKO, logistics, contracting, mission planning, information (intelligence) communications, management reform, seconded officers
- Participation in UN Missions
  - Cambodia, Somalia, Haiti, former Yugoslavia, etc.

POST SOMALIA AND A REPUBLICAN CONGRESS

- Post Somalia
  - Oct 1993 – Army rangers killed in Somalia
  - Revision of PDD 25 – seen as an effort to limit rather than clarify U.S. participation in UN peace operations. Issue of Command and Control and cost to the United States
- Republicans Control of Congress – 1994
  - Critical of UN, wary of peace operations

Post Genocide in Rwanda;
Burundi Worries, ACRF Launched

- In 1996, worries about events in Burundi led Clinton Administration to push European Allies to send troops, with the U.S. to provide logistics – rejected across Europe
- September 1996 – Launch of **African Crisis Response Force** idea, mixed reception in Africa, skepticism in Europe. Evolution of program included cooperation with Paris and London, as well as with the United Nations

U.S. PKO PROGRAMS: MORE THAN ACRI

Tactical, Operational, and Strategic level programs to support capacity enhancement for peace operations

- Tactical:

- ACRI most well known
- Large scale exercises – Natural Fire 2000 – hosted by CENTCOM in Kenya
- Special Forces training

- Operational:
  - Educational opportunities - limited

NEW MILLENNIUM U.S. DEFENSE PROGRAMS

- Tactical
  - African Contingency Operations Training Assistance (ACOTA)
- Operational
  - Various education and training programs focused at the operational level
- Strategic
  - Africa Center for Strategic Studies

NEW PROGRAM - GLOBAL PEACEKEEPING TRAINING INITIATIVE

- G-8 Africa Action Plan
- Addresses international needs – worldwide demand for peacekeepers outstrips supply
- 75000 soldiers, emphasis on Africa
- $660M – worldwide
- Program emphasis – will it include much needed equipment, logistic, and transportation support?
- Legal authorities – to permit working with sub-regional organizations
- African reaction – not the same place as in 1996 when the ACRF was launched

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Long Term Investment
- Differentiate
- Coordinate
- Communicate
- Build upon African Initiatives

CHALLENGES

- U.S. military focus on soldier training is limiting
- Legal authorities make it hard to work with police, gendarme, border guards, other security focus
- Lack of appreciation of certain African civilian concerns about "strengthening the capacity of the military" even to conduct peace operations
- Lack of emphasis on civilian capacity enhancement

- USG focus on state security not human security
- Limited knowledge of Africa
- Tendency to generalize about African militaries
- Foreign policy focus that is not/not on Africa

BROADER QUESTIONS

- Many of the same recommendations have been made at least 10 years ago, certainly five years ago
- Record of implementation of various recommendations?
- How to institutionalize cooperation among development partners?
- How to change the mind-set – and hence the vocabulary used – when discussing Africa
  - Need to talk about partnership not assistance
  - Need to talk about development partner not donor

THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA AND THE SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE: LESSONS LEARNED

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1. INTRODUCTION: TRIBUNALS AND PEACE OPERATIONS

This brief memo discusses two different types of tribunals, created by the international community, to address specific war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. These are distinct in that one is a purely international tribunal, while the other is a domestic-international tribunal, an innovative model often called a hybrid or mixed tribunal. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), a purely international tribunal, was set up with a chapter VII mandate by the UN Security Council following the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, and operates in Arusha, in neighboring Tanzania. The Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL), on the other hand, is a mixed tribunal, composed of domestic and international judges, and utilizing domestic and international law, to address serious crimes committed during the armed conflict in that country. It was created by agreement between the government of Sierra Leone and the UN, and as such does not have a chapter VII mandate, limiting its activities, as we shall see in a moment.

I will return to the particulars of each tribunal below, but first want to address what they have in common—each is tasked to address serious crimes, albeit a slightly different set of them, in the aftermath of serious political violence. As such, each is expected to function in tandem with peace operations, both peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Such tribunals are now part of the basket of options, so to speak, along with commissions of inquiry, DDR, military and police reform, institutional restructuring, etc., that the international community brings with it when it acts in post-conflict situations. What is it, then, that such bodies are expected to contribute to peace operations?

2. WHAT CAN TRIALS DO?

I will not rehearse here all of the virtues that are associated with trials here, but focus rather on the ones that may be of most relevance in the context of ongoing peace operations.

2.1 Deterrence and prevention

It is often thought, whether in domestic or international justice, that trials help to deter and/or prevent future atrocities. How is this the case? Punishment, it is said, serves as a demonstration effect, telling other would-be offenders that they are at risk of punishment too, where previously they had operated with impunity. At the same time, it is said, punishment may serve more direct goals of preventing violence, as those with the will and capacity to cause such violence will be incarcerated or otherwise restrained.

2.2 Stability, democratization, and the rule of law

It is also frequently said that conducting trials after conflicts, or gross abuses such as genocide, can help promote stability, democratization, and the rule of law, through reinstituting normal legal procedures and due process. It is said that where previously impunity reigned and a powerful few could act as they wished, state and other violence would now be subjected to democratic controls and due process, thus reinforcing broader efforts at legal and political reform. Finally, it is sometimes hoped that such trials and the institutions they promote can serve direct needs of capacity- and institution-building in countries where juridical and other institutions may be weak or destroyed.

2.3 Serving the needs of victims, social reconciliation, and social learning

For many who seek to respond to past violence, particularly severe human rights violations, war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity, addressing the needs of victims and societies to heal, and to learn from the past, is a virtuous goal in itself. However, for the purposes of peace operations these laudable goals are perhaps of less interest than the role they may play in border stabilization and peacebuilding—addressing the needs of victims may reduce the temptation for revenge by individual victims, and social reconciliation may enable stabilization more generally. Simultaneously, social learning, recognition that past resort to violence was counter-productive, is thought to promote less violent approaches to address social conflict.

3. INTERNATIONAL AND MIXED TRIBUNALS—SERVING THESE GOALS?

I have spoken thus far in fairly general terms about the possible goals that any forms of punishment may serve in relation to peace operations—I would now like to turn to two specific examples of tribunals constructed to address abuses such as genocide and war

crimes in Africa, parallel to peace operations, as well as some of the shortcomings of such institutions.

3.1 ICTR

As I have already indicated, the ICTR is a fully international war crimes tribunal, created under a Chapter VII mandate, to address key perpetrators of the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. The tribunal itself is held in neighboring Tanzania, originally for security reasons; within Rwanda itself lower level perpetrators are being prosecuted through the domestic courts, or dealt with through a traditional conflict resolution mechanism known as *gacaca*. The ICTR has reached some landmark holdings, including, for the first time, treatment of rape as a war crime.

However, it has been seen as very costly—it has cost some $800 million to date and is expected to cost some $1.2 billion by the time it finishes work, but has heard relatively few cases. There has also been some strong resentment that while higher-level perpetrators held by the ICTR are kept in relatively decent conditions and will not be subject to the death penalty, those with relatively less responsibility are held in poor conditions in Rwanda, and are subject to the death penalty.

Perhaps of greater concern is that the ICTR has been frequently subject to the criticism that it does not well serve the goods I described above, in particular because it is located outside of Rwanda. The tribunal was designed to address crimes that occurred in a poor country, with low levels of literacy, which makes dissemination of its holdings and outreach very difficult. Without clear information across the population, it is less clear that deterrence can be served, much less social functions such as reconciliation. At the same time, because the tribunal is separate from the domestic legal system, it may not be expected to directly serve capacity-building, as of the judiciary.

3.2 SCSL

The Special Court for Sierra Leone, as a mixed or hybrid tribunal, seeks in part to remedy some of the possible limitations of international tribunals such as the ICTR just described. The hope is clearly that it may better-serve all of the goals of trials because it is not only located in the country where the violence occurred—its seat is in Freetown, the capital, but because it is a mixed domestic-international structure. Further, the court is not only physically closer to the society, it is explicitly linked to domestic legal

capacity. To be clear—the SCSL was created by an agreement between the UN and the government, and as such is not part of the legal system of Sierra Leone. However, the SCSL includes a mixture of domestic and international judges, and is empowered to hear cases based upon not only violations of international human rights or humanitarian law, but of domestic Sierra Leonean law as well.

Further, the SCSL is perhaps the first internationally-supported tribunal, mixed or otherwise[1], that explicitly seeks to support national capacity-building, particularly in the judicial sector. While this is not part of its mandate, the judges of the Court themselves, as well as donors, and local NGOs, articulate capacity-building as a key role for the Court—many argue that it "must leave behind more than just a building". Through outreach, inclusion of local legal experts, etc., many appear to hope that the Court will not only serve some of the goals of punishment, but broader peacebuilding needs within the community.

This is indeed a laudable goal, though one that perhaps must be viewed with some measure of caution. Sierra Leone's legal institutions, even prior to the last decade-plus of conflict, were arguably already rather underdeveloped—there were, for example, very few published legal opinions. Reconstructing a legal system involves far more than addressing the most serious of international crimes: it involves regularizing rules regarding mundane legal matters such as property and contract. It is not entirely clear that the Court can be of much assistance in this regard. There is, further, some risk that the high expectations placed upon it now may turn to resentment and backlash if it cannot deliver—either in terms of a great number of sentences,[2] or in terms of other institutional goods.

4. Conclusion

The tribunals created to address genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, etc., in Rwanda and Sierra Leone face significant challenges: to function as tools to punish those for serious atrocities, but also to serve broad needs of peacebuilding, perhaps the far greater challenge. Yet each of these institutions represents a significant step forward in the battle against impunity, emphasizing the need not only to punish individuals for their crimes, but to send a message to future wrongdoers that their violations might be

[1] Other mixed tribunals include the Special Panel for Serious Crimes in East Timor, and the tribunal being established for Cambodia. A more *ad hoc* international-national hybrid was attempted in Kosovo. For an overview of these, see Kai Ambos and Mohamed Othman, eds., *New Approaches in International Criminal Justice: Kosovo, East Timor, Sierra Leone, and Cambodia* (Freiburg: Max Planck Institute, 2003).

[2] The mandate of the Court is to address those who bear the greatest responsibility; in practice the prosecutor's office has indicated that it is unlikely that more than 10-15 will be prosecuted.

punished as well. While the declarations of ‘never again’ in response to war crimes and other atrocities can seem empty, as new crises arise such as the current one in the Darfur region of the Sudan, and courts and tribunals inevitably come only after grave human harm has already been inflicted, it is hoped by those who create such bodies that they will have a salutary effect in devastated societies.

EVOLVING AFRICA'S PEACEKEEPING CAPACITY: THE MILITARY PERSPECTIVE

BRIGADIER GENERAL DANIEL FRIMPONG
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1. Introduction

> "Most multinational efforts to maintain peace and stability or rather to prevent, manage and resolve conflict include a substantial military component. However the military component in peace operation is not the whole story. We know that the military is an essential ingredient in peace operations, but we also know that other ingredients are needed to bake the cake of peace and stability, This is because of the deep rooted and complex nature of contemporary armed conflict".
>
> *Marrack Goulding - Former USG for Peacekeeping at UNHQ. "The case for an Integrated Approach to Peace and Security" written in February 1998*

In multidimensional peacekeeping starting mainly in the early 1990's while the military has been a necessary condition in providing the enabling environment for peace and stability, the military alone cannot be said to provide sufficient condition for peace. There are a gamut of political factors, considerations and concerns that are fielded into decisions concerning international peace and security.

2. The case – Africa must solve Africa's problems

Over the last few years, the enhancement African Member States to effectively resolve the numerous conflicts on the continent has become a priority for the international community. There appears to be renewed efforts to assist African nations to develop and become fully integrated into the global village that the world has become, As the background paper for this seminar indicates, there are numerous efforts and initiatives by the African Union and the numerous subregional organizations on the continent to enhance the capacity of their members to prevent conflicts and solve them once they have broken out. In addition to these initiatives, several developed countries through bilateral and other arrangements are targeting specific African countries and regions for assistance and support to develop their capability in this regard.

These initiatives are prudent for many reasons. Firstly, many of the present conflicts are in Africa. Of the 16 peacekeeping operations, 7 are in Africa and rising if you count Sudan. The loss of life and untold hardships this brings to affected population and the huge financial investment that the international community must make to bring relief necessitate redoubled efforts. Secondly, African member states provide a

substantial percentage of the military and police personnel for these missions. As at the end of May 2004, Africans accounted 35 percent of the total number of military and police peacekeepers and 45 percent of military peacekeepers worldwide. The last 10 years have also seen a marked reduction of troop contributions from developed troop contributing countries (TCCs) and an increase in those from developing TCCs. It is therefore necessary for the international community to assist in ensuring that the troops and police contributed by these member states have achieved the desired standards in training equipment and logistics in order to carry out Security Council mandates.

The Military Adviser's Community in New York made up Military Advisers of various countries at their Permanent Missions to the UN undertakes annual trips to trouble spots in the world to gain first hand knowledge of the situation on the ground. For 2003 we visited Kosovo. What struck *us* during the briefing by the Force Commander was that, for a tiny little enclave containing about 2 million people, there was a massive K-FOR provided by the EU and other developed countries of about 50,000tps at a point. Needless to say, these were very well equipped tps. Additionally, there was a whole UN police force UNMIK as well as countless NGOs. A few weeks back in May 2004, we visited MONUC in DRC. What struck us this time was the contrast to last year's experience. For a country the size of Western Europe with a population of about 60million, the UN had with difficulty inserted only 10,000 peacekeepers over a two-year period.

The reason for this is not difficult to find: The experiences in the early 1990s of American peacekeepers being killed in Somalia and pressure being exerted against Belgian peacekeepers in Rwanda to bring the peacekeepers back home. The general feeling is that Africans must solve Africa's problems.

Even though there is the realization that Africa must solve Africa's problems, in her present state, Africans cannot solve all of Africa's problems. There is the need therefore to enhance Africa’s military capacity, which Africa obviously cannot do alone. Africa needs the support of the International Community particularly form the developed world. Rather than look at it as a one-sided infusion of economic resources, peace in Africa will result in tess crime and trafficking of all sorts in the developed world. An analogy here might be the US infusion of the Marshall Plan into Europe at the end of WWII. Ultimately, both the US and Western Europe benefited. Of course this is not tO say that Africa has not benefited from military support aimed at enhancing her PK capacity in the past.

3. Training Support and Training Institutions

France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Nordic countries have all in one way or the other made past contributions to enhance Africa's PK capacity. A few examples by way of exercises are as follows:

- *"RECAMP*": The centerpiece of the French policy is the Reinforcement of African Peacekeeping capacities programme (RECAMP for Reinforcement des capacities Africaines de maintien de la paix). A number of African countries (Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mall, Mauritania and Senegal) contributed military personnel to the first RECAMP multinational exercise, which was held in Senegal and in Mauritania in February 19987 - "EX GUIDIMAKHA 98". Another eight countries (Burundi, Cameroon, the Car, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and Sao Tome and Principe) participated in the second exercise held in Gabon in January 2000 -"Gabon 2000". The most recent exercise of this kind was held in Tanzania in February 2002. sixteen African countries took part. (all 14 SDAC countries plus Kenya and Madagascar). The operation's name was "Exercise Tanzanite".

- *ACRI/ACOTA*: The central US policy in this regard, the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) has been replaced by the African Contingency Operations Training Assistance (ACOTA) programme. The US also established Operation Focus Relief (OFR), which provided peacekeeping training and equipment to African *countries* during 2000 and 2001. Under OFR, the US trained seven battalions from three West African countries. Nigeria provided five battalions, while Ghana and Senegal each contributed a single battalion. Nine countries concluded agreements and received ACRI training at the battalion level - Benin, Kenya, Malawi, mail, Senegal, Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire and Uganda; the ninth country, Ethiopia, was suspended from the programme before the initial training module was *offered.* Kenya and Senegal also received brigade-level training under ACRI. During ACRI's six-year run, some 9000 African troops had participated in the programme.

- *BMATT:* About 20 counties have benefited directly from UK capacity-building training. British Military Advisory and Training teams (BMA'FFs) operated with regional remits in Ghana and Zimbabwe. The initial UK policy, the Africans peace keeping training support programme, has been subsumed within a large programme known as the Conflict Prevention Pool, which combines resources from the

Ministry of Defense, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the Department of International Development.

Donor support has also been forthcoming in the creation of PK centers like the KAIPTC in Ghana, the PK center in Harare Zimbabwe and the PK Center in Zarbakrou, Cote d'Ivoire which has been moved to Mali because of the current crisis in la Cote d'Ivoire.

While donor training support cannot be underemphasized, it appears this is done to the complete exclusion of logistics support. Infantry operations are emphasized to the exclusion of e.g. ENGR/Mine action training, medical units, air traffic units and generally logistic units. Logistics support for training and deployment continue to be a major problem for most African TCCs. This is particular acute in an area like strategic airlift for troops and equipment.

Donor support for training has been bi-lateral and fragmented and therefore does not lend itself to interoperability, a necessary requirement for enhancing African military PK capability. In *several* cases, the nature of support is prescribed by the donor nation and this may not be exactly what the recipient nation thinks it needs. Obviously this has an effect on the "'value" the recipient places on the support. More consultation is required between donors and recipients.

Usually when support is substantial, the practice is for the donor country to deploy some of its nationals to the recipient country to supervise or manage its use. The donor country's nationals then become managers and decisions takers in whatever project is being undertaken and a host country leader has little or no control over his managers and whatever resources are placed under him. :In military environments where people are generally rank conscious, the ranks of the staff provided by the donor country nationals are usually lower that the .host country nationals they find themselves supervising. This seems to suggest an assessment of a lack of managerial competence assumed by the donor country. The net effect is the emergence of tensions on the ground inimical to the interest of both parties in the implementation of the project.

That donor countries should be concerned about how huge donations to recipient countries are used is natural and understandable. There is a need however for more careful selection of donor country nationals who are sent to supervise projects or events. There should aIso be more recipient country involvement in the management of the project or the facility being established.

4. African Standby Force

In recent times, the African Union has established a Peace and Security Council (PSC) tasked with identifying threats and breaches of the peace. The PSC will be the sole

authority for deploying, managing and termination AU-led peace operations. It envisages the creation of a multinational force of a brigade in each of Africa's five regions by 2010. The intention is to base the brigades on the SHIRBRIG model. This force would be able to respond to requests not only from the AU but also the UN for regional monitoring, peacekeeping and peace enforcement missions. To support the five Brigades, the AU also envisages the creation of two logistic bases based on the Brindisi model. In view of the tremendous anticipated costs, it is intended that one base be located along the west coast of Africa while the second be located along the east coast.

On the 19 June 04, the following news item appeared on the Ghana web after a meeting of the West African CDSs in Abuja. "ABUJA, Nigeria - West African defense chiefs agreed Friday to create a 6,500 - strong multinational force to respond to "crisis and threats to peace" in the war-ravaged region. The core of the force will be 1,500 "highly trained and equipped" rapid response troops and 3,500 backups. The remaining 1,500 soldiers will form a reserve, the Economic of Community of West African States said in a statement. Regional officials will assess capabilities and recruit troops to be on standby in their home bases, ECOWAS said. The new force "could be deployed immediately in response to crisis or threat to peace and security in the region," ECOWAS said. However, it was unclear when the force will come into being. Logistics depots will be created in Mall and Sierra Leone, rebuilding after a devastating 1990s civil war,

The announcement followed a two-day meeting in the Nigerian capital involving defense chiefs of staff from 15 member nations of ECOWAS. Officials sought the standing force to avoid delays experienced in deployment of ECOWAS and UN intervention troops in wars in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Ivory Coast. Earlier this year, a new peacekeeper training center was inaugurated in Accra, Ghana to offer programs to regional forces.

5. Conclusion

I have shared my views with you on how I think African Military PK capacity can be enhanced to enable Africans take on the bulk of Africa's problems. The African Standby Force present a way forward. However, Africa alone cannot enhance its PK capacity without the support of the international community.

Finally, I will quote from a paper, a US contribution to capacity-building: the African Crisis Response Initative written in 1996 by Gen. James Jamerson, former Deputy Commander in Chief, US European Command, in Germany. He said *"In conclusion, it is not expected that the African Crisis Response Initiative, or any combination of international training initiatives, will address the full range of problems subsumed under African conflict management. However, peacekeeping is an important*

element in creating stability and sustaining an environment conducive to economic and political development. When one examines the human and financial cost of continued instability and violence on the African continent to Africa, as well as the international community it becomes clear that the development of an interoperable, rapidly deployable African peacekeeping capacity is in everyone's interest, and it is a matter of urgency. With strong African leadership and willing external partners, we can, as international community, make a difference."

AFRICA'S EVOLVING PEACEKEEPING CAPACITY

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1. Background

The United Nations peacekeeping has played a vital role in diffusing tensions and resolving disputes in Africa. However, despite the UN commitment, violence continues to negate hope of progress in many parts of the continent - Burundi, Sudan and Somalia quickly come to mind. As the poorest region of the world, Africa is also the region most heavily burdened with conflict-generated problems. The cost of war-related tragedies, enormous flows of refugees, and internally displaced persons is certainly immeasurable. The development, environmental and most sadly psychological impact of conflict has taken a tremendous toll on the African people and often goes unnoticed. Despite recent decline in western troop contributions to peacekeeping in Africa, the UN continues to depend upon the third world countries for troops beyond the symbolic western commitments. The examples of successful peacekeeping missions in the continent include Mozambique, Namibia and Sierra Leone. There is hope that peacekeeping operations would now extend beyond areas recently neglected, including Somalia and Sudan. While peacekeeping operations are not a substitute for lasting peace, they are a provisional measure to prevent the exacerbation of disputes.

Virtually all the regional conflicts which have involved some type of peacekeeping effort are conflicts within states (intra-state). An important reason for this is the permeability of African state borders and the weakness of the states themselves. This does not deny the fact that nearly all of these internal conflicts have had a regional dimension, with excellent examples as the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Liberia. In most cases, neighboring countries have engaged themselves in the internal affairs of others or allowed their territories to be used as a springboard for such involvement. In others, states are simply incapable of controlling their own territory and of ending cross-border actions, particularly when international boundaries cut through rather than follow broad ethnic divide.

In response to violent conflicts, time is one of the most crucial factors to be considered. Under the current UN peacekeeping structure, it takes an average of between three to six months from the time the UN Security Council decides to establish a peacekeeping mission until the mission is deployed. The crisis in Rwanda, DRC and more recently, Liberia and Ivory Coast, highlighted the need for a readily deployable peacekeeping force, hence the need to develop regional or sub-regional capacity.

Chapter VIII of the UN Charter[1] recognizes the role of regional organizations in dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as appropriate to a particular region. Under the auspices of the mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution, the Africa Union (AU) is indeed mandated to co-ordinate its activities closely with the UN and sub-regional organizations, and to co-operate, where suitable, with neighbouring regions. There is thus a strong perception among the Africans that the future of conflict resolution and peacekeeping rests on a concrete security framework under the umbrella of the AU. The recent AU Mission (now UN) in Burundi and now in Sudan signifies its recent progress in this field.

The major advantage of this type of approach to conflict management in Africa is that neighbours are more familiar with each other's problems than outsiders. Neighbours usually have a fairly common culture, social identity, history and similar experiences. The disadvantage, however, is that close proximity often generates tension and reduces the spirit of impartiality between neighbours - to the extent that they sometimes become part of the problem, rather than part of the solution.

An overriding interest in their neighbourhood's stability, and their actual or potential leverage with disputants, means that sub-regional organizations such as ECOWAS, the IGAD and SADC may be uniquely qualified to launch preventive diplomatic efforts - and perhaps to effect negotiated settlements in cases of civil strife. However, the role of regional organizations in conflict resolution has become extremely convoluted. Peacekeeping has become more robust than ever before, and new operations are increasingly launched with a strong Chapter VII mandate. Drawing extensively on the ECOMOG experience, these peace missions have been delegated to regional organizations because, as the UN Secretary General Koffi Annan has admitted:

> *The United Nations does not have the institutional capacity to conduct military enforcement measures under Chapter VII. Under present conditions, ad hoc Member States' coalitions of the willing offer the most effective deterrent to aggression or to the escalation or spread of an ongoing conflict...*[2]

Beyond the inherent limitations of the UN system itself, sensitivity to violence and low tolerance for casualties effectively eliminates Western involvement in any type of peace enforcement operation that goes beyond the 'distant retaliation doctrine'. The reluctance to deploy ground forces in combat situations where the distinction between friend and foe, or soldier and civilian is unclear, is far greater when the region in question is of little strategic significance - as is the case with most conflict zones in Africa. The most vivid and recent example is the US reluctance to deploy combat troops in Liberia.

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[1] Chapter VIII (Article 52)
[2] UN Report on Reform, 16 Jul 1997

Globally, the paradigm has already shifted towards a greater reliance on regional security arrangements.[3] What is needed is a focus on modest measures for the prevention and containment of conflicts, rather than attempts to replicate the UN system at the regional level. The emphasis should be on simple but reliable structures for security co-operation, one that can stabilize relations and prevent the spillover of conflicts. If this co-operation is to include joint military enforcement operations in support of peace processes, then this should be determined upfront, and the necessary legitimacy for such a course sought through the establishment of appropriate structures and principles for the conduct of such operations.

The devolution of peacekeeping responsibilities to African countries is thus predicated largely on attempts to build hollow multilateral structures for conflict resolution - both at the level of the AU and that of sub-regional organizations. Attempts to refine the relations between the two levels of organizations - that are similarly composed of weak member states and are lacking significant resources - are thus bound to fail. Unless the need to place state building and good governance at the centre of such efforts is accepted, and the debate on the utility of such organizations for conflict management is reinforced.

The emerging concept for the conduct of AU peace operations envisages the use of sub-regional organizations as a possible first line of reaction where the AU is unable to act. The African Chiefs of Defence Staff (ACDS) have recommended a standby arrangement of brigade-size force by each of the five sub-regions (east, west, south, north and central), as a starting point for this type of capacity.

1.1 Current Missions

It is important to note that for the past few years, the UN Security Council has systematically focused on the management of conflicts in Africa. Peacekeeping operations increased threefold and largely authorized under Chapter VII with a robust mandate.

Currently there are seven ongoing UN peacekeeping operations in the continent namely; UNMIL (Liberia), MINURSO (Western Sahara), MONUC (DR Congo), ONUCI (Ivory Coast), UNMEE (Eritrea-Ethiopia), UNAMSIL (Sierra Leone) and ONUB (Burubdi). Below are their deployment dates and strength as of June 2004.

1.1.1. UNMIL - Liberia

- From September 2003 to present

[3] NATO Operations in Kosovo and ECOWAS in Liberia and Ivory Coast

- Total authorized strength
  Up to 15,000 military and 1,115 civilian police personnel.
- Strength as of 20 June 2004 - 14,028 total uniformed personnel

1.1.2. MONUC - Democratic Republic of the Congo

- From November 1999 to present
- Authorized maximum strength
  Military personnel: 10,800, civilian police personnel: 134
- Current strength as of 20 June 2004 - Military personnel: 10,508; Civilian Police personnel: 103

1.1.3. UNMEE - Ethiopia and Eritrea

-From July 2000 to present
- Authorized maximum strength
  4,200 troops, including 220 military observers
- Current strength as of 20 June 2004 - 4,085 military personnel, including 3,875 troops and 210 military observers;

1.1.4. UNAMSIL - Sierra Leone

- From October 1999 to present
- Authorized maximum strength
  17,500 military personnel, 170 civilian police personnel
- Strength as of June 2004 - 11,278 troops, 241 military observers, 130 civilian police personnel

1.1.5. MINURSO - Western Sahara (Observer Mission)

- From April 1991 to present
- Strength as of 31 May 2004 - 239 total uniformed personnel.

1.1.6. ONUCI – Ivory Coast

- From February 2004 to present
- Authorized strength – 6,000
- Strength as of 20 June 2004 – 3,000 uniformed personnel.

1.1.7. ONUB – Burundi

- From June 2004
- Authorized strength – 5, 850 military personnel and 120 civilian police.

2. Capacity Building

These are measures that enhance the ability of states and organizations to define and achieve peace operations objectives. At this time of increased peacekeeping operations, enhancing the capacity of Africa's traditional TCC to provide equipped, trained and high-quality peacekeepers must be one of the major preoccupations of the African states. In the aftermath of liberation and the end of bipolarity, Africa has a commitment and responsibility to take the first concrete steps towards creating the capacity to prevent or manage her own conflicts. However, the inadequate resource backup and training of national contingents has been cited as some of the major challenges to the effectiveness of contemporary peace operations in the continent.

Most recently a number of countries have taken up this challenge through the presentation of dedicated training in peace support operations. Most of this focuses on preparing the members of the armed forces, civilian police and key government personnel and is largely provided at military training institutions. However, the content, conduct and scope of the training presented by many African countries has not generally centered on sustained attempt to build on the capacity of the institutions involved through co-ordination, collaboration, simplification and standardization. Such a process may contribute to the willingness of many countries to accept greater responsibility for providing the AU and/or the UN with personnel who are adequately trained for future peace support operations. The current, independent national training initiatives also carry a risk of personnel being trained according to different doctrine and methods, or personnel being exposed to doctrine and training which is either irrelevant or inappropriate to the challenges which will confront African peacekeepers, as they may be foreign tailored.

2.1. Sub-regional Arrangements

The sub-regional organizations, in particular the ECOWAS and SADC, have had a major role to play in crisis management through early entry, ceasefire monitoring, enforcement and bridging operations. Such operations demand a combination of rapid response, adequate force, and adaptability and sensitivity to conditions in the theatre. The ECOWAS intervened with its monitoring force, ECOMOG in Liberia in 1990 and ECOMIL in 2003 and in Sierra Leone in 1998. ECOMOG was the first sub-regional peacekeeping force to cooperate with a UN established mission (UNOMIL). Late August 2003, ECOMIL was deployed to Monrovia and it subsequently laid the groundwork for the establishment of UNMIL mission. The ECOWAS force also laid down the foundation for the Ivory Coast mission, MINUCI in May 2003. In 1999, the

AU monitoring mission bridged the establishment of the UN mission, MONUC in DRC. These sub-regional engagements therefore serve as useful examples of burden sharing among the regional states.

It is important to note that, the new revamped AU has shown bright prospects on the future of conflict resolution and management in the continent. Its role is imperative as one unifying body drawing peacekeeping experience from member states such as Nigeria, Ghana and Kenya among others. Its commitment to support the sub-regional organizations to undertake peacekeeping operation cannot be overstated therefore. Such efforts cannot be realized without the complementary role of the UN and international community to establish and operationalize firm security frameworks that support capacity building efforts in the long run.

2.2. Recent Events[4]

- July 2002, in Durban AU Heads of States signed a protocol for the establishment of Peace and Security Council (PSC) under which African Stand-by Force (ASF) would be established. The recommendation was to have the force readily operational by 2010, and entail stand-by brigades in each of the five sub-regions, and incorporate a police and civilian expert elements.
- June 2003 – The G8 leaders endorsed a plan to support African capacity to promote peace and security i.e. development of capacities to provide humanitarian, security and reconstruction support; establishment of early warning centres; establishment of priority logistic depots as well as building capacity in regional peace training centres.
- 20 January 2004, the African Chiefs of Defence Staff (ACDS) had a conference in Addis Ababa whose theme centered on critical issues relating to the establishment of the ASF and Common African Defence and Security Policy Framework.
- 13-17 February – IGAD member states met in Jinja, Uganda and drafted a protocol on the establishment of the Eastern Africa standby brigade size force to support the sub-regional conflict response initiatives.
- 22-23 Feb – Africa Ministers for Defence and Security (AMDS) met in Tripoli, Libya. The purpose of the meeting was to review the framework documents relating to the establishment of the ASF and a Common African Defence and Security Policy. The meeting considered recommendations on

[4] Africa Union Homepage

key issues relating to the establishment, structures and mechanisms of the proposed ASF for the purpose of undertaking peace support operations by AU.

- 15 March – Fifteen member states were elected to the AU Peace and Security Council.

In recent years, there has been a rapid development within Africa of mechanisms to address conflicts as indicated by the above events. Important regional and sub-regional initiatives have taken shape in response to the conflict situations in Burundi, the Central African Republic (CAR), Sierra Leone, DRC, Guinea-Bissau and Liberia and the dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea. At the present moment over 22 African countries are contributing almost three quarter of the current troops to UN peacekeeping operations, these numbers show clearly that enhancement of African peacekeeping capacity can help advance the cause of peace, not only in the continent, but around the world.

Further progress in this area is impossible without the political determination of the African States themselves. But, this is not also possible without the crucial role of the support from non-African States. In this context, there is need to welcome the international community's renewed focus on Africa in matters that promote peacekeeping capacity-building. For example, in 1997 the USA, France and UK announced the 'P-3 Initiative', a common capacity-building programme designed to strengthen and co-ordinate their respective policies and provide a forum for other interested countries to participate.[5]

The American primary peacekeeping initiative in Africa has been the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) program.[6] ACOTA, a Defense Department partnership with African militaries aimed at upgrading their peace-enforcement capabilities follows a similar program, the African Crisis and Response Initiative (ACRI), which focused more on enhancing peacekeeping skills and did not include weapons training. Between July 1997 and May 2000, ACRI helped train battalions (between 800 -1,000 troops) in Kenya, Senegal, Uganda, Malawi, Mali, Ghana, Benin and Ivory Coast.

On the other hand, the French since 1998 launched a project, the 'Reinforce African Peacekeeping Capacities (RECAMP)'[7]. Their initiative was equally designed to enhance the peacekeeping capacity of troops on a continent prone to civil strife. RECAMP is seen as complementing the US-led ACRI. The French trained forces in Benin, Togo, Gambia, Niger and Senegal. The overall purpose of the project was to

[5] ISS Monograph No. 33, December 1998
[6] ACRI and ACOTA online http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/agency/dod/acri
[7] The RECAMP Program online, http://www.un.int/france/frame

increase the military capacity of these countries to engage in peacekeeping operations. It helped to strengthen the continent's sub-regional organizations, particularly ECOWAS on security issues by contributing to the development of a climate of mutual trust.

The trained forces under these programmes are now active in four areas of conflict: Liberia, Sierra Leone, DRC and along the Ethiopian-Eritrean border. In February the Security Council agreed to send another 6,000 troops to Ivory Coast. Preparations are also being made to send forces to Sudan – following a peace agreement negotiated recently between the Government of Sudan and Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement (SPLM/A) in Kenya. In addition, there are obviously multiple foreign states that provide direct support in terms of equipment and peace support training to the regional armed forces, these include UK, Canada and the Nordic countries.

Similarly, more EU member states have already established extensive programs with African nations and institutions to support the development of the region's capacities to undertake complex peace support operations. The multinational force, Standby High Readiness Brigade (SHIRBRIG) established in 1996 is based on the UN Stand-by Arrangements Systems (UNSAS), comprises most EU states, including Canada. Drawing from experience and lessons learnt, the formation has offered to help the AU in the establishment of ASF, despite some African resistance to base the African force on a western model. SHIRBRIG proved its utility when it deployed for the first in UNMEE. In addition, a number of EU member states have *ad hoc* arrangements with some regional states on peace support training and general military advisory roles.

2.3. Challenges

The wave of conflicts occurring within state boundaries presents a new form of challenges to both UN peacekeeping operations and sub-regional engagements. These kinds of conflicts, mostly guerilla wars without clear frontlines, are usually fought not only by regular armed forces but also by armed militias and civilians with little discipline and in most cases ill-defined chains of command. These are kinds of conflicts that generate a huge number of refugees and internally displaced persons requiring large-scale humanitarian assistance. In addition to this, they are often accompanied by the collapse of state institutions resulting in paralysis of governance, a breakdown of law and order, and general banditry and chaos.

While African states have often contributed troops to UN peacekeeping operations in Africa and elsewhere, they frequently lack the capacity to deploy and sustain sizeable forces on their own without significant outside assistance. Existing programmes to build up the peacekeeping capacity of African countries do not go far enough, while donor aid and equipment for African peacekeepers is often inadequate and arrives late. Examples

can be signified by ECOWAS involvement in Liberia and South Africa in DRC. Nigeria bored 70% of the collective manpower, logistical and financial burden of the organization's intervention in Liberia and Sierra Leone while the cost of South Africa's deployment in DRC was estimated at R619 million.

3. The Way Forward

Conflict resolution in Africa is primarily a political task. Agreements should be reached through dialogue rather than imposed through the use of force. The AU and the sub-regional organizations should therefore make use of far more aggressive diplomacy in order to secure peace accords before turning to the military for assistance in resolving violent conflicts. Below is a set of recommendations that must guide the preparation and establishment of a peacekeeping capacity within the region.

3.1. Common Policy and Doctrine[8]

There is an urgent need for a common approach and doctrine for peacekeeping efforts at the international level. This should be clearly articulated, perhaps by the UN, so that troop contributing countries can better understand the 'rules of the game'.

- The AU should provide a framework for sub-regional efforts to enhance peacekeeping capacity through the articulation of a clear and appropriate doctrine for peace operations, and the establishment of a pool of qualified and experienced regional trainers who could assist in imparting the relevant knowledge and skills.
- Effective communications and command and control arrangements are essential to the success of Africa peacekeeping endeavors.
- The AU should work towards the development and dissemination of a standardized concept of operations and set of operational procedures for peace support operations.

[8] ISS Monograph No. 17, November 1997

3.2. Standardized Training

The issue of training cannot be viewed in isolation from policy and doctrinal matters. A clear need for the regional harmonization and standardization of peacekeeping training is a prerequisite. Difficulties have been experienced in working with various national contingents whose standards, doctrines and training differed markedly from that of other countries. An excellent example is the ECOMOG operations in Liberia in 1990s between the Francophone and Anglophone countries – their differences in tactical doctrines created a crisis for the force.

- Potential troop contributors need much clearer guidelines from the UN and AU before embarking on peacekeeping training programmes for their armed forces and civilian police.
- The already existing UN accredited training centres in Kenya, Zimbabwe, Ivory Coast and Ghana should be expanded further for peacekeeping training, and such centres should conduct programmes directly related to the demands of contemporary peace support operations. These institutions should be modified to train commanders, staff officers, logisticians, field engineers and military police among other key personnel. The participants should also be drawn from all countries to alleviate the need for countries to spend scarce resources acquiring training capacities which already exist in the region.

3.3. Stand-by Arrangements

The already existing UNSAS model on development of a rapid deployment structure should guide the AU to base its establishment of ASF. The establishment within each country of a stand-by unit of peacekeepers should seriously be considered. The size and structure of such units would depend on the various national abilities and resources in this sphere. Dedicated units, charged with specific areas of specialization, should be earmarked in respective countries. These units should (part of the sub-regional brigade force) be equipped and funded by their governments, and be available for rapid deployment to conflict zones under the command and control of AU.

3.4. Mandates and Means

The pivotal importance of clear, credible and adequately resourced mandates cannot be overemphasized. However, the principle governing participation in peace support

operations is not whether the operation is launched under Chapter VI or VII. Indeed, national contingents may be more confident if deployed with a mandate that would enable them to use an appropriate level of force under circumstances where this is essential for the safety of personnel and the accomplishment of the mission. The utility of this aspect of the mandate for any specific mission is therefore doubtful, unless contingents are adequately and appropriately armed and equipped for the type of contingencies envisaged. The most recent examples where peacekeepers were brutally confronted by rebels includes Sierra Leone and DRC.

3.5. Logistics Aspects

- There is an urgent need for logistic support to African troop contributors, who are presently paying a very high price through attempting to marshal their own resources for peacekeeping operations in other countries.
- The pre-positioning of equipment in a regional logistics base would enable earmarked forces to train on such equipment well in advance of deployment. This would help solve the problems caused by deploying soldiers who are unfamiliar with the equipment upon which they depend. The UN can lead the establishment of a logistic centre given that more recently the attention in peace support operations has shifted to the continent.

Apart from the well-documented problems of logistic support per se for African forces, there is an essential need for harmonizing and standardizing logistic systems and procedures, as well as the whole concept of logistics, if the idea of inter-operability is to become a reality. Logistic training should become a prominent focus of the peacekeeping training efforts. UN logistic training teams could travel to the sub-regions to assist in such an endeavor. There is a pressing need for greater inter-operability of equipment, adequate logistic support, and efficient medical services among other requirements.

4. Conclusion

There is need to strengthen co-operation between the UN, AU and sub-regional organizations in the areas of conflict prevention, management and resolution. The African continent continues to witness tensions and conflicts severely limiting its potential for economic development. In this regard, the international community needs to support all efforts that give priority to the promotion of peace and good governance.

Despite declining development indicators, increasingly ineffective militaries and poorer levels of training, equipment and lesser logistic capacity, African ownership of peace missions has increased. This essential ingredient - generally described as 'political will'- has improved even as the limits to African capacity to enforce or even monitor a ceasefire have been brutally exposed in Ivory Coast and the CAR.

Nonetheless, the sub-regional states do not have the means to support peacekeeping or enforcement, given the deleterious state of their militaries, thus have to rely upon donors to cover their troop deployment and sustenance. But, as the AU and sub-regional organizations undertake the difficult task of building capacity to deploy in support of dimensional peace support operations, it will be important to ensure that the plan includes specific training skills required for peace enforcement/intervention. In its Constitutive Act, the AU establishes "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."[9]

[9] AU Constitutive Act, Article 4(h)

USE OF FORCE IN PEACE OPERATIONS

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1. Introduction

One dilemma, which confronts military planners and commanders in the conduct of Peace Operations, is the question of whether to use force, in what strength and in what way. This dilemma is present at the strategic, operational, and more critically, at the tactical levels where any misconduct or mistake carries with it great repercussions.

It is quite obvious that any premature use of force can prove to be counter-productive and may provide an effective propaganda material for the contending parties or warlords, thereby creating disaffection against the force. At the same time, however, any inaction may portray the force as an ineffective military organization, unprepared to protect the vulnerable civilian population from the activities of the insurgents. In peace operations, this may be tantamount to a betrayal of a given mandate.

With specific reference to the United Nations, that organization has traditionally been known to be risk-averse and extremely cautious in the conduct of peace operations. As Trevor Findlay has appropriately observed in his comprehensive treatise on *The Use of Force in UN Peace Support Operations:* "overall, the use of force has been marked more by its absence than by its presence."

This view is in keeping with that expressed by Sir Brian Urquhart, a former United Nations Under-Secretary General for Special Political Duties, who once stated that, "The real strength of a peacekeeping force lies not in its capacity to use force, but preciseIy in its not using force and thereby remaining above the conflict and preserving its unique position and prestige."

When one compares this with the following statements made by the current Secretary General of the UN, Kofi Annan, one can then appreciate the philosophical underpinning of the organization's attitude towards the use of force. The UN Secretary General has stated that:

- "The use of force is always evil, though sometimes necessary.
- "The best use of force is to show it in order not to use it."

I believe it is important to deliberate on this vexed question on the use of force because there is a direct relationship between the appropriate use of force and the success of any peace operations.

The aim of this paper therefore is to discuss the use of force in contemporary peace operations with a view to drawing on lessons learnt.

The paper will address the following issues:

- An Overview of Peace Operations.
- The legal basis for mounting Peace Operations1 covering the UN Mandate, Rules
  of Engagement, and the Laws of War.
- Practical challenges/lessons learnt in the application of the Use of Force.
- Conclusion/Summation.

2. Peace Operations – An Overview

Background: Judging from its current popularity, it is rather paradoxical that peace operations as we known them today were not anticipated during the drafting of the United Nations Charter. Indeed, the word "peacekeeping" does not even appear anywhere in the Charter. The concept has only evolved out of the Security Council's determination to facilitate the settlement of international disputes that are likely to lead to breaches of the peace.

Definitions: Being a fast evolving concept, peace operations are yet to have a universally accepted definition. One common working definition however states that peace support operations are "*Multi-functional operations involving military forces and diplomatic and humanitarian agencies. They are designed to achieve humanitarian goals or a long-term political settlement and are conducted impartially in support of a UN mandate.*"

In my view, peace operations are nothing more than the continuation of diplomacy by other means - to re-phrase Carl Von Clausewitz's *famous* quotation on war. They are essentially the political management of crises by the employment of a combined international civil-military effort, and not a pure military task. Describing the soldier's role in this quasi-military business, Dag Hammarskøld, the United Nations Second Secretary General, said "*Soldiers are ill-suited for peacekeeping, but they are the only ones who can carry it out*." This was later re-echoed by a military sociologist, Charles Moskos, when he rationalized that "Peacekeeping is not a soldier's job, but only a soldier can do it."

Early Peacekeeping Missions: The first use of military personnel by the United Nations in peace operations, as we know it today, was in June 1948, with the establishment of the Observer Mission - the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). In as far as formed troops are concerned the pioneer peacekeeping mission was the United Nations Emergency Force I (UNEF 1) which operated on the Egypt-Israel border from November 1956 until May 1967.

Initial Concept of Operations: Peace operations during the first forty years of the United Nations existence were fairly straightforward and were carried out with the consent of the affected parties, on the basis of impartiality and the non-use of force. Troops were often unarmed or only lightly armed for purposes of self-defence. Significantly, troop-contributing countries came from outside the five permanent members of the Security Council; and yet in spite of the logistics constraints and absence of massive firepower, these operations achieved appreciable results in a world that remained dominated by East-West rivalry.

The evolution of the use of force over the years may be summarized as follows:

- *1956 - UNEF 1.* The definition then was not to initiate force until fired upon.
- *1960 - ONUC*. The situation in the then Congo changed this to the active use of force.
- *1973*. Permission was granted by the General Assembly to change the definition, permitting the use of force in self-defence for a specific mandate.
- *The 1990's.* The definition changed and was expanded to include use of force to protect people at risk, civilian UN staff, installations and humanitarian convoys.

The Changing Face of Peace Operations: The last one and half decades have seen a huge increase in the number of such operations. It has moved away from the recognizable, inter-state conflicts towards complex internecine intrastate conflicts, characterized by the collapse of state structures. This new phase now requires a large number of troops to undertake a wide range of challenging tasks, under more demanding conditions. The range of operations has expanded from straightforward peacekeeping to peacemaking, preventive diplomacy, peace building and peace enforcement- otherwise referred to as 'peace inducement', "coercive inducement'; or 'muscular peacekeeping'.

By current statistics, there are more than 53,000 uniformed personnel and at least 11,000 civilian staff from 94 countries serving in 15 missions worldwide. These

numbers are likely to increase with the Security Council's approval of operations in Burundi and Sudan. This spectacular increase in peace operations may be attributable to a number of factors, including the following:

- *Resurgence of Nationalist/Ethnic Sentiments*: The end of the Cold War has removed the mantle of "Cold War Stability' and unleashed long-standing ethnics fundamentalist, nationalist and other contentious issues which the United Nations now has to handle.
- *Consensus in the Security Council*: The change in international power relations, with its unipolar dominance by the United States has somehow made it easier to achieve consensus among the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council.
- *Information Revolution:* The prevailing information explosion with its instant coverage of world events has tremendously influenced international public opinion. Humanitarian disasters are now literarily bought into the living rooms of people, and this has had a tremendous impact on the moral conscience of the global community, leading to instigations for urgent action.

The temptation to use military contingents under the auspices of the United Nations or other regional bodies for humanitarian intervention operations has thus become almost irresistible. What then are the legal basis for mounting such peace operations, and particularly on the use of force?

3. Legal Basis for Mounting Peace Operations

General Considerations: As a general rule, the Charter of the United Nations requires all member states to renounce the use of force as an instrument of policy. In Article 2(4), the Charter lays down the most far-reaching prohibition on the use of force: "*All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations*."

In apparent recognition of global political reality, the Charter makes one exception, which may justify the unilateral resort to force. This is found in Chapter VII Article 51, which provides that: "*Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individuaI or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security*."

The two Chapters in the United Nations Charter, which are the accepted legal instruments for the United Nations to deploy forces in peace operations, are Chapters VI and VII.

Chapter VI Provisions: Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter authorizes the Security Council to appeal to contending parties to settle their dispute through negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration. Failing that, the Security Council could recommend a 'traditional' Chapter VI-type peacekeeping operation as a means of resolving the dispute, Traditional peacekeeping usually does not involve a likelihood of combat and has a high degree of consent among the parties. It also acknowledges that there is, in fact, a 'peace' to keep, which usually means there is some form of peace agreement or ceasefire among the parties. In reality however, peacekeeping forces authorized under Chapter VI often operate in situations in which the use of force, or action without consent, may be essential to the success of the operation. Such situations are often lightly referred to as 'Chapter VI and a half' operations.

Chapter VII Provisions: In Chapter VII operations the Member States normally would be authorized to use "all necessary means" to maintain or restore international peace and security. Chapter VII allows for a graduated scale of warning before decisive action is eventually taken. The consent of the state/parties is not required. While Article 41 could impose diplomatic and economic sanctions, Article 42 is more biting in that "Should the Security Correct consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by a/r, sea, or]and forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security."

UN Forces: Under Article 43 of the Charter the forces to implement these measures are to be provided by the major military powers under agreements to be negotiated with the United Nations. Unfortunately no such agreements have ever been concluded, nor has the Military Staff Committee provided for in article 47 to offer strategic direction ever functioned as intended. Under the circumstance, Member States volunteer to put their national forces at the disposal of the United Nations, or the United Nations may delegate the authority to a regional organization like NATO or ECOWAS.

The UN Mandate: By current practice, it is the Security Council, which has the authority to mandate and terminate peace operations. Among other things, the mandate will determine the degree of force that could be applied to execute the mission and provide for the self-defence of individuals. The four key principles that guide the conduct of peace operations are Legitimacy, Consent, Impartiality/Neutrality and the

Use of Force. The modalities in this use of force are spelt out in the Rules of Engagement.

Rules of Engagement: As alluded to in my introductory remarks, in virtually all peace operations, the tactical actions of a single soldier can have grave strategic consequences, out of proportion to the action itself. Therefore the proper understanding and application of Rules of Engagement (ROE) are paramount. Essentially, ROE are operational tools, which translate the legal and political parameters on the use of force, as contained in the Mandate. They are usually mission-specific and are governed by the Laws of Armed Conflict, domestic laws and other sociopolitical considerations. By their nature, ROE are not proactive, but reactive; they ensure that commanders are aware of the constraints they are operating in, so that they know the manner in which force is to be applied. Some key considerations in the formulation of ROE are as follows:

- *Contents:* ROE should be sufficiently detailed to eliminate any doubts as to individual or unit reaction in any given situation. In this regard, terminology is of critical importance in the development of ROE, especially in multinational peace operations. Each member must have a common understanding of essential ROE terms such as 'warning shots; 'hostile intent', "threat to serious bodily injury'; etc. Without such common understanding, there is bound to be confusion in the application of ROE. Additionally, ROE issued at the strategic level should be as expansive and permissive as possible, to permit the various national contingents to reflect their national legal limitations in the ROE for their soldiers.
- *Exercise of Restraint:* The exercise of due restraint is a key requirement in peace operations. When force is applied it must be done with the degree of restraint appropriate to the circumstances. ROE should however never limit the inherent right and obligation to use all necessary means available in self-defence.
- *Monitoring and Evaluation*: ROE must be continually monitored to verify their effectiveness and relevance. However, frequent changes should be avoided bearing in mind the old military maxim that "Order, Counter Order, leads to Disorder."

4. The Laws of War in Peace Operations

Conflicting Views: Peace operations whether conducted under the United Nations or other regional bodies, raise special questions relating to the applicability of the Laws of War. The first dilemma has to do with the position that since peace operations are not

wars, the Laws of War cannot apply. One school of thought argues that the special status of peacekeeping forces with the task of monitoring ceasefires or delivering humanitarian assistance, makes them different from belligerents under the Laws of War, and therefore technically not subject to such laws. This school of thought further argues that the United Nations as an international organization is not a party to treaties on the Laws of War, because the application of the law presupposes the existence of a state structure.

It must however be borne in mind that under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, all crimes against humanity can be prosecuted, even if they are committed in a peacekeeping environment. It is also a fact that many other treaties and conventions apply across the entire spectrum of operations, including peace operations, Examples include the following:

- Chemical Weapons Convention (use of *riot control* agents).
- Conventional Weapons Convention (use of lasers, mines and incendiaries).
- Convention on the Prohibition of the use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and their Destruction, also known as the Ottawa Protocol.

There appears also to be a clear linkage between the Laws of War and the 1994 United Nations Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel The central theme of this Convention is that only personnel on United Nations operations under Chapter VI shall have immunity from attack; it does not cover Chapter VII enforcement operations. To that extent, United Nations operations, under Chapter VII, involving combat against organized armed forces may be said to be covered by the Laws of War.

Finally, the use of information technology in peace operations raises the question of whether "electronic attack" such as inducing crashes of computer systems, reacting to computer "hackers', transmitting viruses and 'logic bombs" constitutes a "use of force' under the United Nations Charter. The uncertainty will be compounded especially in multilateral operations where states may be governed by different laws on this matter. These are controversial issues and commanders need to be abreast with the current laws and policy regarding information warfare.

5. Practical Challenges in the Use of Force

Having given the historical and legal parameters on the use of force, let me at this juncture focus on a few of the many challenges pertaining to the use of force.

Democratic Tenets Versus Use of Force: The freedom of a democratic society and the fights of the citizens within it are always highly prized and jealously guarded. There is a real likelihood that in using force to protect society against warring factions, a peace operation may restrict or destroy the very freedom and rights they wish to protect. Collateral damage is inevitable in any conflict situation; but particularly where the force used is perceived to be excessive, the Force may forfeit the moral support of the citizenry. The moral dilemma here is how to demonstrate military muscle and at the same time retain the confidence and respect of the parties involved in the conflict - a classic case of having to make an omelet without breaking an egg! The scenario may be further complicated where some troop contributing countries are themselves one-party states, or at best, tentative democracies. In such a case, how can they be entrusted with the protection of human rights and upholding of the tenets of democracy, when they are unable to do so in their own countries?

The Military Mindset: Under a conventional war setting, most armies are trained to expect and search for action. Sometimes operations are mounted not necessarily in response to a perceived threat but to satisfy the need to keep troops busy in periods of quiet. Such a mindset when carried over into peace operations environment may prove to be counterproductive. Therefore one of the skill~ in peace operations is knowing when to do nothing; or as Kofi Annan has put it, showing force in order not to use it. Indeed in certain circumstances, civic action programs such as medical care, child welfare, water and power supply, ration supply etc, pay more dividends than the use of force. As a matter of interest, in the early days of the on-going Iraqi War, it was reported in the Wednesday 26 March 2003 edition of the British broadsheet, 'The *Times"* that British troops in Basra found chocolates as "the key to new friends" as against massive show of force. Even to the casual follower of world events, it is obvious that the American iron-fist post-war strategy in Iraq *has cost* it more casualties and won it fewer friends, when compared to the British hearts and minds strategy.

Parochial Interests versus Operational Imperatives: The operational environment embodying the history, social structure, religious beliefs, etc, within a theatre all have a bearing on the operational technique to be employed when the application of force becomes necessary. For example, due care must be taken when selecting troops to operate in a particular theatre to ensure that those who profess similar religious beliefs

as the belligerents, are not deployed. This is because in the event of having to use force there will be a clear conflict of interest, and experience has shown that the call of religion is usually greater than operational imperatives. In Ghana, for our internal security operations, this issue is given careful consideration, in order not to compromise on security and operational effectiveness. One crucial question that may be posed at this juncture is: Where lies the loyalty of Muslims in the coalition force operating in Iraq? Is it to their Muslim brothers in Iraq or to their national governments?

Dealing with Warlords and Insurgent "Generals": In the post-Cold War environment, peacekeepers are expected not only to intervene in vicious civil wars but also face the challenge of identifying, negotiating and enforcing peace settlements among belligerent parties. Usually, the attitudes of warlords and other contending parties to any peaceful resolution o£ conflicts is either negative or a mere facade behind which they prepare a resumption of hostilities. There is thus a strong temptation when dealing with such people to act outside the law and to assume that terrorists deserve to be treated as outlaws. Not only is this professionally an aberration, it tends to create more practical difficulties for a force than it solves. It has to be admitted that most of the time these warlords and "Generals' who are unschooled in the art of military strategy, hold the key to the attaintment of peace. Indeed in many conflicts they are the Center of Gravity. Therefore they may have to be accorded some tacit recognition and given due audience, if only to buy time and save blood. The point and time for recognizing this important requirement are most vital

Difficulties in Transitioning to Chapter VII Operations: Without meaning to sound like a prophet of doom, I can confidently state that the traditional concept of peacekeeping where peacekeepers provided a zone of separation between states is virtually a thing of the pas. : The simplistic principles of traditional peacekeeping where force was strictly limited to self defence are also gone. Peace operations are now evolving to take account of the realities of operating within complex emergencies involving large numbers of refugees and internally displaced persons; armed opposition to peacekeeping; undisciplined factions and criminal elements; absence of law and order etc. The practical reality of such complex emergencies is that inappropriate mandates and inadequate capability lead to inevitable failure. Experience has shown that it is operationally most challenging to transform peacekeepers from Chapter VI to Chapter VII with its consequential changes in the ROE. Such 'Mission Creep' must be avoided at all costs since it risks damaging or destroying the rather important requirements of peacekeeping - consent and impartiality. There is therefore the need for a very thorough and dispassionate analysis of the political, economic, social and military situation in a given country before a Mandate is designed to meet the exigencies there. Indeed, it may

seem more realistic, in the light of recent experiences, to clothe all peace operations with a Chapter VII mandate since it is far easier to scale down from Chapter VII to Chapter VI than vice versa.

Influence of the Media - "The CNN Factor: The information revolution has altered the influence of governments and international institutions in several ways. Two very obvious outcomes are the erosion of monopoly of information and the institution of transparency in matters of public interest. Thus, when humanitarian calamity looms, interested parties are able to organize people and groups sympathetic to their cause to pursue specific policy outcomes. Aware of this powerful tool, warring factions are also likely to also pursue a 'war of attention' and may capitalize on the misdemeanors of the security forces for their own selfish ends. The need for circumspection at all levels of command is therefore imperative, in order not to fall victim to the propaganda warfare of insurgents, especially where the use of force is concerned.

The media, international organizations and NGOs in operational areas tend to have faster means of communication and shorter reposing lines or "chain of command". They report on incidents from their own perspective and for their own parochial interests, which can be worryingly inaccurate. This calls for a greater scrutiny of actions by peacekeepers at all levels. It also requires that attitude towards such actors should be positive, reasonable and in good faith.

Limited Applications in the Use of Force: Notwithstanding the clear need for a more robust mandate in present-day global conflicts, it still remains an incontrovertible fact that, the use of force has only limited application. It would appear to me that the 'carrot and stick', 'slap and tickle' approaches may the way forward. It bears repeating that even when a properly mandated force uses force, political negotiations rather than peace enforcement alone will provide the ultimate solution to the civil conflict. Peace cannot and should not be imposed by use of force. Rather peacekeeping must grasp the nature of and necessary attitude for peacekeeping. Peacekeepers should not speak of enemy in relation to belligerents. The military's contribution in any peace operation is only designed to support conditions conducive to a long peace settlement. A stable settlement, not military victory is the ultimate measure of success.

Political/National Influence: Political influence/interference at UN level and by governments of troop contributing nations (TCCS) seriously affect the resolve of operational commanders. The very multinational nature of UN Forces also limits the freedom of action and tempo of operation involving the use of force, as illustrated in this diagram.

Effective Support from the UN: The UN Security Council should also make a clear political commitment to the troop contributing countries to send a message to the belligerents that the international community is able, willing and ready to prevail against any opposition. In this way it would pose a credible deterrence to would-be aggressors and raise the confidence of troops on the ground, knowing that they are not alone. Most importantly, the financial and logistics outlay for peace operations must be given priority attention to make them self-sufficient to carry out their mandate.

Development of Doctrine for Peace Operations: It is incumbent on the UN and member states to develop a comprehensive doctrine to guide future peace operations. Such a doctrine should ensure that each operation is given a mix of combat capability designed to control the operational environment, and at the same time enforce compliance. Once a Force Comraander has received his mandate, he can then decide on the best approach to achieving his mission.

6. Conclusion

Peace operations require a comprehensive and integrated response from multi-disciplinary agencies of which the military is only but one part. With the changed global geo-political scenario, and the unleashing of various nationalist and ethnic sentiments, the use of force to buttress peace operations has become inevitable, albeit fraught with challenges. However, military activities, under all conditions, are only designed to create the conditions in which diplomatic and humanitarian activities can progress. A stable settlement, not military victory, is the ultimate measure of success and indeed the end state.

The basic conditions for success remain unchanged and are as follows:

- A clear and practicable Mandate and Rules of Engagement.
- The readiness of member states to contribute the military and specialist civilian personnel required.
- Adequate financial and logistics support.
- Effective media relations.
- A parallel political and diplomatic process aimed at addressing the fundamental causes of the conflict.

EU POLICY ON THE USE OF FORCE IN EU-LED MILITARY CRISIS MANAGEMENT OPERATIONS

BERND LUBENIK, MAJOR GENERAL
Chairman of the EU Military Committee Working Group

The legal framework for all decisions and actions within the EU is laid down in Article 6 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU). Para 1 of this Article states that "The Union is based on the principles of… respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law, principles which are common to the Member States (MS)". In para 2 of the same article one can read: "The Union shall respect fundamental rights, as guaranteed by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and fundamental Freedoms signed in Rome on 4 November 1950…"

Within the "Provisions on a Common Foreign and Security Policy", as stated in the TEU, Article 11 provides inter alia:

- "to preserve peace and strengthen international security, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations (UN) Charter, as well as the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the objectives of the Paris Charter"
- "to develop and consolidate democracy and the rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms".

In the European Security Strategy (ESS), from December 2003, you will find further statements as a framework for a legal basis of any kind of EU-led Crisis Management Operations (CMO), such as:

- "We are committed to upholding and developing International Law. The fundamental framework for international relations is the UN Charter. Strengthening the UN, equipping it to fulfil its responsibilities and to act effectively, is a European priority."

Or in other words, as stated recently in a speech by the SG/HR Dr. SOLANA: "The best way Europe can contribute to building a stronger UN is by building a strong and capable Europe; a Europe firmly committed to effective multilateralism."

In this context, the EU has achieved substantial progress in the past few years, regarding the Common Foreign Policy (CFSP) and the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). Furthermore, the ESS has added new tasks to those explicitely listed in Article 17, para 2 of the TEU (" Petersberg tasks"), by identifying the new key threats:

Terrorism, Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, Regional Conflicts, State Failure and Organized Crime, and setting three new strategic objectives: Addressing the threats, building security in our neighborhood and an international order based on effective multilateralism.

The EU has a wide variety of instruments to fulfil the aims and tasks as well as the strategic objectives as stated in the TEU and in the ESS respectively. However, I will restrict my elaborations to the EU Policy on the Use of Force in military EU-led CMO. I do not mean to imply that I see the wide variety of civilian tools as a secondary option, or consider them less important in comparison with military operations. Simply, I would like to remain within my sphere of competence, which is with the military issues.

If one bears in mind the quotations of the TEU and the ESS which I offered earlier it will come as no surprise that whenever the EU debates the launching of military CMOs it will take steps to ensure that planning and execution of those missions is in compliance with International Law and UN Security Council Resolutions. Guidelines have been developed to reflect the political will of the MS and to ensure that EU-led CMOs are conducted with the protection of civilians and other vulnerable groups at the forefront of our minds. However, whenever embarking on CMOs, constraints and limitations may be imposed on the capacity of the EU to act effectively. These limitations could be of a political nature, of a legal nature or indeed of a merely practical nature. For these reasons, the guidelines express that they should apply taking into account the mandate of a concrete operation and potential limitations on the means and capabilities available to the EU. To give you an example of such constraints and limitations, I will provide you with some factual elements the EU faced when conducting Operation Artemis in Bunia in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) last year:

- in order to answer the remit of the Security Council, the force had to deploy very rapidly;
- the UNSC resolution limited the authorization for deployment of this force both in terms of time and in geography;
- the deployment of forces was severely constrained by the fact that deployment could only be effected by air, the airport had very limited capacity, and the poor condition of the local airfield.

As a consequence of these limitations and constraints, only a very limited number of troops with relatively light equipment could be deployed. Consequently, their ability to ensure protection for the civilian population was limited.

The ability to conduct CMOs has been enhanced by developing over recent years a number of doctrinal documents which have been agreed by the MS as a basis for the planning and the conduct of CMOs. One of the core documents is the Use of Force concept for EU-led military CMOs. This document has been developed on the basis of existing relevant UN and NATO doctrine, as has all military documentation within the EU, and subsequently adapted to EU requirements. As NATO has recently issued a new version of their respective doctrine the EU has started the development of a revised version of the current concept. Compatibility and coherence are necessary, because the huge majority of MS are also members of NATO with only one single set of forces. Without being a textbook on international law, this document sets out the operational legal parameters for all EU-led CMOs. The purpose of the document is to define the EU's concept for the use of Force by military units and individuals in EU-led military CMOs. However, it does not affect, inter alia, the decision making powers of national authorities in the exercise of full command over their armed forces. Consequently, each Nation which contributes with troops to an EU- led military CMO has the right to express "national caveats" on the foreseen Rules of Engagement.

For the purpose of this concept, use of force is defined as an act or the threat of an act meant to deprive someone of the possibility of exercising one's own will. The term "use of force" is not restricted to physical force, but may include threat of force or coercion, such as that caused by fear of violence, duress, detention, psychological oppression or abuse of power.

Consequently, e.g. firing warning shots is considered as a use of force, in contradiction to NATO and UN, where in the respective documents warning shots are defined as a measure of warning and not as use of force.

ROE can be considered as the practical core element of any use of force policy. They are used to ensure that military forces operate in accordance with the political goals set. They provide the Operation Commander (OpCdr) with the required guidance on behalf of the competent authorities. ROE should take into account the political goals to be achieved, reflect the military, political and other relevant capabilities and conform to national and international legal requirements of the military operation. The EU-ROE compendium is written as a series of prohibitions and permissions applicable to activities in the full range of EU-led military CMOs. However, they have to be seen only as menu of possible options. The specific circumstances of each military operation may require that contributing States or commanders propose for approval ROE which are not listed in this compendium.

The EU-procedures to request, authorize and implement ROE are the following:

- Already the Crisis Management Concept (CMC) and the prioritized Military Strategic Options (MSOs) contain general statements and broad guidance on the use of force, which might be further detailed in the initiating Military Directive (IMD), given to the OpCdr.
- The Concept of Operations (CONOPS) contains broad statements underpinning the use of force appropriate to the course of action under consideration.
- The Operation Plan (OPPLAN) contains statements on self-defence and mission specific narrative direction and guidance to the Force Commander (FCdr) for the implementation, interpretation and application of authorized ROE.
- The OpCdr will submit to the competent EU-authorities, together with the draft OPPLAN, the formal request for the mission ROE (ROEREQ).
- The mission ROE will be promulgated using the ROE Authorization (ROEAUTH) message and based on that, the OpCdr will implement them to the FCdr as appropriate.

It follows that ROE cannot be looked at in isolation but should reflect the pertinent aspects of the OPLAN, including the factual situation on the ground, the mission of the force, the legal framework of the mission, the Commander's intent and the capabilities he has at his disposal.

Co-operation and interaction between UN and EU in the context of the use of force is necessary, whenever the EU intends an military EU-led CMO based on a UN Security Council mandate. It is of utmost importance that this mandate gives the necessary umbrella and in particular clear guidelines and authorizations for successful conduct and completion of the mission. One of the reasons of the crisis the international Community faces currently in the DRC seems to be based on the fact that, although the UN-mission MONUC has now a mandate under Chapter VII, the ROE have not been changed accordingly and the existing rules of engagement do not allow any active intervention.

In conclusion, there should never be a conflict between the authorizations provided in the mandate and the ROE needed in the field by the troops, in order to fulfil their tasks.

IMPLEMENTATION OF A CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT – THE NUBA MOUNTAINS EXPERIENCE

BRIGADIER GENERAL JAN ERIK WILHELMSEN
Chairman JMC and Head of Mission JMM

The Nuba Mountains Cease-Fire Agreement (CFA) came into effect 72 hours after it was signed in Switzerland on 19th January 2002 and, as such, has been effective on the ground for two and half years.

In the Agreement the Parties agreed to an internationally monitored cease-fire among all their forces in the Nuba Mountains for a renewable period of six (6) months with the broader objectives of promoting a just, peaceful and comprehensive settlement of the conflict. The mandate has recently been renewed for the fifth time by both Parties. A Status of Mission Agreement (SoMA) created the Joint Military Commission, a small conflict resolution body. It also created a larger body, under the JMC's direct command, which it titled the Joint Monitoring Mission (JMM). The whole, referred to just as the JMC from here, has remained under the political direction of the Friends of Nuba Mountain (FoNM), a group of 12 European and North American countries who have also funded the Mission and provided its (unarmed) international monitors. The legality of the mission is based in the CFA and SoMA and is enabled by Letters of Understanding (LoUs) between the FoNM participating nations, which regulates personnel contributions and funding, and the two Presidential Statements from the UN Security Council, 10th October 2003 and 25th May 2004

After 15 years of war and high levels of operational activity, a cease-fire presented a dramatic change to the units and the ordinary soldiers' activity - from a war situation to a complete stand down. It certainly presented the leaders on both sides with a real challenge. And as time proceeded, so the challenge increased and the requirement for strict discipline became essential to avoid incidents. Together, the Parties, supported by the JMC, have managed to handle this with remarkable success.

Specifically, the JMC was established to assist in the disengagement and redeployment of the combatants and to maintain the cease-fire in accordance with the terms of the CFA. The JMC is the senior conflict resolution tool available and comprises 3 representatives from each Party and a neutral Chairman with 2 Vice-Chairmen. To the greatest extent possible, the JMC reaches its decisions by consensus. In the event of a deadlock the Chairman has the casting vote. The Chairman reports regularly to the designated representatives of the Parties and to the FoNM, who remain actively involved, offering vital political support when called upon.

The Area of Responsibility (AOR) is split into 5 Sectors, each controlled by a body of monitors, who are responsible for observing and reporting compliance with and resolving disputes concerning implementation of the CFA in their designated sectors.

Each Sector comprises 3 or 4 Joint monitoring teams – with each team comprising one member from each Party, headed by an International Monitor and supported by a translator, with the purpose of conducting joint patrols within the Sector's AOR , building confidence with the community, inspecting both Parties' force levels/weapon holdings and reporting on alleged violations of the CFA. The strategy is to resolve disputes at the lowest level possible (ideally between the Parties themselves, maintain flexibility, ensure promises can be delivered and building trust between the Parties as a by-product.

The JMC doctrine is based upon Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter - an unarmed monitoring mission, operating with the consent of both Parties. Force Protection and Security is guaranteed by both Parties. 75 monitors, including 34 Sudanese representing both Parties, supported by 10 logisticians from the Pacific Architects & Engineering Company (PA&E), further supported by local staff, covering an area larger than the Republic of Austria and manning a total of 11 installations. The mission boasts an air wing (2 fixed wing and 3 rotary wing), 4x4 vehicles and excellent communication and IS package. Operations are run by a team of 4 who coordinate all air and ground activities related to the JMC's activities in the Nuba Mountains. A Mission Information Section of 2 and a PIO coordinate respectively the collation and dissemination of information to support and promote the CFA among the people in the Nuba Mountains. That includes information about JMC's own activities, timetables for disengagement and convoy movements, school and medical information, access to grazing and farming areas. The means of dissemination include, but are not limited to, radio broadcasts, mobile media units, local newspapers, tribal chiefs, work with caravans and sport games.

The logistics support concept is a "Push Forward System" that caters for all classes of supplies, mission support and services, maintenance and rescue. It includes medical evacuation/treatment inside the JMC AOR and out of area air transportation (ambulance) for medical hospitalization and if necessary repatriation to sponsoring country. This enables the JMC to react promptly with appropriate resources in any part of the AoR.

The JMC concept has always been to draw the two sides closer together encouraging them to develop professional respect for each other. After 5 mandate periods (two and a half years) I believe the JMC has achieved considerable success in this mutually accepted extension of the Mission's role and that enduring bridges have been built between the Parties. At the outset, the primary tasks set us by the principles of the CFA focused the JMC's resources on monitoring the secession of hostilities and guaranteeing the free movement of civilians, goods and humanitarian assistance. Freedom of movement is occasionally impaired but the most fundamental requirements have been fully achieved. Further, the JMC has supported the extensive de-mining of

routes and key areas. In this way, new humanitarian corridors have been opened up, enhancing the well-being and living conditions of the people of the Nuba Mountains. And we have played a part in the improvement of existing roads and the creation of all-weather airstrips has helped to assist in securing still greater access for the local population. Similarly, by the early establishment of the JMC CIMIC-Centre (Civil-Military Cooperation) the JMC has been able to provide extensive support to UN agencies and the Non-Governmental Organisations in the AoR. This served as a positive lead amongst the agencies and has been to the benefit of the local population.

It must be underlined that the support from both Parties to the Mission and to the CFA has been excellent. There has been no clashes of the armed forces in the Nuba Mountains since its and complaints from both sides have steadily declined, with 130 cases being successfully resolved to date. The concept of shared responsibility and conflict resolution at the lowest resolution has been successful, in this respect. There have, as yet, been no serious Cease-fire Violations (CFV) and numbers have fallen from 49 in the 2nd Mandate to 9 for each of the last 2 mandates, shared equally between the parties. The enduring breaches centre on hindrance of Freedom of Movement, abuse of civilians by military personnel and minor unannounced troop movements.

Through hard work and constant presence in the AOR, JMC has established a reputation as mediators and solvers of problems. Both Parties and the wider population have developed a far more open-minded approach to reporting problems and accepting compromise. In this vein, the JMC established the "Community Confidence Committee Concept" (3C), opening up direct dialogue at community and Provincial level. These committees are now working widely, without JMC input, not only solving problems but managing joint "Cross Line" projects and planning for the future. The process then gathers momentum, involving humanitarian and social support encouraging increased resettlement and movement. Whilst abuse of civilians is not yet eradicated, it has reduced dramatically.

There has been no single JMC's success factor. There are many; a short and efficient line of command and control, direct access by the JMC Chairman to the top level of the Parties and to the FONM, the extensive support to the mission from FONM, the Joint Team concept, the Chairman's Group conflict resolution mechanism, relentless pursuit of impartiality and transparency, confidence building on all levels, a sound information concept, seminars and conferences and the 7/24 working schedule concept.

From early in the Mission, the Chairman decided monitoring and conflict resolution alone were insufficient. Cooperation with the UN, IOs and NGOs has been mutually beneficial and enhanced support to the population. Some of the FONM nations have provided funds for JMC humanitarian activity – this has enabled JMC to conduct limited refurbishment of medical clinics, schools and establish some new water points and construction of safe roads and bridges. These small-scale humanitarian aid

programs not been allowed to critically affect either operations or logistics but have clearly enhanced JMC's reputation with the people and, vitally, their trust if the Mission. It is this trust, hard won through the professionalism and dedication of the monitoring teams, that is the bedrock foundation on which JMC's success has been built. And the example set by the people of the Nuba Mountains, assisted by the JMC, should not be underestimated, in the effect it has had on the wider peace process for the Sudan.

THE CASE FOR A REGIONAL APPROACH TO CONFLICT PREVENTION

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The record of UN intervention in Africa

During forty years of independence, African countries have been torn by over forty armed conflicts. Today, at least a dozen countries suffer from conflicts of varying intensity. The enormous human and economic costs of these conflicts continue to compromise Africa's future.

The United Nations responded by taking a variety of measures and initiatives intended to mitigate the consequences of conflicts. The complexity of the phenomena in Africa led the Security Council to hold a special session on 25 September 1997 to focus world attention on the need to promote peace and security in Africa. The Council requested the Secretary General to prepare an exhaustive report on the causes of conflicts in Africa, the means to prevent them, of the foundation for durable peace and subsequent economic development.

The Secretary General submitted his report on 13 April 1998, presenting a comprehensive analysis of the causes of conflict, an assessment of the measures taken by the United Nations and the actions to be taken in the future.

The causes were broken down into historical, internal, external and economic factors and factors due to special circumstances. On the United Nations response, the focus was on prevention as key to dealing with conflict and on the need for promoting a "culture of prevention". After underlying the importance of prevention by the national authorities in collaboration with civil society, the report stresses the primary role of the instruments contained in Chapter VI of the Charter, namely negotiation, investigation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and judicial resolution. The measures found in Chapter VII, such as sanctions, can be an important deterrent.

To be effective, preventive measures must be taken early on and must target the structural causes of conflict, be they socio-economic, cultural, environmental, institutional or political. Prevention must be comprehensive and include diplomatic, humanitarian, developmental and institutional measures taken by the international community in cooperation with national and regional actors. Effective prevention is also conditioned by the promotion of sustainable development and close cooperation of UN development agencies, NGOs and civil society. Underlying the whole effort is the political will of the countries most concerned by conflicts.

When prevention fails, peace building and peacemaking become necessary. The report outlines the steps to be taken and stresses in particular the importance of the role to be played by regional organisations (ECOWAS, SADC, IGAD, AU).

The record of peacekeeping operations by the UN in Africa has been mixed. While Somalia and Rwanda illustrated the limitations of indecisive action by the Security Council, UN intervention in Mozambique succeeded in consolidating peace and mobilising adequate resources for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of that war-torn country. The early dialogue with various factions and neighbouring states proved to be crucial in ensuring the success of UN intervention.

The record of UN intervention in Africa in recent years (DRC, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, Eritrea/Ethiopia) is also mixed. While Liberia and Sierra Leone appear to have been stabilised, the fluid situation in the other cases renders the future of peacekeeping operations there uncertain.

The need for a regional approach

The persistent challenge of conflict prevention in Africa as shown by the proliferation of conflicts in recent years, particularly in West Africa, and the modest record of UN peace building and peacemaking operations in Africa in stemming these conflicts or preventing their recurrence led the Security Council to seek alternative approaches.

One of the most promising and innovative ways to deal with conflict in West Africa is the decision by the Security Council to actively promote a regional approach. While the need for collaboration between the UN and regional organisations has long been recognised as important to effective UN intervention, the decision made in 2001 to establish a UN Office for West Africa (UNOWA) in Senegal constitutes a major departure from previous approaches.

The decision by the Council was the result of an inter-agency mission which was dispatched to West Africa in March 2001 by the Secretary General with the concurrence of the Security Council. The mission recommended the establishment of a mechanism for systematic and regular consultations among entities of the United Nations system for defining and harmonising national and sub-regional policies and strategies in an integrated manner in cooperation with regional States, ECOWAS and other sub-regional organisations.

The decision by the Secretary General and the Security Council taken in November 2001 to create UNOWA, was considered by Member States as a groundbreaking initiative. It was seen as a first attempt to bring the political services of the Organisation closer to a particular sub-region, through harmonising the work, from a

sub-regional perspective, in which the UN System on the ground is engaged, in support of ECOWAS and its priorities.

Mandate of UNOWA

According to its mandate, UNOWA is entrusted with the following functions:

The United Nations Office for West Africa (UNOWA) is entrusted with the overall mandate "to enhance the contribution of the United Nations towards the achievement of peace and security priorities in West Africa".

a) functions

In the performance of its mandate, UNOWA will carry out the following tasks:

- Enhance linkages in the work of the United Nations and other partners in the sub-region, through promoting an integrated sub-regional approach and facilitating coordination and information exchange, with due regard to specific mandates of United Nations organizations as well as peacekeeping operations and peace-building support offices;

- Liaise with and assisting, as appropriate, the Economic Community of West African States and the Mano River Union, in consultation with other sub-regional organizations and international partners;

- Carry out good offices roles and special assignments in countries of the sub-region, on behalf of the Secretary-General, including in the areas of conflict prevention and peace-building efforts;

- Report to Headquarters on key developments of sub-regional significance;

- Carry out additional tasks assigned by the Secretary-General and the Security Council, including supporting the work of the Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission and follow-up on the implementation of the relevant recommendations contained in the report of the June 2004 Security Council Mission to West Africa (S/2004/525 of 2 July 2004), and the Council's recommendations on cross-border issues in West Africa (S/PRST/2003/11 of 25 March 2004), adopted at the conclusion of its open debate on the

Secretary-General's report on ways to combat cross-border and sub-regional problems in West Africa of 12 March 2004 (S/2004/200).

b) activities

In order to achieve its main objectives, the UN Office for West Africa will carry out the following activities:

- Enhance harmonization of activities of the various UN entities through the regular holding of the SRSGs meetings and meetings with Heads of UN agencies;

- Strengthen cooperation with the ECOWAS Secretariat in the promotion of peace, stability, good governance and development, including through the implementation of the joint programme of work developed by UNOWA and ECOWAS and working visits by UNOWA staff to the ECOWAS Secretariat;

- Enhance cooperation with ECOWAS Member States and their representatives in Abuja, including through regular working or good offices visits and joint programmes or activities on peace, governance and development issues;

- Strengthen cooperation with other key international partners, including the Mano River Union, the International Contact Group for the Mano River Basin, the European Union and the Bretton Woods Institutions;

- Develop better awareness about cross-border and sub-regional problems confronting West Africa, including through the holding of seminars, workshops and conferences involving governments, UN Agencies, civil society organizations;

- Undertake comprehensive studies, including on youth unemployment, security sector reform, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, as well as prepare periodic update on the regional impact of the conflict in Cote d'Ivoire;

- Determine practical ways of curbing or minimizing emerging or potential tensions in border areas, including through field visits;

- Develop a public information programme aimed at raising awareness about the Office's mandate, functions and activities, especially among civil society organizations active in conflict prevention and peace building, including women associations.

- Facilitating the implementation of the work plan designed by Cameroon and Nigeria towards the implementation of the October 2002 ruling of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) on the land and maritime boundary of the two countries.

Support to ECOWAS

The establishment of UNOWA can be seen as a recognition that the post-Cold War structure of peace and security is increasingly being shaped by regional and sub-regional organisations. These organisations are better equipped than the UN to prevent and manage conflict by virtue of their proximity, political access and capacity to enforce their decisions.

Nonetheless, the regionalisation of peace and security poses some operational challenges in respect of cooperation with the UN. More specifically, there is a need to clarify when the UN should defer, complement or coordinate with regional organisations in conflict prevention and peace operations.

In the West African context, the cooperation between the UN and ECOWAS provides a good example of effective partnership. From securing peace agreements to recent peace operations in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau and Côte d'Ivoire, a great deal of experience has been accumulated. There is a need, however, for improving the UN role in complementing ECOWAS and strengthening its capacity to manage technically demanding and financially costly peace operations.

Beyond the management of conflicts, ECOWAS needs to play a crucial role in bridging the continuum from rehabilitation and reconstruction of post-conflict societies to sustainable development as the best way to prevent the recurrence of conflicts. The complexity of the task requires the combined resources of UN agencies, other regional organisations and the whole gamut of partners having a stake in peace building (governments, NGOs, civil society, the private sector).

In order to provide ECOWAS with the critically needed support, UNOWA has engaged in a number of activities with ECOWAS, defined by a formal cooperation agreement and outlined in a joint programme of work. In the cooperation agreement, ECOWAS and UNOWA have agreed to the following objectives:

- Contributing to improving the capacity of ECOWAS in conflict prevention;

- Enhancing the response and preparedness to emerging conflicts;

- Encouraging a regional approach to conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict stabilization in cooperation with other partners in the sub-region, including women's organizations;

- Addressing more effectively cross-border challenges, in particular the plight of child-soldiers and the use of mercenaries, human trafficking and the proliferation of small arms;

- Involving civil society participation in conflict prevention, resolution, peace-building and post-conflict recovery;

- Mobilizing the international community's support for peace and security in West Africa; and

- Ensuring that due attention is given to stable and democratic countries often ignored because of the importance paid to conflict situations.

The joint ECOWAS-UNOWA programme of work is monitored by a joint task force. Among the priority activities agreed for 2004-2005 are: a conference with the African Leadership Forum on Peaceful Alternation to Power; a regional meeting on Security Sector Reform; joint work on a regional strategy for tackling the problem of youth unemployment as a factor of instability; a lessons learned workshop on ECOWAS' peace-keeping operations since 1989.

ECOWAS and UNOWA have also agreed to collaborate on: ECOWAS' proposal for establishing and Electoral Assistance Unit; an assessment study, seminar, and sensitization campaign on the status of the implementation of the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement of persons, right of residence and establishment, addressing in particular the problem of illegal checkpoints; and integrated border strategies for especially sensitive border areas in the region. Cooperation with civil society will be emphasized in all projects.

In addition, UNOWA has taken an active part in evaluating the small arms programme PCASED (Programme for Coordination and Assistance for Security and Development) and in launching the successor programme ECOSOP (ECOWAS Small Arms Programme) in November 2004, including the establishment of a Small Arms Unit in Abuja with a technical implementation unit in Bamako.

UNOWA also participates in ECOWAS' donors meetings which serve as an important forum for a continuous dialogue between ECOWAS and its partners.

Integrated approaches to sub-regional issue

In the West African context, armed conflicts have been spilling over the borders of neighbouring countries and thus destabilising the entire sub-region. This is due to a variety of factors: porous borders due to lack of security controls; cross-border ethnic affinities; circulation of small arms; use of mercenaries; intervention by governments in each other's conflicts; activities of local warlords across borders for personal or political gain; trafficking in diamonds, drugs, cigarettes, humans and arms; and in some cases the movements of terrorist groups.

The prevalence of these phenomena can be explained by the weakness of the States in the sub-region, the precariousness of their security forces, their poor development and governance records, the widespread corruption and the role played by foreign interests in exploiting these weaknesses for economic or political gain.

Important as they are, cross-border factors which can alleviate or exacerbate conflicts have been overlooked, underestimated or considered uncontrollable by existing mechanisms for managing conflict. National authorities and international organisations have no explicit mandate to deal with them. West African states in particular lack the capacity to tackle border problems and must rely on regional or international actors.

In these circumstances, the establishment of UNOWA is seen as a welcome development as its mandate focuses specifically on cross-border issues. To deal with such issues effectively, UNOWA brings to bear UN assets (Security Council support, UN peacekeeping missions, UN agencies) and the strength derived from its special relationship with ECOWAS.

On the UN front, UNOWA has undertaken to prepare action-oriented reports focusing on a wide variety of cross-border issues. The first of which was actually requested on 25 July 2003 by the Security Council (S/PRST/2003/11) which "expressed its concern at the continued existence of regional factors of instability, particularly the use of mercenaries and child soldiers, and the spread of small arms and light weapons which prevent a lasting solution to the crisis in the region."

The report dealt specifically with cross-border issues in West Africa and it included 33 concrete and practical recommendations on ways to address these scourges of instability. The report was discussed at an open meeting of the Security Council on 25 March 2004.

Among the key recommendations is the need to improve UN harmonization, strengthen and implement the ECOWAS Moratorium on small arms, support national commissions on small arms, harmonize DDR programmes in the sub region and 'name and shame' those who still recruit child soldiers.

In addition to the cross-border issues requested by the Security Council, the report presented by the Secretary General on ways to combat sub regional and cross-border problems in West Africa (S/2004/200) of 12 March 2004 targeted other cross-border issues such as the culture of impunity, illegal roadblocks, security sector reform; youth unemployment; civil society participation and awareness-raising; mass refugee movements and other forced displacement; small arms exporters and private security companies .

Moreover, the Security Council expressed its intention to keep under review the implementation of the recommendations, which are aimed at the various UN entities, ECOWAS, Governments as well as Civil Society Organizations. In order to facilitate the monitoring of the implementation status of the various recommendations and to further ensure such implementation is undertaken in an integrated manner, UNOWA prepared a matrix which will serve as a basis for the progress report that will be submitted to the Security Council in early 2005. The preparatory process of the progress report involves many stakeholders, with whom UNOWA continues to collaborate closely.

UNOWA has also organised a series of workshops focussing on other specific cross-border issues. On DDR policies and their impact, a key issue was the need to harmonise, at least, UN approaches and policies on DDR in West Africa. To that end, UNOWA organised three workshops in 2004 involving the UN Missions in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea Bissau, as well as representations of the National Commissions, UN agencies and civil society.

The workshops resulted in a set of recommendations intended to harmonise DDR policies in West Africa. The recommendations have also been fed into the work of a UN interagency task force which seeks to develop global DDR guidelines for UN missions in the future.

The issues of small arms, youth unemployment, security sector reforms and the peaceful alternation of power are also the subject of specific studies undertaken by UNOWA. It is expected that the recommendations of these studies will be submitted for action to the concerned partners and to the Secretary General who may decide to channel them to the Security Council.

For a closer examination of cross-border issues, UNOWA fielded missions to border areas in the sub-region in collaboration with OCHA and other UN agencies. The purpose of these missions was to gather firsthand information of developments in border areas involving trafficking, small arms, movements of refugees and displaced

persons and roadblocks. The reports of the missions served as input for a comprehensive workshop in October 2004 on border areas problems with the active participation of UN agencies from the concerned countries, NGOs, ECOWAS and other regional organisations as well as representatives of development partners.

One of the key issues addressed by the workshop is the potentially destabilising impact of Guinea Forestiere which is locked between Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire. Over the past fifteen years, following the first outbreak of violence in Liberia in 1989, Guinea Forestiere has suffered from the full impact of the violent conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Large numbers of refugees poured into the province, inflicting hardships on the local population and serious damage to the environment. In addition, Guinea Forestiere has, over the years, become a refuge for traffickers of all sorts: arms, natural resources children, women etc.

With the recent conflict in Côte d'Ivoire, the pressure on Guinea Forestiere will increase and threaten the stability of Guinea and beyond. Among the conclusions reached by the participants is the urgent need for a comprehensive programme of rehabilitation and reconstruction of Guinea Forestiere to help stabilise it. Strong interest by the donor community will help translate the meeting's recommendations into concrete programmes.

Beyond Guinea Forestiere, the workshop focussed on the humanitarian, security, economic and political problems posed in each of four different clusters of countries:

- Guinea/Côte d'Ivoire/Sierra Leone/ Liberia
- Mali/Burkina Faso/ Côte d'Ivoire
- Mauritania/Mali/Niger
- Gambia/Senegal/Guinea Bissau.

Each cluster was the subject of a diagnosis of the existing problems, followed by a mapping out of available assets and expertise. The next step was the development of possible scenarios and strategies to deal with their problems. The ultimate purpose of this exercise was to propose integrated approaches to deal with the identified cross-border problems. More specifically, each one of the participating partners was requested to identify the areas where it can intervene effectively to alleviate the impact (in terms of conflict prevention) of the factors identified. The harmonisation of the various interventions would be facilitated by future encounters.

As a follow-up to the workshop, UNOWA is planning similar meetings for each of the clusters in 2005. The outcome of those meetings is expected to take the form of concrete policy recommendations addressed to the governments concerned, ECOWAS the UN and West Africa's development partners.

Support of the Security Council to UNOWA

Since its decision in November 2001 to create the office of the SRSG for West Africa, the Security Council has followed closely the work of UNOWA together with developments in West Africa. In 2004, the Council undertook two missions to West Africa to monitor developments firsthand and use its influence to keep the conflict-prone countries from sliding further into conflict, and to consolidate the peace building efforts in the region.

In response to UNOWA's report on cross-border issues (March 2004), the Council "emphasised the importance of addressing the factors of instability in West Africa within a regional framework."*

The Council stressed "the importance of the role of the Secretary General's Special Representative for West Africa in facilitating the coordination of a coherent United Nations approach to cross-border and transnational problems in the sub-region."* The Council called upon the UN missions in West Africa, governments, financial institutions, development agencies and donor countries "to work together to harmonise individual DDR programmes" within the context of community development programmes with special attention to the specific needs of child soldiers.

The Council also reiterated "the importance of finding durable solutions to the problems of refugees and displaced persons in the sub-region"* and the need to deal effectively with illegal trafficking in arms, notably through the enforcement and strengthening by ECOWAS Member States of the moratorium on the import, export and manufacture of light weapons.

In October 2004, following an examination of the activities and performance of UNOWA, the Security Council concurred with the recommendation of the Secretary General to extend the mandate of UNOWA for three years, from January 2005 to December 2007. This was based on the Secretary General's assessment indicating that "UNOWA has proved to be a useful instrument for raising public awareness about cross-border and sub-regional problems, bringing a regional perspective to a number of issues usually seen from an exclusively national perspective, and promoting conflict prevention; UNOWA was also able to develop useful mechanisms and to promote plans of action for enhancing linkages with other United Nations entities and important national and international partners, including ECOWAS, the European Union, the Mano River Union and civil society organisations; to support peacemaking efforts in the sub-region especially in Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia, and to undertake in-depth studies on

* Quote from the Statement of the President of the Security Council, 15 March 2004 S/PRST/2004/7

complex issues affecting the sub-region, as well as field missions aimed at assessing developments in tension-prone areas."*

Conclusion

The case for a regional integrated approach to conflict prevention in West Africa has been made in very clear terms by the Security Council, the Secretary General of the United Nations, ECOWAS, Governments of the sub-region, many stakeholders and observers. The challenge has been how to translate that goal into a workable and concrete mechanism.

While regional organizations, especially ECOWAS, may be uniquely qualified and suited for that mission, their capacity to deal effectively with armed conflicts has been hampered by many limitations (technical, financial and others). The decision taken by the Secretary General and the Security Council to establish the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary General in Senegal constitutes a groundbreaking initiative intended to bring the United Nations closer to the conflict-prone West Africa and provide regional organizations with the full support of the United Nations.

The recent establishment of UNOWA makes it premature to draw any definitive conclusions on the merits of a UN-driven regional approach to conflict prevention in West Africa. Nontheless, the activities undertaken by the Special Representative and his small team have made enough headway to lead the Secretary General and the Security Council to extend the Office for another three years.

The challenges ahead are daunting as the conflicts in this sub-region persist and become ever more threatening. UNOWA's experience in the past two years suggests that an integrated regional approach bringing together Governments, regional organizations, civil society, UN agencies and the private sector makes a compelling case for tackling conflict in West Africa.

THE ROLE OF PEACE OPERATIONS IN AFRICA IN THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN
Talking Points

BERT THEUERMANN
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Focus of presentation: The role of Peace Operations in the protection of children. Some comments also on question of how transitional justice mechanisms can address crimes involving children. Both are important instruments for the protection of children affected by armed conflict, in particular in Africa. They are closely interrelated; though many aspects of the relationship still need to be clarified.

Why is protection of children important for Peace Operations?

- Civilians overwhelming majority of victims (up to 90%)
- Children are particularly vulnerable & often specifically targeted (abduction; recruitment; sexual violence)
- Impact and effects of conflict on children (loss of childhood; cycle of violence; 'recycling' of child combatants; the 'youth problem' of tomorrow)

Initiatives to improve protection of children in armed conflict:

- Putting issue of children and armed conflict on global political agenda:
  - Machel Study on impact of armed conflict on children(1996); creation of post of SRSG on Children and Armed Conflict (CAAC), Mr. Olara Otunnu (since 1997)
  - Security Council action
  - Regional initiatives: in particular by AU, ECOWAS, EU
- Strengthening international legal protection framework for children affected by armed conflict (building upon Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocols):
  - Convention on the Rights of the Child and Optional Protocol on Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict
  - African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
  - ICC Statute; Statute of Special Court for Sierra Leone
  - Key challenge: how to ensure implementation/observance by parties to conflict, in particular non-state actors (rebel groups, insurgents), who are not signatories to international treaties and have weak command and control. Existing monitoring and reporting mechanisms are weak.
- Improving programmatic response (humanitarian/developmental), e.g.
  - Humanitarian assistance; education in emergencies

- DDR for children with fighting forces; Family Tracing and Reunification for children with fighting forces and other separated children

- Integration of protection of children into the political response to specific conflict situation (peacemaking, peace-keeping; peace-building)

Integration of child protection into the work of the UN Security Council:

- Security Council adopted several resolutions on children and armed conflict: SC-resolution 1261 (1999), 1314 (2000), 1379 (2001), 1460 (2003) and 1539 (2004).
- These SC resolutions provide:
  - Clear obligations for parties to armed conflict
  - Guidance for UN (peace operations & UNCT) and regional organizations
  - Checklist for Council in consideration of specific country situations

- **Priorities for the Security Council:**
- Call on parties to conflict to abide by their international obligations and commitments (IHL, humanitarian access; gender based violence)
- Prevention of recruitment/use of child soldiers and their DDR: 'Black list' of the Secretary-General of parties to armed conflict recruiting/using child soldiers in violation of their international obligations/commitments
- Establishment of monitoring & reporting mechanism on child recruitment and other serious child rights violations
- No impunity for crimes against children
- Integration of child protection into work of mediators and peacemakers (e.g. commitment by parties regarding children as a confidence building measure; special provisions in cease-fire agreements)
- Address situation of children in peace agreements (e.g. Lome agreement; Accra agreement)
- Inclusion of child protection in mandate of Peace Operations, e.g. SC-res.1509 (UNMIL):
  - Contribute to protection of children
  - Facilitate provision of humanitarian assistance
  - Develop DDRR program with particular attention to children
- Inclusion of child protection staff in Peace Operations:
  - Main functions: advice, training, mainstreaming, monitoring & reporting

- Different models: e.g. UNAMSIL (small CP unit in OSRSG); MONUC (CP section with field staff); UNMIL (CPAs in Human Rights Section)

- Comprehensive training in child rights and child protection for all personnel of all components of Peace Operations (military & civilian). Objectives:
  - Awareness about situation of children
  - Expertise in child rights standards & how to work with children
  - Information about existing programs and network of organizations working on behalf of children in respective AOR (referrals)
  - Knowledge of procedures of relevant child protection programs (in particular DDR)
  - Development of strategy/role of every component in support of children (within respective mandate of component)
- Conduct of personnel: policies and procedures for implementation of zero tolerance policy for abuse and exploitation of women and children
- Close collaboration between Peace Operation and UN agencies, NGOs, Child Protection Agencies
- Inclusion of information on situation of children in all country-specific reports of the SG to the Council

Integration of child protection into the work of Peace Operations:

- Objective: mainstreaming of child protection into all aspects and components of mission; in planning and benchmarking processes and reporting to the Council
- SRSG/FC: raise CP concerns in high-level contacts with parties (e.g. release of children with fighting forces, ensure that CP is addressed in Security Sector Reform, resource allocation)
- MILOBS: registration of children with fighting forces in DDR; monitoring and reporting on (re-)recruitment of children and other violations
- Force contingents: humanitarian access, logistical support; community support activities benefiting children
- Human Rights: monitoring and reporting on CR violations; training in child rights for governmental and non-governmental actors; juvenile justice reform
- CIVPOL: training of police in child rights; capacity building; juvenile justice reform
- Civil Affairs: Quick Impact Projects; governance, recovery, PRSP
- Public Information: use of radio e.g. in family tracing, sensitization; give a voice to children, e.g. 'Voice of Children radio program by and for children on Radio UNAMSIL

- SC recommendations for measures by regional and sub-regional organizations for the protection of children affected by armed conflict:
- Integration of child protection into advocacy, policies and programs (AU, ECOWAS)
- Establishment of child protection mechanisms within Secretariat (ECOWAS Child Protection Unit);
- Inclusion of CP staff in peace operations
- Training of military in child rights/child protection (e.g. ECOWAS training initiative; pre-deployment training by Kenyan army supported by Save the Children)

Some key challenges and questions for Peace Operations in Africa concerning the protection of children:

How to deal with child soldiers in combat situations?

- Parties to conflict in Africa are prohibited from recruiting and/or using children under the age of 18 years in hostilities (African Charter on Rights and Welfare of the Child; Optional Protocol to CRC). Recruitment/use of child soldiers under 15 is a war crime (ICC Statute; Statute of SCSL)
- Child combatants have to be seen primarily as victims (forced recruitment; abductions). But they also commit serious crimes and are often particularly unpredictable (e.g. experiences of ECOMOG in Sierra Leone and Liberia; EU Operation Artemis & MONUC in DRC)
- IHL is silent on how to deal with child soldiers in hostilities:
    - Children in general are entitled to special protection.
    - Child soldiers taking active part in hostilities are combatants under IHL;
    - When captured, they shall continue to benefit from special protection;
    - No special rules for confrontation by Peace Operations with child combatants
- Question of use of force against child soldiers by Peace Operations
    - EU Operation Artemis: 'Shoot to kill if absolutely necessary'
    - UNMIL: Guidance: peace-keepers should take care to minimize any harm to these children. Use of force could raise moral questions and create public relations problems (Command Directive for FC)

How to monitor and report on violations of children's rights, in particular child recruitment?

- Monitoring & reporting on child rights violations shall be basis for
  - Political action (Security Council; regional organizations)
  - Individual criminal responsibility
- Every field presence, including Peace Operations, has a duty to monitor and report on violations ('no silent witnesses')
- NGO monitoring & reporting – at local level (with support from Peace Operations in capacity building) & globally (e.g. Watchlist initiative)
- Request of Council to SG for establishment of 'monitoring & reporting mechanism' on violations of children's rights in situations of armed conflict, in particular recruitment/use of child soldiers. Objective: Monitoring and reporting mechanism at global, regional, sub-regional and national level involving UN political presences, UNCT, regional organizations, Governments and NGOs

What is the role of Peace Operations in DDR of children with fighting forces?

- Get detailed information on recruitment & use of child soldiers in advance of DDR (numbers, sex, nationality and roles of children with fighting forces)
- Advocacy with parties/commanders to include children, in particular girls in DDR
- Pay particular attention to children with fighting forces during DDR (registration; separation from adult combatants; cooperation with CP agencies)
- Eligibility criteria for children with fighting forces (18 years; Cape Town principles: no need of gun; not only active combatants; girls)

How to end the cycle of cross-border recruitment of children?

- Major unresolved challenges, e.g.
  - Cross-border recruitment and training
  - 'Recycling' of child combatants in sub-region
- Necessity to monitor such cross-border movements (need of monitoring mechanism by Governments, Peace Operations and NGOs; sub-regional cooperation)
- Internment of foreign combatants (experience of Sierra Leone with Mapeh and Mafanta internment camps); separation of foreign child combatants from adult combatants
- Cross-border aspects of DDR program for foreign children with fighting forces (necessity for cross-border family tracing and reunification and reintegration)

Role of Peace Operations in supporting humanitarian & development efforts?

- Peace Operations have important role in facilitating/supporting the work of humanitarian organizations, including access, logistics, transport
- Peace Operations can also be major humanitarian and development actors
    - Quick Impact Projects (Civil Affairs, DDR)
    - Community support activities by Force contingents, e.g.
        - Rehabilitation of schools, health posts, playgrounds
        - Provision of healthcare, support to feeding programs
        - Sensitization campaign, e.g. HIV/Aids, landmines, UXOs
    - Reach of Peace Operations often greater than UNCT and NGOs
- How to ensure that these activities are done right?
- How to make these activities more systematic and strategic (part of recovery planning)?
- Sustainability of such support activities, in particular after troop withdrawal?
    - Distribution of food
    - Support to 'orphanages' in situations of abject poverty
    - Free medical assistance and status of Government hospitals

How to prevent and address cases of misconduct?

- Personnel of Peace Operations must lead by example in personal conduct
- Every mission has mixed record and some cases of sexual abuse and exploitation of children, in particular girls
- Serious impact on image and credibility of mission
- Need to establish clear standards and credible procedures from the start
    - Staff members and public need to know applicable standards:
    - Preventive action: sensitization & training (induction), posters, hotline
- Procedures must be in place to ensure prompt and credible investigation of every allegation received (some of which also turn out to be unfounded)
    - Ensuring the protection of and providing support victim/survivor
    - Keeping victim informed on status of investigation and action taken
    - Guaranteeing the rights of the alleged perpetrator
    - Qualified investigators (including female investigators)
- Applicable standards and codes of conduct:
    - SG policy of zero tolerance for sexual abuse and exploitation:
    - SG's bulletin on prevention of sexual abuse and exploitation;
    - UN: Ten Rules of Personal Conduct for Blue Helmets

    - UNAMSIL & MONUC: Memoranda of SRSG on prohibition of sexual abuse and exploitation
    - UNCT: Standards of accountability; Six Core Principles of IASC
    - ECOWAS: Child Protection Code of Conduct for Soldiers
- How firm and far-reaching shall standards be?
    - Strict prohibition of sexual relations with persons below 18
    - How to enforce prohibition of prostitution
    - General prohibition of sexual relations with members host community?
- Challenge of integration of these standards by TCCs at national level

How to integrate child protection training in ongoing training programs for military and civilian personnel and efforts to strengthen the capacity of African countries for Peace Operations?

- CR/CP training should be integral part of all training efforts for military and civilian personnel – both pre-deployment and in-mission training (military staff colleges & training programs; training programs for civilian personnel)
- CR/CP training should be an integral part of capacity building programs involving regional and sub-regional organizations (strong interest and commitment among many African armies to include CP into standard & regular training programs; sometimes, such training is less seen as a priority by international partners)

Transitional justice mechanisms and crimes involving children

Security Council guidance (e.g. SC-res. 1379 on Children and Armed Conflict)

- Accountability for crimes against children as a deterrent
- Put an end to impunity & prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and other egregious crimes perpetrated against children
- Exclude such crimes, including crimes against children, from amnesty provisions ('where feasible')
- Ensure that post-conflict truth & justice seeking mechanisms address serious abuses involving children

Transitional justice mechanisms in the past (ICTR, ICTY, Truth Commissions)

- No focus on crimes against children
- Children's involvement limited
- ICTR, ICTY: no child witnesses

- Among many Truth Commissions: children's issues only addressed in cursory way. In South Africa, informal consultations with children

Accountability mechanisms in Sierra Leone

- Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC): Lome agreement; amnesty, UN reservation
- Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL): agreement between UN and GoSL
    - Question of relationship between SCSL and TRC (e.g. question of supremacy, information sharing, timing, temporal jurisdiction)
- Prosecutions before national courts (in particular West Side Boys)

Because of particular nature of conflict: focus of TRC and SCSL on experiences of children during conflict

Mandate of Truth and Reconciliation Commission:

- Establish historical record of what happened during the conflict since 1991
- Promote reconciliation
- Make recommendations to address root causes of conflict, including question of reparations
- Pay particular attention to experiences of children (as victims and as perpetrators)

Mandate of Special Court for Sierra Leone

- Bring to justice those who bear the greatest responsibility for crimes committed since 30 November 1996
- Question of personal jurisdiction over children between 15-18:
    - Legal and moral issues
    - Impact on DDR program
    - Prosecutor: no prosecution of crimes committed by persons between 15-18
- Specific crimes against children, in particular crime of recruitment/use of child soldiers under age 15, forced marriage
    - Prosecutorial strategy to prioritize crimes against women and children
    - Legal debate whether recruiting/using child soldiers was a war crime under customary international law (preliminary motion by Hinga Norman)

Practical experiences and challenges

- UNICEF and Child Protection partners had lead role in reintegration of children with fighting forces and separated children.
- Decision to support the efforts of TRC and the SCSL to address crimes against children. Engagement of Child Protection Network differed because of the different mandates and approaches of TRC and SCSL (truth-telling – prosecution)

Work of TRC concerning children

- Close collaboration between TRC and child protection agencies. Development of special procedures for the involvement of children in work of TRC, in particular child ex-combatants in
    - confidential statement taking (some 500 children country-wide)
    - *in camera* hearings of the Commission with children (5-10 per district)
        - While participation in TRC proceedings of children was confidential, community was informed and aware of the process and involvement of children
- Public thematic hearings on and with children on the Day of the African Child 2003
- Special chapter of final TRC report on children (to be presented to President of Sierra Leone and UNSG in September 2004)
- Preparation of child-friendly version of final report (to be used as educational material in schools and local Child Welfare Committees)

Work of Special Court on children's issues

- Child Protection Agencies advocated with organs of SCSL (Office of the Prosecutor, Defense, Witness & Victims Section, and Judges) to give high priority to crime against children and to ensure the best interest of children coming in contact with Court, in particular their protection and support. Cooperation and support between CPAs and SCSL at very informal and confidential level.
- All indictments include specific crimes against children, in particular crime of recruitment/use of child soldiers
- Where does the Prosecutor get the evidence for these indictments?
    - From Child Protection Agencies etc. who were involved with parties to conflict and during DDR?
    - From those who were recruited themselves (young adults, children)?
- Child witnesses are providing important evidence for

- Crime of recruitment of child soldiers
- Command responsibility (because of close ties with former Commanders)

- Key criteria for the involvement of child witnesses:
  - Children shall only participate voluntarily on the basis of informed consent (child and guardian)
  - Protection of physical safety, in particular through anonymity and confidentiality
  - Support the well-being of child (prevention of re-traumatization)
  - Preservation of regained normalcy in life of child (family/community, school)
- Special procedures for identifying and supporting child witnesses during investigations
- Witness protection measures for child witnesses (pre-trial, trial and post-trial) that preserve the anonymity and confidentiality of the child
  - Pseudonyms
  - Testimony through video-link
  - Testimony in sessions closed to public and media (to be decided on a case-by-case basis)
- Main challenges:
  - How to preserve anonymity in villages? Negative aspect of having trials in-country, which is very small and transparent
  - Possible risks involved with disclosure of identity of child witness to defense

International Criminal Court

- Substantive and procedural provisions concerning children in ICC Statute and Rules of Procedure and Evidence
- Prosecutorial strategy: crimes against children high on the agenda of Prosecutor (e.g. Northern Uganda and DRC)
- Challenges for ICC:
  - How to identify, protect and support child witnesses?
  - How to protect those who support and collaborate with ICC investigators on the ground?

Some key questions & challenges

How shall Peace Operations and child protection agencies support accountability mechanisms?

- Providing only logistics and security, or also supporting collection of evidence (e.g. internal monitoring and assessment reports; internal investigations; conflict mapping; DDR registration files)?
- Shall UN agencies and NGOs share info and evidence?
    - In Sierra Leone: UNICEF and CPAs did not share with TRC or SCSL any internal documents concerning children (they were collected for the purposes of reintegration); but support in process of identification of potential witnesses
    - Concerning ICC: higher obligations for UN to share information (Relationship Agreement between the ICC and the UN)
- Impact of cooperation on Peace Operations and humanitarian agencies in country concerned and third countries?

How best to address crimes against children in transitional justice mechanisms?

- Accountability mechanisms shall pay particular attention to the experiences of children during conflict and crimes committed against them
- While consideration should be given for appropriate form of accountability for child soldiers responsible for serious crimes, children shall not be prosecuted before high-profile international/mixed tribunals (and neither before national courts). Traditional mechanisms and ceremonies might be most appropriate.
- Involvement of children, including child perpetrators in TRC can be a very positive experience, but depending on timing, significant mediation/reconciliation work might have been done already by child protection agencies as part of reintegration programs for child soldiers and separated children
- Prosecution of crimes against children is an important message to society and deterrent for other theatres of conflict. In deciding on whether to use a child witnesses for this purpose, the safety and well-being of the child shall be the primary consideration.

THE MULTINATIONAL STAND-BY HIGH READINESS BRIGADE FOR UNITED NATIONS OPERATIONS (SHIRBRIG)

Background Information

GÜNTHER GREINDL

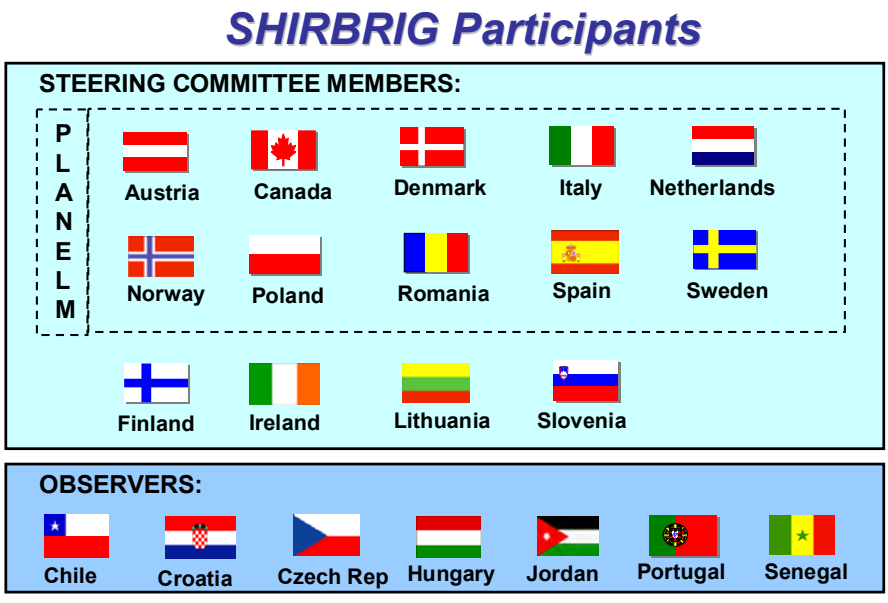
The Multinational Stand-by High Readiness Brigade for United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (SHIRBRIG) is an initiative to contribute rapidly deployable military assets of up to a brigade size for UN led Peacekeeping Operations.

Background

Begun in 1994, the SHIRBRIG initiative brings together a group of like-minded countries interested in pursuing efforts to reinforce the United Nations Stand-by Arrangement System (UNSAS) through effective and continuous pre-deployment planning, and by promoting interoperability through the establishment of common operating standards and procedures, as well as joint training of the headquarters staff and the Commanding Officers of the SHIRBRIG assigned units.

Experience has shown that the deployment of military assets within the first six to seven weeks is crucial for the success of a Peacekeeping Operation. In his 1995 statement "Supplement to an Agenda for Peace", the UN Secretary General recommended that the UN consider the idea of a rapid deployment force, consisting of units from a number of member states, trained to the same standard, using the same operating procedures and inter-operable equipment, and taking part in combined exercises at regular intervals.

SHIRBRIG was established on 15 December 1996 by Austria, Canada, Denmark, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland and Sweden. There are now 14 nations taking full part in the initiative with Finland, Italy, Ireland, Lithuania, Romania, Slovenia and Spain now also actively participating. Chile, Hungary, Portugal, Senegal, Jordan, Czech Republic and Croatia are observers. Ghana has expressed an interest in joining as an observer in the near future.



By 1999, member nations felt that the SHIRBRIG forces had reached a sufficient level of operational capability, so SHIRBRIG was declared available to the UN in January 2000. In November of that year, SHIRBRIG deployed its Headquarters, an Infantry battalion and a Headquarters Company to the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE). The SHIRBRIG units returned six months later, in May 2001, after completion of a successful mission.

In March 2003, SHIRBRIG provided a planning team to assist the UN and ECOWAS in the planning of a peacekeeping mission in Côte d'Ivoire. Later, in September 2003, SHIRBRIG deployed 20 members to assist the UN in forming the core of the interim headquarters for the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL).

The SHIRBRIG Concept

Each SHIRBRIG member state decides on a case-by-case basis whether they will take part in any given SHIRBRIG mission. In this way, national decision making procedures (and thereby national sovereignty) are not affected by a nation's participation in the standby initiative.

Potential operations include preventive deployments, surveillance of truce-agreements, supervising the separation of forces, humanitarian assistance and other scenarios in which the opposing sides have entered into an agreement. All SHIRBRIG missions are mandated by the UN Security Council. Once deployed, the SHIRBRIG forces come under operational control of the UN mission leadership.

In principle, SHIRBRIG could be deployed anywhere in the world. When tasked, SHIRBRIG advance parties can be deployed into the theatre of operation within 14 days, and the main SHIRBRIG force can be deployed within 30 days following a national decision to participate. However, certain operational, administrative and legal aspects may delay the deployment of some of the forces. In addition, there could be extreme geographic or climactic conditions that would impose a limit on SHIRBRIG's ability to carry out a particular mission.

Upon deployment, SHIRBRIG integrates and cooperates fully with other UN forces in the mission area, under command of the UN Force Commander. SHIRBRIG forces would remain in the mission for a maximum of six months before being replaced by other, non-SHIRBRIG, peacekeeping forces generated through the UNSAS. This then frees up the SHIRBRIG forces to undergo a one-year period of regeneration before being made available to the UN once again for a new peace support operation.

Organization

The SHIRBRIG initiative consists of three key components: the Steering Committee, the Planning Element, and the Force Pool.

Steering Committee

The Steering Committee is the executive body for SHIRBRIG. It executes the political and economic control of the brigade, issues directives to the Commander of SHIRBRIG, approves military concepts, directs training and exercise programs, oversees and audits budgets, and is responsible for the SHIRBRIG decision-making and force generation process. The Steering Committee meets three to four times a year and the chair for the committee rotates annually amongst member nations.

The Chair of the Steering Committee, assisted by a small national staff, constitutes the Presidency for SHIRBRIG and is responsible for leading and coordinating all activities and projects of the Steering Committee. The Presidency also serves as a point of contact for the SHIRBRIG Commander in the development of policy and guidance to the Planning Element and for the Force as a whole. In addition, the Presidency coordinates and maintains contact with the UN. To that end, it is supported by a Contact Group, which is based in New York and consists of the SHIRBRIG nations'

Ambassadors and their Military Advisors from the Permanent Missions to the UN. The Ambassador of the same nation holding the Presidency chairs the Contact Group. The Military Advisor of the same nation acts as the main point of contact with the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO).

Planning Element

The foundation strength of SHIRBRIG lies in the Planning Element, the small, permanent multinational, military staff that comprises the core of the SHIRBRIG HQ. Normally manned by fourteen officers from ten SHIRBRIG participating nations, the Planning Element is located in Høvelte, 30 kilometers north of Copenhagen, Denmark.

When it is not deployed, the Planning Element is responsible for developing Standard Operating Procedures (SOP), the Concept of Operations (CONOPS), and contingency plans, conducting country studies for potential deployments, carrying out operational preparations for deployment, and conducting operational and logistical training of the SHIRBRIG Headquarters staff. The Planning Element also serves as a cohesive and well-practiced team providing additional planning assistance and military expertise to the UN DPKO when needed.

On operations, the Planning Element forms the core of the SHIRBRIG Headquarters and is augmented by 69 designated Officers and NCOs from the SHIRBRIG member nations. Each of these Officers and NCOs fills a non-permanent position within the HQ, are previously identified by their nation, and gather for training with the Planning Element twice a year.

The greatest value of SHIRBRIG is the provision of this cohesive, well-structured, flexible organization that forms the nucleus of a command and control capability for Peace Support Operations.

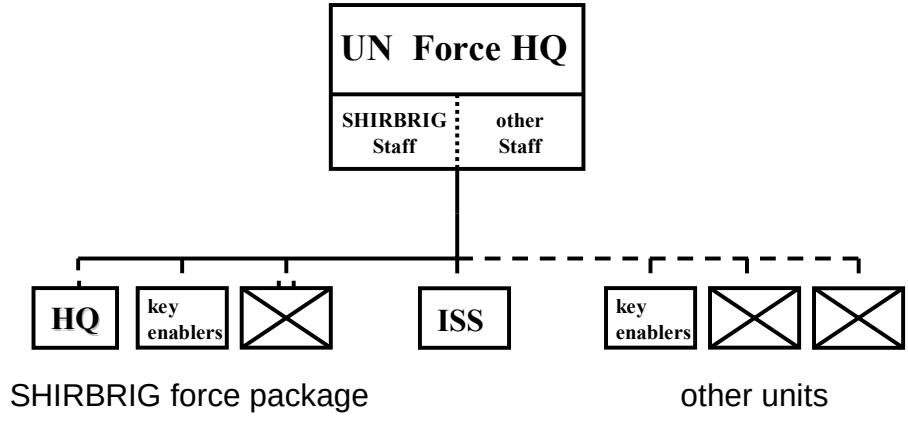
Force Pool

The SHIRBRIG Concept includes the maintenance of a force pool from which units can be made available by member nations. All SHIRBRIG units are part of the UNSAS, are based in their respective nations, and train with a set of common training standards and procedures. The SHIRBRIG Commander, a Brigadier-General, is responsible for the training of the SHIRBRIG headquarters staff and unit commanders, while it remains a national responsibility to train and prepare the units for a particular mission.
In June 2003 the Steering Committee approved five employment options for SHIRBRIG:

- Employ SHIRBRIG for UN Peace Keeping Operations
- Employ SHIRBRIG (-) for UN Peace Keeping Operations

- Employ SHIRBRIG for observer/ monitoring missions
- Employ SHIRBRIG HQ as nucleus of a Force HQ
- Employ PLANELM to assist UN in planning a new mission

These options range from a deployment of a full brigade-sized force to the employment of the PLANELM only. Within these employment options SHIRBRIG maintains the flexibility of deploying either key personnel to form the nucleus of a UN Force Headquarters or with employment option 2, a force package which comprises at least of a Headquarters Company, a major infantry unit and key enablers to provide the framework for a brigade (see graph below).



Finance

SHIRBRIG is established at low additional cost to each member state. The main costs are for the posting of Officers to the Planning Element, attendance by national staff Officers and unit commanders at the various training activities and conferences, attendance of national policy Officers at the Steering Committee Meetings, and the shared cost of maintaining the Planning Element. Since its inception, the Planning Element has operated with an annual budget of slightly under USD $450,000. This amount is shared equally by the 10 nations participating in the Planning Element.

Foundation Documents

A set of Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) between participating nations was used to establish SHIRBRIG. These documents also govern the functioning of the SHIRBRIG entity, the Steering Committee, the Planning Element and the Force Pool. In addition, a Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) has been developed by SHIRBRIG nations with the host nation of Denmark.

SHIRBRIG's African Capacity Building Initiatives

The SHIRBRIG Steering Committee, assisted by the Commander and the Planning Element, have embarked on a series of initiatives to assist the African Union and the various African Economic Regions in their desire to establish similar, regional peacekeeping standby forces. Recent efforts include the sponsorship of:

- Senior African Defence and Foreign Affairs officials at the SHIRBRIG Steering Committee meetings,
- Attendance by African Military Officers at major SHIRBRIG training events,
- Two officers (from Ghana and South Africa) to participate for three-month periods in the Planning Element as secondment officers.

Conclusion

In summary, the SHIRBRIG initiative is a practical and achievable way for nations to contribute to an effective, high readiness, peacekeeping capability for the UN. It has proven its utility over the years and continues to maintain close ties with the UN to ensure relevancy.

As the only operational multinational initiative that is dedicated for UN Peacekeeping Operations, SHIRBRIG is actively pursuing initiatives to help enhance the capacity of other nations and regions supporting UN Operations.

PROSPECTS FOR PEACE OPERATIONS IN AFRICA: THE CASE OF UNAMSIL AND UNMIL

LT. GEN. DANIEL ISHMAEL OPANDE
Force Commander, United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)

1. Introduction

The two missions in Sierra Leone and Liberia respectively, are at different stages of implementation. While UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) is now at its drawdown stage, a sign of winding up its peacekeeping business in that country, UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) is at a critical and fragile phase of asserting its authority and disarming the combatants. I had an opportunity to command UNAMSIL force prior to coming over to establish UNMIL in October 2003. It is important to note that UNAMSIL's five years presence in Sierra Leone played a key role in ending the conflict and returning Sierra Leone to normalcy. In Liberia, UNMIL has been instrumental in setting a sound base for the peace process over the last eight months. In retrospective, the two missions have played an important role in enhancing the sub-regional as well as regional peace and security prospects. I would briefly outline the events and status of these two missions as of today.

2. UNAMSIL

2.1. Background

The conflict in Sierra Leone dates back to March 1991 when fighters of the Revolutionary Untied Front (RUF) insurgents launched a civil war that lasted for about a decade. Despite concerted efforts by ECOWAS member states and other independent states, the country only realized sustainable peace when UNAMSIL mission was deployed in October 1999. The mission implemented its mandate with only one significant setback in May 2000. The mission is currently down sizing, envisaging a complete withdrawal by end of 2005.

2.2. Mission Establishment

On 22 October 1999, the Security Council authorized the establishment of UNAMSIL, a new and much larger mission (than UNOMSIL) with a maximum strength of 6,000 military personnel, including 260 military observers, to assist the Government and the

parties in carrying out provisions of the Lome Peace Agreement. To head the new mission, the Secretary-General appointed Mr. Oluyemi Adeniji (Nigeria) as his Special Representative in Sierra Leone. The new SRSG assumed his functions on 11 December 1999.

On 7 February 2000, the Security Council, by its resolution 1289, decided to revise the mandate of UNAMSIL to include a number of additional tasks. It decided to expand the military component to a maximum of 11,100 military personnel, including the 260 military observers already deployed. The Council also authorized increase in the civil affairs, civilian police, administrative and technical components of the mission, as proposed by the Secretary General.

By its resolution 1299 of 19 May 2000, the Security Council again increased the strength of UNAMSIL to 13,000 military personnel, after the May crisis which saw over 500 peacekeepers taken hostages by the rebel group. In October the same year, the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan appointed me to take over the command of the UNAMSIL force from Major General Vijay Kumar Jetley (India). On 30 March 2001, a further strength increase was authorized to 17,500 military personnel, including the 260 military observers. The Council took this decision by its resolution 1346 and by the same resolution, approved a revised concept of operations developed by us in the field.

2.3. Mission Mandate

The mission mandate has changed severally depending on the situation and its status. The mission was first established in 1999 with a comprehensive mandate by the UN Security Council resolution 1270 (1999) of 22 October 1999. The highlights of the mandate were to

- assist the Government of Sierra Leone in the implementation of the DDR plan.
- encourage the parties to create confidence-building mechanisms and support their functioning.
- facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance.
- provide support, as requested, to the elections, which were to be held in accordance with the current constitution of Sierra Leone.

The mandate was revised in 2000 (Security Council resolution 1289 of 7 February 2000), to include additional tasks (under Chapter VII): These tasks among others were; to facilitate the free flow of people, goods and humanitarian assistance along specified thoroughfares; to provide security in and at all sites of the DDR programme and to guard weapons, ammunition and other military equipment collected from ex-combatants and to assist in their subsequent disposal or destruction. The Council authorized UNAMSIL to take the necessary action to fulfill those additional tasks, and affirmed

that, in the discharge of its mandate, the mission may take the necessary action to ensure the security and freedom of movement of its personnel and within its capabilities and areas of deployment, to afford protection to civilians under imminent threat of physical violence, taking into account the responsibilities of the Government of Sierra Leone.

Another resolution (1346) of 30 March 2001 was issued. The main objective of UNAMSIL remained to assist the efforts of the Government of Sierra Leone to extend its authority, restore law and order and stabilize the situation progressively throughout the entire country, and to assist in the promotion of a political process which led to a renewed DDR programme in May 2001 and the holding of free and fair elections in May 2002.

2.4. Peacekeeping Success: Lessons learned

Experience shows that UN peacekeeping operations can successfully end conflicts and help restore peace and stability in troubled states. The fact that UNAMSIL was able to disarm the belligerents, contain insecurity, supervise a peaceful election and finally enabled Sierra Leoneans to return to their country, demonstrated the impact of a peacekeeping operation on an overall perspective. Although the mission faltered initially, it eventually became what is widely acknowledged as one of the UN most successful peacekeeping missions. The mission has been cited by the international community and the Sierra Leoneans as a major factor in the remarkable recovery of the country since May 2000. Clearly, a convergence of several events, both external and within UNAMSIL shaped its ultimate success. But it is also clear that the most essential success factors were:

- Alignment of political will and resources: The international community was committed to the success of the mission with the right leadership and resourced mandate (manpower, equipment, training) to carry out the tasks.
- Alignment of the peacekeeping force with stability programmes that helped foster positive alternatives to conflict, such as DDR, and civil affairs projects.
- Long-term commitment: Ending the conflict and fostering peace building efforts were the immediate goal of UNAMSIL because without that there could be no sustainable peace. Stability was needed to allow the elements of good governance (such as democratic elections, system of courts and laws, credible national security forces) to be put into place. In the absence of good governance, conflict will easily reignite.

2.5. Strengthening the Security Sector Capacity

With the assistance of the UN civilian police component, the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth police training team, the Sierra Leone police force is making steady progress in building its capacity to assume full responsibility for internal security. The ultimate objective is to increase its full strength to its pre-war level of 9,500 officers through accelerated recruitment and fast-track training. To this end, UNAMSIL and the Commonwealth team are providing training for the new police recruits, as well as for trainers and police officers already in service.

To date, over 1,000 police recruits have been trained, bringing the strength of the Sierra Leone police to 7,115 as of February this year. The newly trained police personnel are being deployed to the provinces, focusing on areas vacated by UNAMSIL troops and the sensitive diamond-mining and border areas in the east of the country. In addition, 4,000 middle-rank officers have benefited from in-service training to help enhance the operational effectiveness of the police. At this stage, the Government has successfully re-established a police presence in all provincial and district headquarters and major town throughout the country.

With regard to Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces (RSLAF), the Government, with the support of the International Military Advisory and Training Team (IMATT), led by the United Kingdom has launched a contingency programme for building the operational capacity of the armed forces to assume responsibility for external security and to backstop the Sierra Leone police in maintaining public order. Those measures, which were launched in July 2003, include the deployment of three RSLAF brigades to the provinces and border areas; the ongoing restructuring of the armed forces, aimed at reducing their troop strength from the present level of over 14,000 to a sustainable level of 10,500; and forging a cooperative relationship between RSLAF, the National Security Council and the National Security Council Coordinating Group. The establishment of security and intelligence committees (provincial and district security committees), which provide a framework for cooperation among the police, RSLAF and local authorities on security matters and the construction of barracks for over 7,500 troops in the provinces and border areas, under a programme called Operation Pebu, also constitute a vital part of the effort. UNAMSIL also continues to conduct joint patrols and exercises with RSLAF and the Sierra Leone police, aimed at ascertaining progress in the operation capabilities of the two forces, particularly in Freetown and in areas along the border with Liberia.

2.6. Mission Drawdown

UNAMSIL strength as of 28 June 2004 was 10,331 uniformed personnel, including 10,078 contingent troops, 253 Military Observers and 116 Civilian Police, with fatalities of 137 military personnel since establishment in October 1999. The drawdown of UNAMSIL is currently proceeding according to the plan approved by the Security Council in its resolution 1492 (2003), which initially envisaged the drawdown of the mission to be completed by December 2004. Under the plan, UNAMSIL troop strength has been reduced from 11,500 to 10,300 in June this year.

Further reductions will be implemented in September and October to bring the troop level down to 5,000. However, according to a new resolution, 1537 (2004) of 30 March 2004, the Security Council decided to extend the residual UNAMSIL presence for initial period of six months from 1 January 2005, reduced from the December 2004 level of 5,000 troops by 28 February 2005 to a new ceiling of 3,250 contingents troops (Ghana, Nigeria and Pakistan contingents), 141 military observers and 80 UN civilian police personnel. It should be recalled that the implementation of the last stages of the plan was predicted on an evaluation of progress made on specific benchmarks.

The Government of Sierra Leone, with the support of UNAMSIL and other bilateral and multilateral partners, has made significant progress in meeting some aspects of the benchmarks. However, in many areas the progress made remains fragile, and some major gaps still remain, particularly with regard to the security sector. Much also remains to be done in the areas of consolidating state administration throughout the country and restoring government control over diamond-mining activities.

2.7. Observations

A number of milestones expected to be reached in 2005 would require the strength and tasks of the proposed follow-on mission to be kept under review. The conclusion of the work of Special Court is one such milestone that would make it possible to consider mission adjustment. According to the Court officials, they expect to complete their work during the second half of 2005.

Another key benchmark would be the attainment of the necessary capacity for the armed forces to assume full and effective responsibility for the external security of the country. Progress in many areas remains fragile, the armed forces remains a weak point in the overall security structure. The serious shortfalls facing the armed forces in logistics and infrastructure will not make it possible for the government to assume effective responsibility for the country's external security by the time UNAMSIL mandate is expected to be terminated by end of June 2005. On the other hand, although

the police force has achieved remarkable progress in building its capacity, it is yet to attain its full strength and needs considerable support in constructing its police stations and accommodation in the provinces.

Moreover, the proposed operation of the mission through the end of 2005 would provide UNAMSIL with more time to complete key residual tasks, allow the Special Court to complete its work and give the country extra space to further stabilize and recover. In addition, its presence will augment the peace efforts of UNMIL in neighboring Liberia and enhance the overall sub-regional security achievements.

3. UNMIL

3.1. Mission establishment

The UN Security Council resolution 1509 (2003) of September 2003 established UNMIL for a period of 12 months. The ECOWAS troops (ECOMIL), approximately 3,600, 're-hatted' on 1st October 2003, and were the first military elements that laid down the foundation for the mission establishment.

3.2. Deployment of the Mission

The deployment of the troops throughout the country still remains a major priority of UNMIL, in order to stabilize the country and create the security conditions for the implementation of our Mission's Mandate.

- March/April – We received more troops from Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Pakistan, China and Sweden. A battalion from Senegal arrived in June. All these troops are already deployed across the country.
- April – Pakistan infantry battalion deployed in Lofa County, with HQ in Voinjama – Sector 2 Area of Responsibility
- April - Chinese level II hospital was established in Zwedru (Sector 4).
- Mid July the mission is expected to achieve its full authorized strength of 15, 000 troops with the arrival of an Ethiopian battalion.
- The personnel strength as of 20 June was 14, 028 (including staff officers and military observers) and 790 civilian police.

3.3. Security Situation

The ceasefire established pursuant to the 17 June 2003 Ceasefire Agreement is largely holding. Security situation remains fragile, mainly because the disarmament is yet to be completed, but generally there is improved movement of people across the country with very minimal incidents.

3.4. Monitoring the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace agreement (CPA)

Three mechanisms for monitoring the implementation of the CPA,

- Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC) – Chaired by myself (FC)
- Implementation Monitoring Committee (IMC) – Chaired by ECOWAS
- International Contact Group on Liberia (ICGL) – Co-chaired by UNMIL and EU

JMC – useful forum for assessing the implementation of the DDRR programme.
IMC/ICGL – collaborates closely with UNMIL to ensure the peace process remains on track and continues to meet regularly in Monrovia.

3.5. Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration and Rehabilitation (DDRR)

- Successfully re-launched on 15 April at a disarmament site in Gbarnga for LURD combatants. Further cantonment sites opened on 20 April in Buchanan for MODEL, 25 April in Tubmanburg (LURD) and 30 April and 6 May at VOA and Kakata for former government forces. It is generally running smoothly without any significant incidents.
- As of 20 June, over 42,000 combatants have been disarmed including those disarmed in December 2003.

3.6. Support for Security Sector Reform

The registration of Liberian law enforcement personnel is proceeding on schedule. As of 1 June, over 4,000 members of the Liberian National Police have been registered, including 1, 200 from the former Special Security Service, 171 members of the Monrovia City Police, 500 members of the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization and 200 members of other agencies. It is envisaged that the registration process will be completed by September 2004.

- There are major works underway to rehabilitate several police stations, with one, Bushrod Island in Monrovia successfully completed in April.
- In order to ensure a holistic approach in supporting the reform of Liberia's security sector, Rule of Law Implementation Committee has been established to coordinate the reform of the police, judiciary and correctional institutions.
- UNMIL civilian police officers have also launched a sensitization drive for recruitment into the new force, with emphasis on the need for ethnic and gender balance. The National Transitional Government of Liberia (NTGL) and UNMIL launched the recruitment process on 5 May.

With regard to the restructuring of the armed forces, discussions are ongoing between the United States government, which is taking the lead role and NTGL on key issues, including the criteria for recruitment and the anticipated size of restructured armed forces.

3.7. Restoration of State Authority

UNMIL continues to work closely with relevant national authorities to formulate and execute a comprehensive strategy for the return of government officials to their areas of authority. With the support and encouragement of the civil affairs component of UNMIL, the Liberian Internal Affairs Ministry has established a task force for the restoration of civil authority to formulate a phased and gradual deployment of government officials to all the fifteen counties. This deployment is planned to take place where disarmament of combatants has begun.

Since April, UNMIL deployed civil affairs officers in various parts of the country, including the four sector headquarters in Tubmanburg, Buchanan, Zwedru and Monrovia, as well as in major towns of Robersport, Bensonville, Kakata, Tapeta, Greenville, Gbarnga, Sinje and Voinjama. They have so far initiated contacts with existing local and traditional authorities and other groups on the ground.

3.8. Humanitarian /Human rights situation

The relative stability in recent months, coupled with the resumption of the DDRR programme, has improved the humanitarian situation and facilitated access for agencies to previously inaccessible areas. The UN agencies are working to ensure a well-coordinated and coherent response to the humanitarian needs of the whole country. The Humanitarian Aid Coordination Forum, chaired by the Humanitarian Coordinator,

continues to provide strategic direction and substantive guidance to the humanitarian community.

The resumption of the DDRR process has enhanced easing of the security restrictions that until recently hampered the work of humanitarian organizations. UN agencies such as UNHCR, OCHA and WFP have already deployed their staff in several parts of the country to work with local communities to improve the lives of Liberian people.

Currently, there are an estimated 300, 000 internally displaced persons in camps. The number recently increased as a result of spontaneous return of refugees from the neighboring countries of Sierra Leone, Guinea and Ivory Coast. But this figure is also envisaged to gradually decrease over the coming months as IDPs return to their homes, especially in areas where disarmament has begun.

The human rights and protection component of UNMIL has also continued its monitoring and reporting in all areas of the country where state authority has been established. The component has worked closely with Ministry of Justice to resolve the long-standing problem of overcrowding in prisons and police holding cells in Monrovia.

3.9. Regional Aspects

The NTGL has continued its efforts to improve its relations with neighboring countries, particularly the two other Mano River Union members (Sierra Leone and Guinea). There have also been continued efforts to strengthen inter-mission (UNMIL, UNAMSIL and ONUCI) cooperation, including on issues such as information and resource sharing, joint patrolling and monitoring and the possibility of "hot pursuit" cross-border operations, as well as efficient use of logistics and administrative resources.

4. Conclusion

UNAMSIL and UNMIL are two sister missions that have played a crucial role in containment of conflicts in the Mano River sub-region and West Africa as a whole. I therefore, believe that the achievements already realized in Sierra Leone and the ongoing consolidation of peace in Liberia must be sustained in order to enhance progressive peace efforts in the sub-region. This is a candid indication that the UN peacekeeping operations continue to perform an indispensable function in resolution of violent conflicts in the continent as a whole.

REMARKS AT DINNER

HANS WINKLER
Deputy Secretary General, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Vienna

I thank the participants for having followed our invitation to attend this year's Vienna Seminar again organized jointly by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defence and the International Peace Academy. Over the recent years the Diplomatic Academy has become the indispensable location and bearer of academic spirit for our shared efforts.

One year ago, when - together with our friends from IPA - we chose to dedicate the Vienna Seminar 2004 to "Peace Operations in Africa", we did this for two main reasons:

Firstly we felt that after having focused a lot on issues concerning Europe and the OSCE-region, we needed to keep a more global view on current developments in peacemaking and peacekeeping.

Secondly, peace-making and peace-keeping efforts in Africa had, for five years or so, seen a fairly dynamic evolution. While in 1997 most UN operations had been deployed in Europe and the Middle East, we witnessed a steady increase of peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-building efforts and initiatives in Africa in the years from 1998 onwards.

What we - quite frankly - did not anticipate when we started to plan this year's Vienna Seminar was the dramatic surge in peace operations, particularly in Africa, in the past 12 months. With operations in Burundi, Cote d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Western Sahara, 81 % of all UN peacekeeping personnel are currently deployed in Africa, the main five contributors being Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Ghana and India.

Contrary to the assessments of some observers we do not consider this increase in peace operations in Africa necessarily a worrisome development. To us it rather shows that the United Nations is doing as best as it can in Africa.

Only a few years back, we would have been reluctant to say this. After the shocks of Somalia and Rwanda, the Security Council was hesitant to decide on major peacekeeping operations in Africa for a couple of years, much to the legitimate dismay and disappointment of the Africans. Meanwhile things have certainly become a lot better.

Another important point to be mentioned is the fact that today's peace-processes in Africa are mostly the result of African diplomatic, regional and sub-regional efforts, proving the African states' strong and increasingly effective commitment to intra-African solutions.This trend has been strongly underlined very recently by the historic launch of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union on 25 May 2004.

This being said, we should of course not ignore continuing attention deficits among the international community when it comes to conflicts and the victims of conflict in Africa. We cannot expect the region to provide all the resources it needs to keep and build peace.

Austria therefore strongly supported the establishment of the EU's African Peace Facility, based on a proposal by the European Commission, to support African peace-keeping and to improve the institutional capacities of the African Union and sub-regional organizations in relation to peace-keeping and conflict prevention.
We welcomed it as an important step in the right direction, aimed at strengthening operational capacities in Africa itself.

Back in spring this year, the African Chiefs of Staff decided to establish five regional brigades, in accordance with the SHIRBRIG model, using it as a way to shape their brigades in Africa. If the African Union agreed to use SHIRBRIG as a model, the latter will be willing to help, including by training officers.

Africa figures high on SHIRBRIG's agenda –support for African capacity-building and peace-keeping as well as questions of possible operational involvement in the Sudan were among the main items discussed at the last Steering Committee meeting a week back in New York.

Let me finally point to the fact that – apart from strengthening regional capacities – peace operations in Africa will continue to rely on capabilities which are often not available in developing countries, particularly logistics and specialized units. We have also seen deployments of "bridging forces" – such as SHIRBRIG's involvement in UNMEE or the EU's Operation Artemis in the Congo Democratic Republic.

Austria thinks that developed countries will have to continue to reflect on how to further strengthen and promote support models for peace operations under these aspects as well. The modalities, elaborated under the Irish EU-Presidency and endorsed by the European Council of 18 and 19 June 2004, under which the EU could provide military capabilities in support of the United Nations are particularly welcome in this regard.

Last but not least I would like to take this opportunity to extend a very special vote of thanks to the President of IPA, Ambassador David Malone, who, I am told, will soon take up a new important assignment in his home country, Canada. Over the past six years of your term as President of IPA, we always considered it a privilege to work with you. The Vienna Seminar changed and sharpened its profile in these years. We are very grateful for your personal contribution to this development, including a continuous input of fresh ideas and innovative approaches. We wish you all the best for your new function.

IPA VIENNA SEMINAR

June 30 – July 3, 2004

Diplomatic Academy Vienna

PEACE OPERATIONS IN AFRICA

BACKGROUND PAPER

(prepared by IPA)

OBJECTIVE

The objectives of the Seminar are:

1. To deepen and broaden the knowledge and expertise of participants on critical policy issues relating to African peacemaking and peacekeeping.

2. To provide a forum where participants can compare different regional and national experiences, share their insights, and develop their professional relationships on policy concerning Africa and peace operations more generally and

3. To create a well-informed, worldwide leadership cadre of policy-makers and practitioners who have a broad, sophisticated understanding of peacemaking and peacekeeping and are well equipped both to make and to lead operations in the field.

FORMAT

The seminar will include keynote speakers presentations, panel presentations, plenary discussions among participants, and small working groups. The topics will include thematic issues and specific case studies. The breakout groups following panel presentations will allow for more in-depth consideration of subjects addressed by the panels.

1. Africa´s Security Architecture (Introduction Panel)

Africa´s security architecture is composed of a number of regional and subregional security mechanisms. These mechanisms are intended as systems of "collective

security" in which states are expected to participate in efforts to stabilize their neighbourhoods. In discussing Africa´s security architecture, the panel will

- Examine the strengths and limitations of regional approaches (i.e. efforts led by regional organizations and coalitions) in managing conflicts in West Africa, the Horn of Africa, and southern Africa.
- Assess the possibilities and challenges for strengthening Africa´s subregional organizations (principally the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS], the Intergovernmental Authority of Development [IGAD], and the Southern African Development Community [SADC], including efforts to coordinate and develop links between Africa´subregional organizations and the African Union [AU]).
- Discuss the evolving relationship between the United Nations (UN) and Africa´s subregional security mechanisms.

During the 1990s, African leaders moved to activate the continent´s regional and subregional organizations and create security mechanisms to manage local conflicts – particularly internal conflicts. The 1990 Nigerian-led ECOMOG intervention into Liberia ushered in an era of "regionalized" multilateral peace operations. Such efforts were partially a response to the reluctance of external actors, particularly the UN Security Council, to collectively contribute to peacekeeping missions in Africa. This reluctance intensified after the debacles in Somalia (1993) and Rwanda (1994).

Most regional intergovernmental organizations in Africa were initially established to address economic and social issues. Previous the 1990s, these regional organizations also functioned as informal alliance structure in the competitive international relations of the continent. Many of these organizations have, however, recently revised their mandates. These revisions share a common emphasis on regional cooperation in enhancing economic well-being and governance. Perhaps most importantly for this seminar, the organizations have put the management of internal conflicts at the top of their agendas.

2. Strategic Decisions for a Peace Operation in Africa

The relationships between local actors, the UN, and the external powers are crucial factors in the security environment that prevails on the continent. Africa´s security architecture is, of course, embedded in the broader multilateral system. In addition, Africa has been the recipient of erratic strategic attention from the world´s major

powers. This panel will examine the strategic decisions of external actors for peace operations in Africa.

- In the UN Secretariat
- In the European Union and
- in the United States of America

For the UN, the recommendations of the Brahimi report apply well to Africa and are certainly an important reference for the Permanent Five and for the Secretariat. However, one issue that the Brahimi report did not give much attention, and which has been a central in Africa, is the enhancement of UN interactions with regional organizations. UN-ECOWAS coordination in Liberia during the early 1990s was a doctrinal revolution in this regard, although the results demonstrated that much needed be learned. UN-regional organization relations continue to be at the heart of the UN´s evolving approach to conflicts in Africa. Some institutions, however, as in the Democratic Republic of Congo, show the limitations of such an approach.

For the EU, Operation Artemis (2003) in the Democratic Republic of the Congo was the first EU out-of-area operation and, thus, something of a watershed. As an exercise in multilateral decision-making, it was also extraordinarily efficient. But the operation itself was very limited (particularly when one examines it in the light of comparable operations, like INTERFET in East Timor), and scepticism has arisen about whether it should be seen as more than an isolated gesture by France (the lead nation). In the past year, the EU also enacted its mechanism for funding peace operations in Africa as part of the international effort to improve the situation in the Sudan. It seems that this act may be more indicative of the type regularized commitment that the EU is willing to make.

The US´s approach to the continent is guided by a number of strategic interests. Its engagement in eastern Africa has intensified as part of its "war on terror" programs launched to fight HIV/AIDS on the continent have followed from the ostensibly compassionate concerns of certain domestic political (and economic) actors; and the summer 2003 deployment of a contingent of Marines to Liberia invoked the two countries´"special relationship". This cocktail of hard security interests, domestic politics, and historical ties exemplifies the complex motivations of major power involvement in Africa´s security affairs. Other mixes of motivation can be found in the engagement of the United Kingdom in Sierra Leone and France on Côte d´Ivoire, for example. The irregularities that such complex motivations produce, however, tend to leave expectations unfulfilled and dire situations forgotten. It remains to be seen whether the G8´s recent pledge at Sea Island to enhance global peace operations capacity will significantly improve crisis management and stabilization efforts in

Africa, particularly in core areas of strategic mobility, field communications, and intelligence.

3. Africa´s evolving Peacekeeping Capacity

All of Africa´s intergovernmental organizations are in need of substantive institutional building in terms of their human and technical capacities. In addition, each is responding to particular challenges within their respective regions of engagement. The challenges vary on the basis of a number of factors, including the number of "hot", "cold", or tenuously resolved conflicts in the (sub)region; whether there is a balance of power and interests that makes collective action practicable; and whether there is major external political and/or economic engagement.

The African Union (formerly the Organization of African Unity) has been keen recently to develop its coordinating role rather than to undertake large-scale peacekeeping missions The establishment of its peace and security council is indicative of the organization´s intention to serve as an overarching actor on the continent. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) faces the short-term challenges of consolidating peace before the windows of opportunity close in Sierre Leone, Liberia, and Guinea Bissau, and of finding an effective peacemaking role in Côte d´Ivoire. In southern Africa, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) efforts to operationalize its Organ on Politics, Defense and Security Operation (OPDSC) have been hampered by intraregional divisions, particularly over the Democratic Republic of Congo. In the Horn of Africa, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) favors non-military options to dealing with conflicts, and its partial success in moving negotiations forward between factions in Somalia has demonstrated that it has advanced as a regional conflict management forum. IGAD´s role here is notable given the UN´s limited political involvement in the peace processes in Somalia and Sudan. The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) also has plans to develop an early warning system and to improve cooperative security.

In each of these regions, the short-term challenges should also be linked to the development of tools for the longer-term consolidation of regional peace. Such tools should be geared to addressing a number of concerns, including mediating disputes over election results and devising models for security sector reform that include discipline, representation, and rights awareness as key elements. Gender issues and justice must also be addressed for societies to be able to emerge from the devaluation of human life and the cycles of retribution that may lock in an armed conflict.

4. Use of Force in Peace Operations

In today´s political-military world there is probably no topic more discussed or pondered aloud than that of *Rules of Engagement and Use of Force in Peace Operations*. It is now common to observe political leaders, many of them with no military service background whatsoever, let alone combat experience, making speeches concerning the Rules of Engagement or discussing the subject with the media. This is true whether their country´s military forces are participating in standards military operations or as part of a peace operations coalition or even simply performing national or international humanitarian assistance. How better for a political leader to exhibit and reinforce the democratic principle of civilian control of the military.

Successful Rules of Engagement reflect fundamental considerations of the use of force by armed representatives of a government. These are: the operational capabilities of the individuals using force, the political and diplomatic considerations of the government authorizing the use of that force and the legal parameters. Both domestic and international, that govern the use of force by either an individual country or a coalition.

This panel examines the political, military and legal aspects if and when using force in peace operation. The panel will also discuss about the lessons what have been learned in recent operations. Operations in Africa have posed a number of intense strategic dilemmas over the use of force, and will serve as backdrop to this discussion.

5. Prospects for Peace Operations in Africa

This panel examines, with high-level presentations, four current Peace Operations in Africa:

- Democratic Republic of Congo
- Sierra Leone and Liberia
- Sudan

Each of these situations represents a host of particular and general challenges, and each of the operations has been based on different models of external actor engagement. In the DRC, continuing fractionalization and instability in the east of the country, concerns about the control over the Kabila administration over its own security forces, and continued interference by neighbouring countries have made peace an elusive goal for the massive country. In Sierra Leone and Liberia, the precarious peace that prevails in each country presents a momentous opportunity for peacebuilding. Sudan presents both

hope and despair; recent progress has been made in the political negotiations between the government and the southern factions, in which the US have been actively involved; but has been outweighed by the horrific situation that prevails in Darfur. The aim of the presentations will be to distill broad lessons for mandating, organizing, and conducting peace operations, and also to examine options for moving forward in the peace operations in each of the three cases.

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Major-General **Patrick C. Cammaert** currently serves as Military Adviser to the Secretary General of the United Nations. Previous positions include Commander to the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) and Commander of the Multinational United Nations Standby Forces High Readiness Brigade (SHIRBRIG) based in Copenhagen. Major-General Cammaert joined the Royal Netherlands Marine Corps (RNLMC) in 1968. He later served as Commander of the Forward Headquarters on Mount Igman of the Multinational Brigade of the Rapid Reaction Forces of the United Nations Protection Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1995.

After a career in the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs **Pieter Cornelis Feith** worked in the NATO International Staff as Director of the Crisis Management and Operations Directorate and Head of NATO's Balkans Task Force. Appointed Deputy Director General in the EU Council Secretariat with special responsibilities for developing the European Security and Defence policy in October 2001, Mr. Feith contributed to achieving the EU's initial operationality in crisis management. Currently Mr. Feith is Deputy Director General for Politico-Military Affairs in the Council General Secretariat of the European Union.

Brig Gen **Daniel Kwadjo Frimpong** commanded the Ghana Military Academy between 1998-2002. In June 2002. He was appointed Military Adviser, the Permanent

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General (ret.) **Günther Greindl** served from July 1977 until September 1978 with the United Nation Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) as Chief Operations Officer and Commander of the Austrian Contingent. In April 1979 he joined the United Nations Disengagement and Observer Force (UNDOF) in DAMASCUS as Chief of Staff. In December 1979 he was appointed Force Commander UNDOF. In March 1981 he took command of the United Nation Force in CYPRUS (UNFICYP). In April 1991 he was appointed Chief-Military Observer of the United Nations IRAQ - KUWAIT Observation Mission (UNIKOM). After returning in 1992 he was appointed Director General Policy and Security Cooperation in the Ministry of Defense, an assignment he held until July 2000. In June 2000 he was appointed Austrian Military Representative to the European Union, Military Representative to NATO/EAPC and Military Delegate to WEU.

Major General **Bernd Lubenik** is the first elected permanent Chairman of the EU Military Committee Working Group, a post he has held since 4th of January 2002.
His Military Career includes Assignments as Deputy Head of Divisions in the Ministry of Defence, Force Commander of the UN- Mission in Westsahara (MINURSO) and Head of the Border Monitoring Operation of the OSCE at the border between Georgia and the Chechen Republic of the Russian Federation.

David M. Malone served as President of the IPA from November 1998 to 2004, on leave from the Canadian Government. A career Canadian Foreign Service officer and occasional scholar, he was successively, over the period 1994-98, Director General of the Policy, International Organizations and Global Issues Bureaus of the Canadian Foreign and Trade Ministry. During this period he also acquired a D.Phil. from Oxford University with a thesis on decision-making in the UN Security Council. From 1992 to 1994, he was Ambassador and Deputy Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, where he chaired the negotiations of the UN Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (Committee of 34). Ambassador Malone has now returned to the Canadian Foreign Service where he is responsible for Canada's policy towards Africa and the Middle East.

Lieutenant-General **Daniel Ishmael Opande** is Force Commander of United Nations Mission in Liberia. Previously he has served as Commandant of the National Defence College, Kenya's highest military institution. General Opande served as Deputy Force Commander with the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group in Namibia (UNTAG) from 1989 to 1990. He represented Kenya in the Mozambican peace process as a facilitator and negotiator between the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO) and the Government of Mozambique from 1990 to 1993, and served as Chief Military Observer of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) from 1993 to 1995. Since November 2000, he has served with distinction as Force Commander of the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL).

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Jan Erik Wilhelmsen, at present the Head of Joint Monitoring Mission and the Chairman of the Joint Military Commission Nuba Mountains, Sudan, has experience from national Army Service from company, battalion to brigade level and Joint Service from division level to National General Headquarters. His international experience covers Battalion, Brigade and Force level in the Middle East, Far East, the Balkans, Central America and Africa with the United Nations, NATO and Coalition Forces on theater level. He was also the National Contingent Commander of the Norwegian UN-troops in Former Yugoslavia.

Major General **Clayton Naa Boanubah Yaache** is presently the Ghana Army Commander. Major General Yaache has had a number of appointments in the Ghana Armed Forces, including as Director Training, General Headquarters, 1992 – 1993; Deputy Commandant Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College,1997 – 1998 and Commandant, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, 1998 – 2001. Major General CNB Yaache has participated in a number of UN Peacekeeping Operations as Operations Officer of the 7th Ghanaian Battalion in UNEF II in Sinai, in 1976, Staff Officer to the Chief of Staff, UNIFIL, Lebanon 1983 - 1984 as well as Sector Commander, UNAMIR, Rwanda 1993 – 1994. From the start of the genocide until February 1995, he organized and run the Humanitarian Affairs Department of UNAMIR.

34th ANNUAL SEMINAR
ON
PEACEMAKING AND PEACEKEEPING

PEACE OPERATIONS IN AFRICA

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