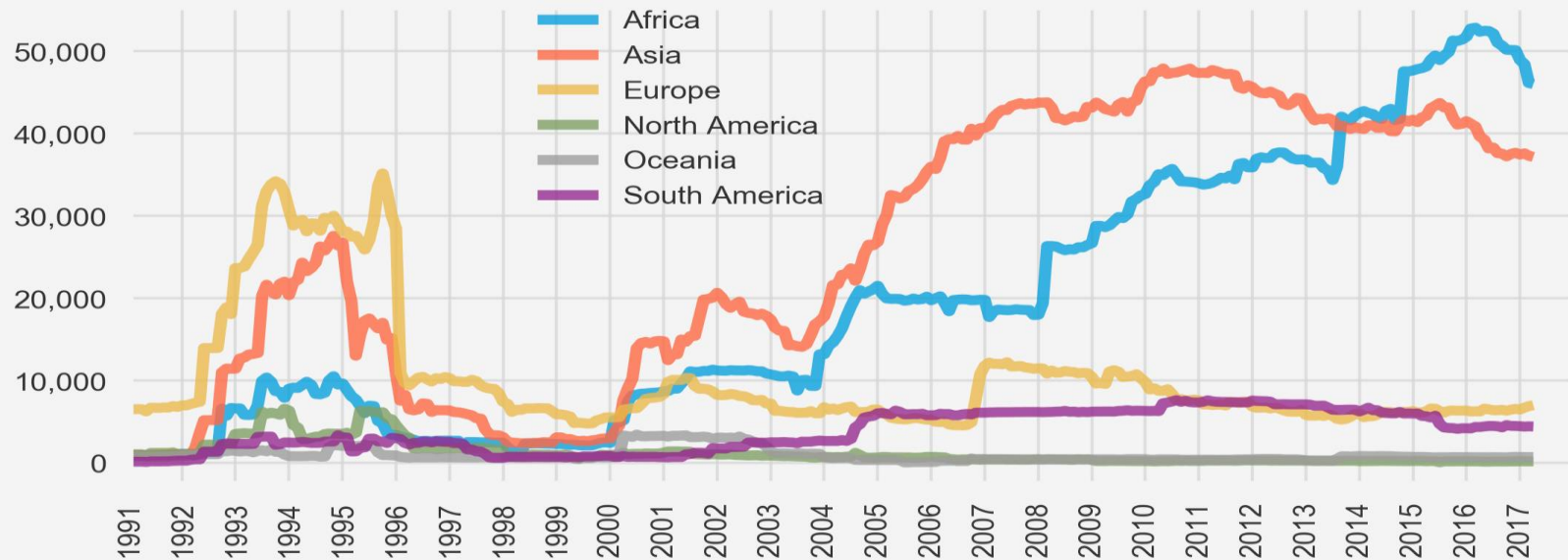


Regional Security Mechanisms in Africa

Prof. Paul D. Williams
George Washington University
ACSS, June 6, 2017

UN Peacekeeping Uniformed Contributions by Continent (troops and police) November 1990–March 2017



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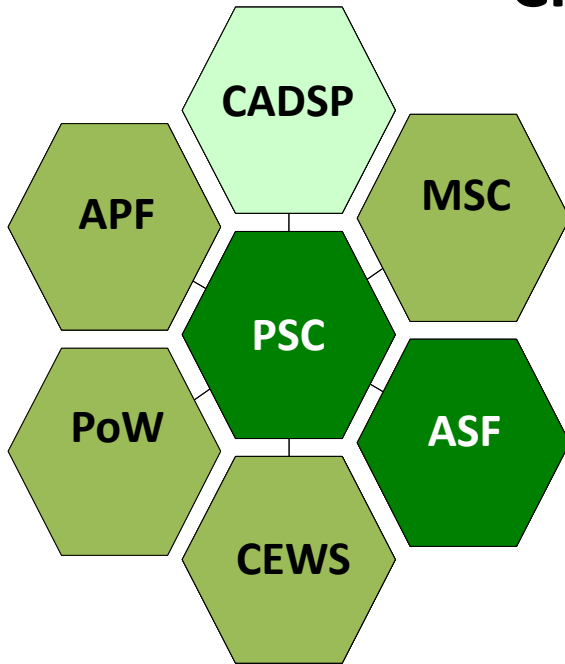
PROVIDING FOR
PEACEKEEPING

Source: IPI Peacekeeping Database
www.providingforpeacekeeping.org

1. APSA started in 2002 but still unfinished.
2. Rising number of peace operations in Africa.
3. Record numbers of peacekeepers in Africa c.113,000 (UN + others), inc. +11,000 police.
4. “Partnership peacekeeping” is now the norm.
5. Since 2010, rise in armed conflict in Africa, esp. Mali, South Sudan, CAR, Nigeria, Libya, Somalia.
6. AU still divided on some key issues.

Mission	Location	Duration	Size (approx. max)	Main Task(s)
AMIB	Burundi	2003-4	3,250	Peacebuilding
MIOC	Comoros	2004	41	Observation
AMIS (into UNAMID)	Darfur	2004-7	c.7,700	Peacekeeping / PoC
Special TF Burundi	Burundi	2006-9	c.750	VIP Protection
AMISEC	Comoros	2006	1,260	Election Monitor
AMISOM	Somalia	2007-	22,126	Regime Support
MAES	Comoros	2007-8	350	Election Support
Democracy in Comoros	Comoros	2008	1,350 (+450 Comoros)	Enforcement
RCI-LRA (AU-authorized)	Central Africa	2011-	c.5,000	Enforcement vs LRA
AFISMA	Mali	2012-13	9,620	Enforcement / Peacebuilding
MISCA	CAR	2013-14	5,961	Stabilization / PoC / DDR
MNJTF vs Boko Haram (AU-authorized)	Lake Chad Basin	2015-	10,000	Enforcement vs Boko Haram
MAPROBU (not deployed but c.50 observers)	Burundi	2015-	5,000	PoC
G5 Sahel Joint Force (AU-authorized)	Sahel 5	2017-	5,000	Stabilization of G5 area

Challenge 1: Strategic Coordination



PSC: Peace & Security Council (2004), PSC Protocol (2002)

ASF: African Standby Force (2003)

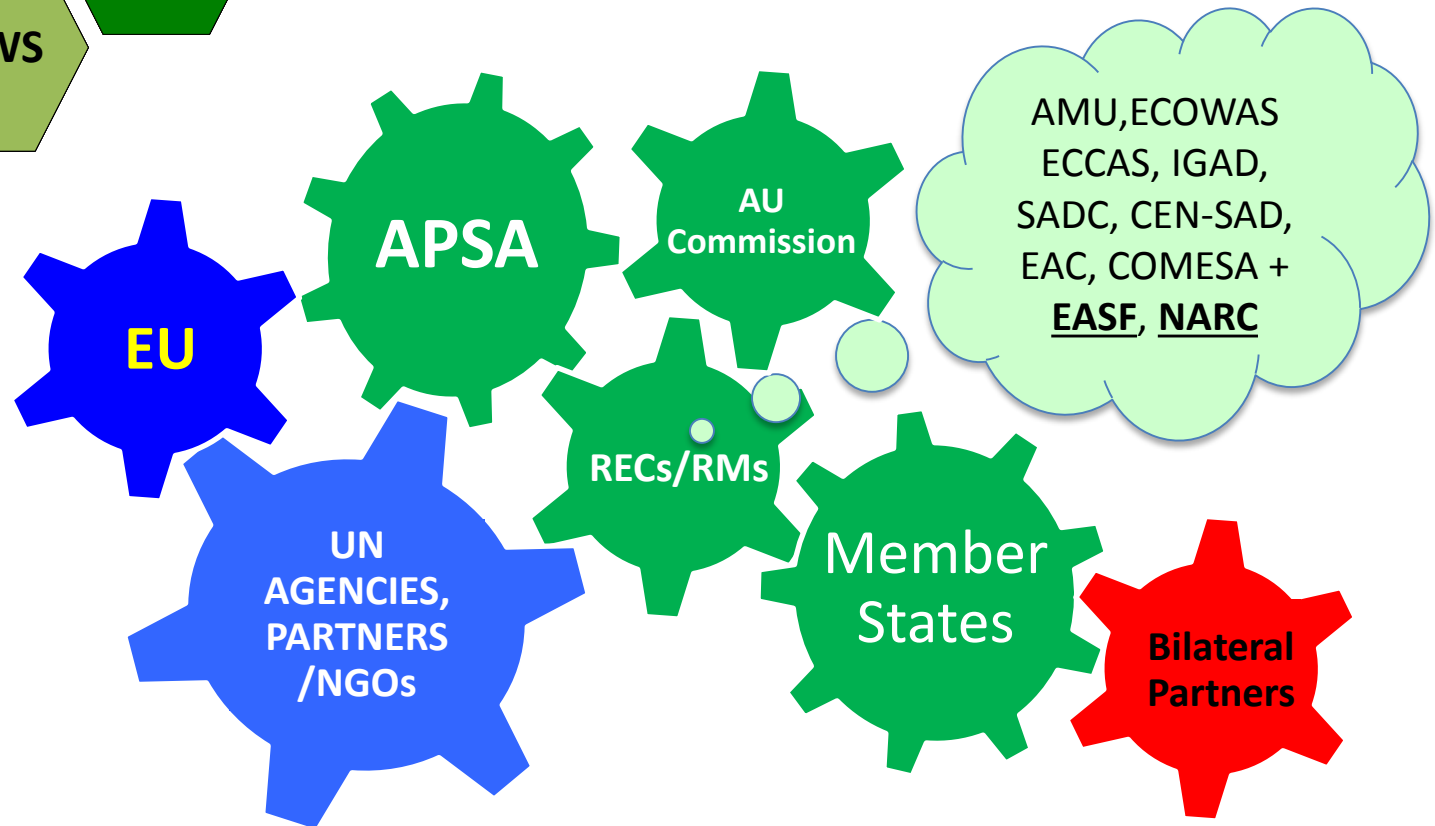
CEWS: Continental Early Warning System

PoW: Panel of the Wise (2007)

APF: Peace Fund

MSC: Military Staff Committee

CADSP: Common African Defence & Security Policy (2004)



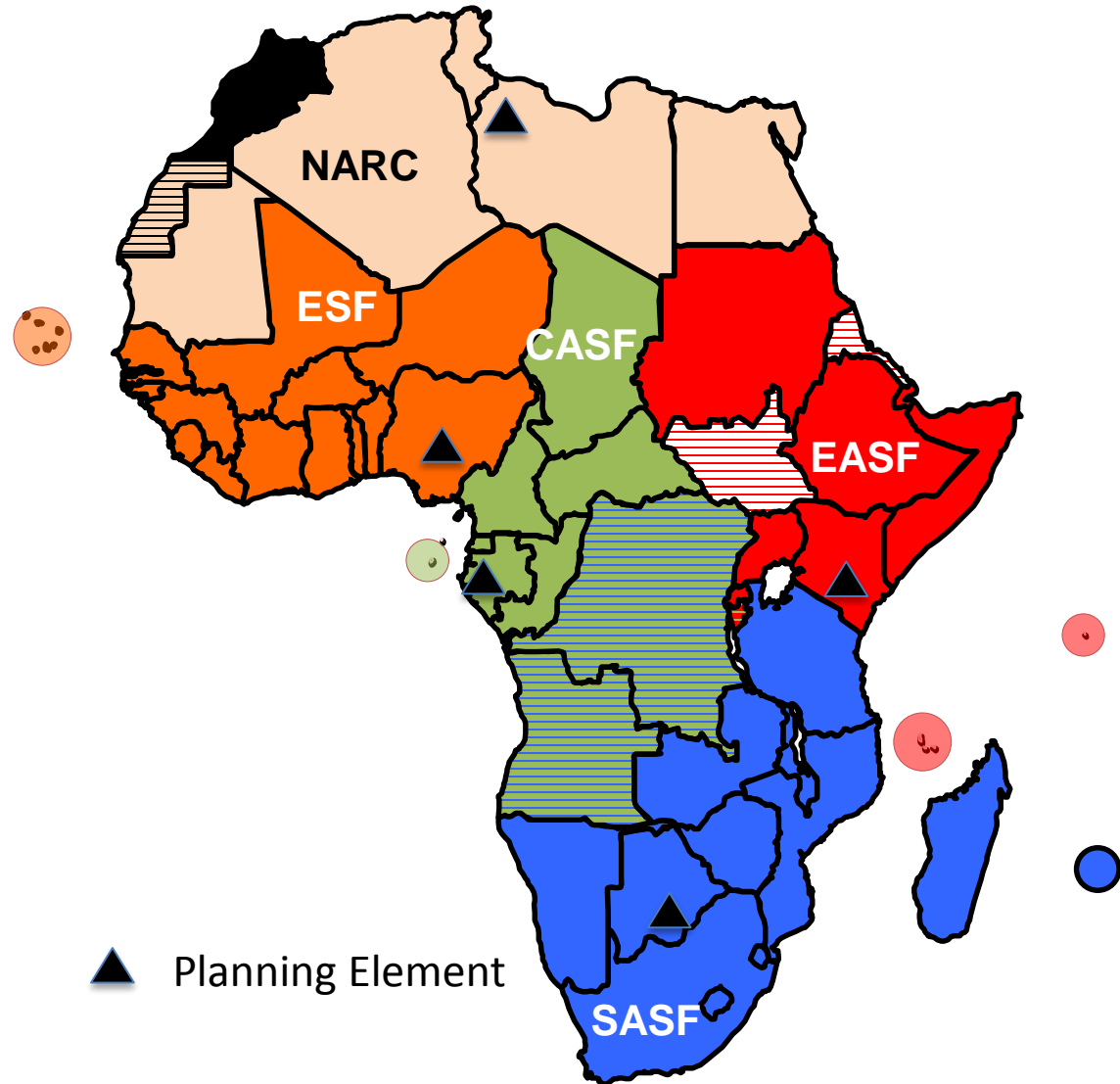
Challenge 2: Decision-Making – AU-REC Relations

- AU-REC relations set out in 2008 MoU. But...
- What does the principle of subsidiarity mean?
- Different interpretations has sometimes created friction between AU & RECs in crisis situations.
- AU PSC needs better consultation with RECs.
- AU Liaison Offices in RECs is helpful but not solved all problems.
- Uneven connection between AU & RECs via the CEWS. [Only ECOWAS, EAC & SADC]



Challenge 3: Getting the ASF to FOC

- “Amani Africa 2” exercise (Oct. 2015): 4 regional forces to FOC.
- NARC ineffective. Should move HQ from Libya?
- FOC still untested in reality. Are the forces really ready to deploy?
- Shortage of critical enablers and multipliers e.g. strategic lift, logistics, intelligence, protected mobility, helicopters, field hospitals, engineering, special forces, mission support etc.
- Is it all about initial stabilization before transitioning to UN?

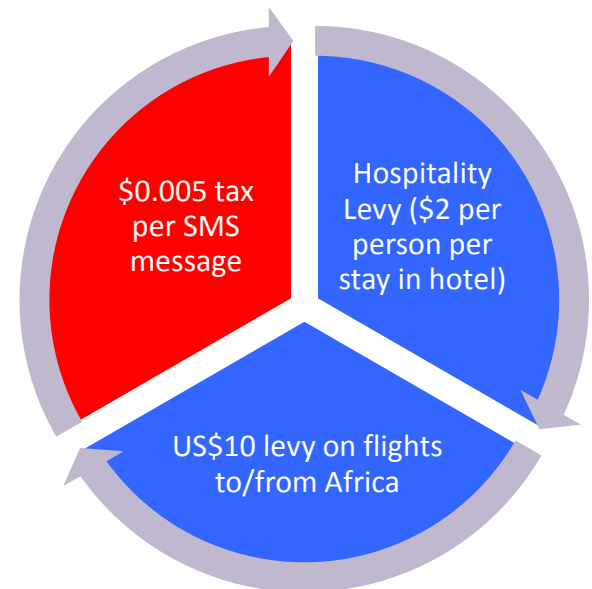


Challenge 4: Finance

- AU lacks sustainable, predictable, & flexible financing for its conflict management activities.
- FY2016 AU budget = \$416m.
 - AMISOM = c.\$1bn per year
- Raises questions of credibility, local ownership and sustainability.
- Kaberuka report Sept. 2016: starting in 2017, the AU will collect a 0.2% levy on all eligible imports to Africa.
- Generate enough to cover AU Commission costs; 75% program costs & 25% peace operations costs?



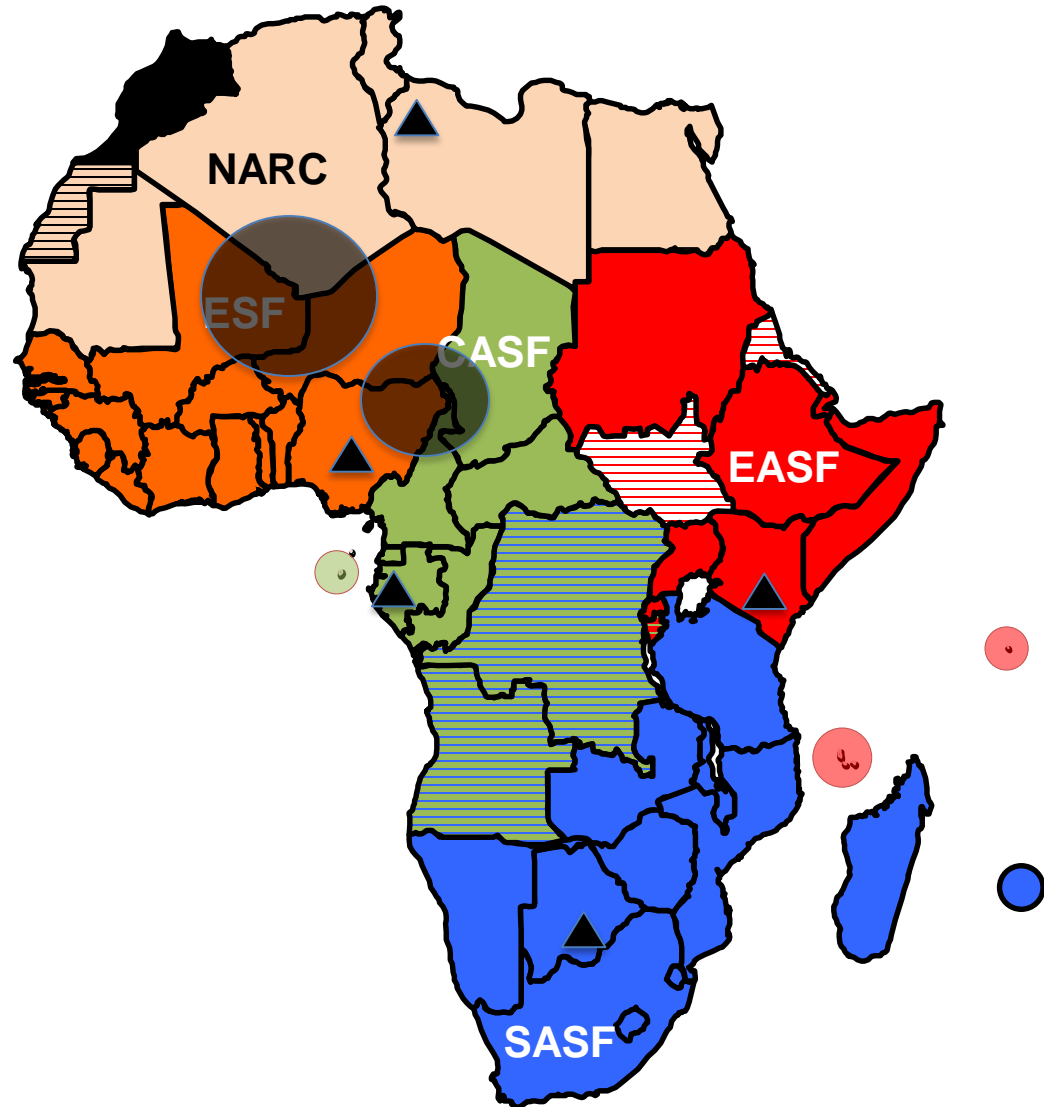
AU Budgets



Alternative Sources of Finance

Challenge 5: Gaps between Institutional Designs and Real Crises

- Standby forces based on static institutional designs.
- They are not “standing by” ...
- Real crises do not respect national borders or institutional frameworks.
- e.g. ESF not adequate for either Mali or Boko Haram crises.



Challenge 6: Revising the ASF Framework

- Original six scenarios designed in 2003.
- Military-heavy & focused on traditional civil war dynamics.
- But Africa's current security challenges are broader:
 - Transnational terror networks.
 - Environmental degradation.
 - Transnational organized crime.
 - Maritime (in)security.
 - Health pandemics.
- What roles for ASF in these areas?

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

Source: Roadmap for the Operationalization of the African Standby Force (AU doc. EXP/AU-RECs/ASF/4(I), Addis Ababa, March 22–23, 2005), section A-1.

Challenge 7: ASF model vs ACIRC model?

- African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises (ACIRC) created early 2013 after failure to operationalize ASF's rapid deployment concept.
- Reservoir of 5,000 troops (no police), to generate ACIRC battle groups (c. 1,500). Deployed on a Framework Nation/coalition model.
- Purpose: stabilization & enforcement missions, neutralize terrorist groups, & provide emergency assistance to AU members.
- Volunteers: Algeria, Angola, Burkina Faso, Chad, Egypt, Liberia, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Sudan, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda.
- Characteristics: Authorized by AU PSC; self-funding initially; voluntary; and continent-wide scope.
- The official position is that the ASF and ACIRC concepts should be harmonized (according to revised Roadmap III, harmonization should occur 2014-15).
- But are ASF and ACIRC mutually exclusive for purposes of funding/support?
- If ASF reaches complete FOC, will ACIRC really die?

Challenge 8: Political Will to Use Multilateral Mechanisms

- Even if the APSA instruments are completed, will Africa's political leaders choose to use them?
- Tendency to think unilateral first, multilateral a (distant?) second.
- Must sustain these institutions: leaders must put their own resources into making sustainable security services, inc. PME etc.