EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

BRIEFING

The African Peace and Security Architecture: Still under construction

Author: Ulrich KAROCK

Abstract

The African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) was established by the African Union in collaboration with Africa's Regional Economic Communities with the goal of preventing, managing and resolving conflicts on the continent. The impetus for its creation in 2001, in parallel with the African Union, was the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. The African Union's Constitutive Act allows it to intervene in a member state in grave circumstances, such as genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. Yet building the APSA has been slower than expected, and to some extent the process remains incomplete. The African Standby Force, the APSA's military and police arm, has yet to become fully operational, and the African Union's Peace Fund remains under-funded. As a result, the EU has become a major investor in the project. To date, EUR 740 million have been earmarked by the EU to establish the African Peace and Security Architecture and to conduct peace support operations, such as the African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM) and the Mission to the Central African Republic.

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AUTHOR:

Ulrich KAROCK
Directorate-General for External Policies of the Union
Policy Department
WIB 06 M 45
rue Wiertz 60
B-1047 Brussels

Editorial Assistant: Elina STERGATOU

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1 The African Peace and Security Architecture

'I dream of an Africa which is in peace with itself'.

- Nelson Mandela

The African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) was established by the African Union in collaboration with Africa's Regional Economic Communities (RECs) to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts in Africa. Its core organ is the African Union Peace and Security Council.

The African Union (AU) established its own peace and security architecture in 2001.

The APSA was developed in parallel with African Union, in 2001, when the 1994 genocide in Rwanda was fresh in many minds. The non-interference policy of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), predecessor of the AU, was abandoned; the African Union's Constitutive Act allowed the organisation to intervene in a member state in grave circumstances – genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.

The African Peace and Security Architecture has five pillars:

- the Peace and Security Council,

- the Panel of the Wise,

- the AU Peace Fund,

- the Continental Early Warning System, and

- the African Standby Force.

The **Peace and Security Council (PSC)[1]** is the organ of the African Union responsible for providing early warning on conflicts and ensuring collective security. Its creation was proposed at the AU's Lusaka Summit in 2001. In July 2002 the AU Assembly adopted the protocol to the AU Constitutive Act, which created the PSC. It was finally established in 2004, with a seat in Addis Ababa. The tasks of the Peace and Security Council are facilitating timely and effective response to conflict and crisis situations in Africa; preventing, managing and resolving conflicts; building post-conflict peace; and developing common defence policies.

The Peace and Security Council is the central organ for ensuring collective security and early warnings of conflicts.

The PSC is composed of 15 AU member states, which are elected by the AU Assembly. Five members serve for a period of three years, and the other ten for two years. Upon the expiration of their mandate, PSC member states can apply for re-election. When electing the members of the PSC, the AU Assembly considers the regional balance within Africa, the capacity of a potential PSC member to contribute militarily and financially to the AU, its political will to do so, and whether it has an effective diplomatic presence in

[1] http://www.peaceau.org/en/page/38-peace-and-security-council

Addis Ababa.

The **Panel of the Wise (PoW)**[2] is a consultative body of the African Union, composed of five members who are selected by the Chairperson of the AU Commission and appointed for three-year terms by the AU Assembly. PoW members can be appointed for second terms. The Panel of the Wise is mandated to provide the PSC – and through the PSC also the AU Assembly –with advice on preventing, managing and resolving conflicts. The PoW acts on request as well as on own initiative. It takes the actions it deems appropriate 'to support the efforts of the PSC and those of the Chairperson of the Commission for the prevention of conflicts'.

A Panel of the Wise meets three times a year to advise the AU Commission and the AU Assembly on preventing, managing and resolving conflicts.

The Panel meets at least three times annually to deliberate on its work program and identify regions or countries to visit; it also organises annual workshops on issues related to conflict prevention and management, helping to produce a thematic report to be submitted to the Assembly of African Heads of State and Governments for endorsement.

The wise are chosen for the north, east, south, west, and central regions of the continent. The aim is to select 'highly respected African personalities from various segments of society who have made outstanding contributions to the cause of peace, security and development on the continent'. The first panel was established in December 2007, and its mandate expired in 2010. For the 2010-2013 period, the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the AU decided to appoint and additional five 'Friends of the Panel of the Wise' – again, one for each of the five regions.

The **AU Peace Fund (AUPF)** is intended to finance AU-led peace support operations. Its budget is made up of a contribution from the AU's regular budget and voluntary contributions from African and international donors. However, the fund is inadequately financed, and African states provided only 2 % of the budget for it from 2008 to 2011.

The AU peace fund is the financial instrument of the APSA. It is ill-funded and needs reform.

With international donors funding most of the AUPF – with the conditions usually attached to such funds – the fund seems not to represent an effective 'African solution to African problems'. Furthermore, questions have been raised about its economic governance framework and the need for clear modalities and effective monitoring to ensure adequate accountability[3].

The AU summit of May 2013 advanced ideas on alternative funding sources, such as levies on air travel or hotel accommodations. However, the unpredictability of African security challenges and the complexity of conflict resolution requires substantially better adapted and targeted funding mechanisms than those available today.

The Mali crisis and the delay in the AU's response to it laid bare the

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[2] http://www.peaceau.org/en/page/29-panel-of-the-wise-pow
[3] http://inec.usip.org/blog/2013/jun/24/financing-and-refocusing-african-unions-peace-fund

inefficiencies of the funding and resourcing of AU peace support operations. Resolving these shortcomings will require creativity and concerted work by the AU and all international stakeholders, particularly because many security challenges in Africa have global implications.

The **Continental Early Warning System (CEWS)**[4] aims to collect data and analyse potential conflicts and threats to peace and security in Africa. To that end, the system works with the UN and other international partners, academics, research centres and NGOs. It operates an observation and monitoring centre ('situation room') located with the AU's Conflict Management Division of the African Union, where information is actually collected and analysed. Information in the field is collected by the observation and monitoring units of the Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, which are connected to the situation room

The **African Standby Force (ASF)**[5] is an African peacekeeping force composed of military, police and civilian contingents. It acts under the direction of the African Union and will be deployed in times of crisis in Africa. The HQ of the ASF is in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), while the logistics base is in Douala (Cameroon). The civilian and military components are designed to be 'on standby' in their countries of origin and ready for rapid deployment at appropriate notice. ASF force elements can be authorised to participate in peace support missions by the PSC, or in interventions authorised by the AU Assembly. The strength and types of the contingents, the required degree of readiness and their general location are to be determined by standard operating procedures (SOPs) for peace support. These SOPs are themselves to be periodically reviewed, depending on prevailing crisis and conflict situations.

In May 2003 the ASF Policy Framework was established. The framework foresaw the development of the ASF in two phases, until summer 2005 and summer 2010, respectively, with about 15 000 soldiers at full operational capability (FOC) in 2010. For the first phase, a strategic-level management capacity was envisaged that would be capable of conducting one or two parallel missions. It was also foreseen that the Regional Economic Communities would establish the following brigade-sized regional standby forces:

- the North Africa Regional Standby Brigade (NASBRIG),

- the East Africa Standby Brigade (EASBRIG),

- the Force Multinationale de l'Afrique Centrale (FOMAC),

- the Southern Africa Standby Brigade (SADCBRIG),

- the ECOWAS Standby Brigade (ECOBRIG).

The Continental Early Warning System brings together many stakeholders of African peace and security with the aim of preventing violent conflicts.

The African Standby Force is the military and police arm of the APSA. Established in 2003, its construction has been continuously delayed, and it may only reach full operational capability after 2015.

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[4] http://www.peaceau.org/en/page/28-continental-early-warning-system-cews
[5] http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/AUC/Departments/PSC/Asf/documents.htm

At the end of phase two, the AU was expected to be able to conduct complex peacekeeping operations. In addition, the RECs were each expected to have begun to develop the capacity to deploy their own mission headquarters, either drawing on regional peacekeeping forces or on AU peacekeeping forces from the other regions.

However, as of December 2010, most of the goals of the first phase had not been achieved. The FOC date was postponed to 2015. In December 2013 an AU Panel of Experts concluded that the ASF was unlikely to achieve FOC in 2015 without major efforts from all stakeholders[6].

2   EU support to the African Peace and Security Architecture

Since 2004 the EU has spent EUR 740 million on African peace and security.

The principal way in which the EU supports the APSA is through the **African Peace Facility (APF)**[7]**,** established by the EU in 2004. To date, EUR 740 million have been invested in peace and security in Africa through this instrument. Since 2007, the African Peace Facility covers conflict prevention and post-conflict stabilisation. It is also used to accelerate the decision-making and coordination processes of the AU and the REC.

Instituting the APSA has cost EUR 100 million to date.

The EU reserved **EUR 100 million** to **strengthen the capacity and effective functioning of the components of the APSA**, and to improve cooperation preventing, managing and resolving conflicts in Africa. This involves supporting African mediation structures and initiatives; supporting to the Panel of the Wise, the Peace and Security Council, the Continental Early Warning System, and the African Standby Force; and reinforcing the capacity of the African Union and African Regional Organisations in the areas of financial management for peace support operations, planning, human resources, information sharing and analysis.

So far EUR 85 million have been committed to the following: supporting the employment of AU personnel working in the Peace and Security Programme under a Joint Salaries Financing Arrangement; strengthening the African conflict prevention capacities, e.g. the Early Warning System and liaison offices; and reinforcing the planning and management capacities of the AU Commission, the REC and the ASF.

3   EU funding of Peace Support Operations

The EU has earmarked EUR 600 million for African peace support operations.

Under the APF **EUR 600 million** is earmarked for **Peace Support Operations (PSO)**. The EU support provides sustainable and predictable funding, enabling the AU and African sub-regional organisations to plan and conduct peace support operations. Under this heading, the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the African-led International Support Mission in the Central African Republic (AFISM-CAR) are funded. In

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[6]http://cpauc.au.int/en/content/report-chairperson-commission-operationalisation-rapid-deployment-capability-african-standby
[7] http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/acp/regional-cooperation/peace/index_en.htm

the past, the EU funded the consolidation of peace in the Central African Republic (MICOPAX), the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) and ensuring the security of the elections in the Comoros (AMISEC) from this budget.

The **African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM)**[8] was launched by the AU PSC – with the UN's agreement – on 19 January 2007. AMISOM is mandated to protect the Transitional Federal Institutions of Somalia, provide the security for key infrastructure, support the National Security and Stabilisation Plan, and ensure the conditions necessary to provide for humanitarian assistance. AMISOM principally consists of around 10 000 peacekeepers from Burundi and Uganda. On 22 February 2012 the UN Security Council authorised a maximum strength of 17 731 troops. In March 2012, the EU allocated another EUR 67 million to support AMISOM, bringing the total EU contribution to this mission through the Peace Facility to EUR 325 million. Costs covered by the EU include allowances, operational running costs, transportation, medical expenses, housing, fuel and communication equipment. Other costs of the mission are covered either by the United Nations or by bilateral donors.

The **African-led International Support Mission in the Central African Republic (AFISM-CAR, also known as MISCA in French**[9]**)** followed MICOPAX as the political and humanitarian situation in the Central African Republic deteriorated in 2012 and 2013. The AFISM-CAR contributes to stabilising the CAR and protecting local populations, creating conditions conducive to allowing humanitarian assistance to be provided and to reforming the security and defence sector. The EU has committed EUR 50 million to support the AFISM-CAR to date. This amount should cover the costs of the allowances, accommodation and subsistence of the AFISM-CAR troops deployed in the field, as well as the salaries of civilian AFISM-CAR personnel and various operational costs such as transport, communication and medical services. By the end of February 2014, AFISM-CAR counted 6 000 soldiers, fighting alongside the 1 600 troops of the French operation SANGARIS[10].

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[8] http://amisom-au.org/
[9] http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-13-1222_en.htm
[10] http://rpdefense.over-blog.com/tag/Misca/