

OPEX MEMORANDUM No. 95* / 2008

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FOR: OPEX

SUBJECT: THE AFRICAN UNION'S CRISIS MANAGEMENT MISSION CAPABILITIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SPAIN

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1. Introduction

One of the most important aspects of the new stage in the EU relations with Africa is the reinforcement of African crisis management capabilities, specifically the so-called **African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)**. The APSA is a burgeoning set of instruments for peacekeeping and crisis management in general, created within the framework of the African Union in cooperation with the continent's regional organizations, and comprising the African Standby Force (AFS).

One of the main goals of the Joint Africa-EU Strategy, approved in Lisbon in December 2007, is making the APSA fully operational. Moreover, the implementation of the Strategy will be one of the priorities of the French presidency of the EU, starting on the coming months of July.

2. Context

Africa concentrates most of the world's peace operations. Whole regions of the African continent, such as the Great Lakes or the African Horn areas, are sunk in endemic armed conflicts, be they intrastate conflicts with regional side-effects (such as the case of Sudan and Tchad with respect to Darfur), having extremely destabilizing effects, or national conflicts, such as in the Ivory Coast or Kenya's recent outburst of violence.

To some extent it is precisely Africa's crises –and cases like the Rwandan genocide in 1994- which have provided the background for the emerging humanitarian principle of the **Responsibility to Protect** populations from genocide, ethnic cleansing and large scale massacres (RTP), formally adopted by the United Nations in 2005. In view of this deterioration of basic security, particularly remarkable since the end of the Cold War, the African regional and sub-regional organizations have started an agenda of reforms aimed at reinforcing their crisis management tools. This is one of the aspirations of the African Union (AU),¹ an international Pan-African organization created at the beginning of this decade to replace the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The AU treaty specifically provides for the right of the AU to intervene, following an Assembly decision, in cases of "serious war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity" (art. 4h) – therefore, in scenarios relevant to the RTP principle. This provision is completed with others asserting the right of all Member States to request intervention in order to re-establish order and security, the defence of human rights and the Rule of Law, rejection of unconstitutional changes of government, etc.

3. Operational capability of the AU for crisis management: the African Standby Force

The protocol relating to the establishment of the AU Peace and Security Council entered in force in 2003. The Council is a body of 15 members, five of them elected for 3 year terms. It has powers in conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace building, being entitled to recommend to the Assembly an external intervention in the above mentioned circumstances. The Protocol also envisages the creation of the African Standby Force (ASF), in line with other models of combat units currently designed at the EU and NATO, and the mandate of which could include different

¹ All African States are part of the AU, with the exception of Morocco, since this organization has admitted as member the Arab Democratic Saharauni Republic.

functions in the scope of peace support operations. Once completed, the ASF should comprise 5 sub-regional brigades in the west, center, the Horn, east and south of the continent, each one of them having between 3,000 and 4,000 troops plus a planning base located in the AU headquarters of Addis Ababa. The brigades will have civilian and military components (including police), as is customary in modern peace operations.

4. Main problems for APSA's implementation

The new African security policy on intervention in conflicts with severe humanitarian consequences is a significant step and shows a certain wish to assume greater responsibility in the management of their own crises (consistent with the idea of African ownership). There are, however, serious limitations and shortfalls of a different nature for it to be effectively implemented.

Firstly, and aside from the fundamental fact that a large number of AU members are in a state of poverty and/or with severe governance and internal stability problems, there are significant political problems which hinder every effort in this direction and cannot be neglected. In spite of statements and declarations, the truth is that there is not enough cohesion or sufficient political integration in Africa yet, for this security agenda to become coherent, bearing in mind, in addition, that intervention in internal political/armed conflicts is still a deeply sensitive issue for countries jealous of their new sovereignty –the State intervening today may be subject to intervention tomorrow. Moreover, the political divisions which beset these African institutions also result in a certain fear that this brand new Peace and Security Council ends up being another Security Council, marred by stalemate in key crises.

Secondly, political obstacles are compounded by financial, logistical and deployment capability problems, evident in operations carried out by the AU on its own, or in cooperation with the UN. The experiences of AMIS I and II, the AU mission in Darfur from 2004 to 2007 –conflict analysed in the OPEX 74/2008 memorandum – or the present AU mission in Somalia (AMISON) reveal the reality of the problems for the AU policy of giving “African solutions to African problems”. Above all, a deep logistical weakness, lack of modern equipment and ground capabilities plus dependency on external resources, whether of the UN or of the EU, in order to deploy the missions. These weaknesses condition the results and effectiveness of peace and stability missions, as Darfur or Somalia show.

As regards the **African Standby Force**, there have been some advances in the formulation of doctrine in procedural matters, command and control, and so forth. But only one of the 5 international sub-regional brigades conceived has so far been created in accordance with the envisaged timetable, which already suffers several delays.

5. The new EU-Africa Partnership in matters of peace and security

The EU has been supporting, with political, financial and logistical means, the AU's efforts in this field. In the first place, it has given critical assistance to the AU through an instrument known as the African Peace Facility. The APF was created in 2004, for a three year period, and received a provision of 450 million Euros from the European Development Fund. By means of this Commission instrument, which is about to be renewed until 2010 and which will receive another 300 million Euros,

the EU is giving funds to cover, above all, some specific peace operations expenses (excluding, for instance, armament) and another sum for capacity building in this area. The AFP has thus far financed four peace missions (in Sudan, Somalia, the Central African Republic and Comores). The EU also has the so-called Instrument for Stability (IfS), aimed above all at mediation actions and at reinforcing regional peacekeeping capabilities. The IfS contains a crisis response component (100M€) and a long-term response component (40M€) to address proliferation issues and regional threats. On the other hand, the EU has also used the mechanisms of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) to contribute through logistical support; the 2005 civilian-military operation in support of AMIS II in Darfur, where some Spanish military officials participated as observers, is an example of this policy.

The implementation of the above mentioned Joint Africa-EU Strategy is of special relevance right now. *De facto*, this document is a global road map for the relations through the next years between both international organizations.² This Strategy's Action Plan is articulated around eight subject-focused partnerships, in areas such as democratic governance and human rights; regional commerce and integration; peace and security, etc. Among the first and foremost actions set forth by the Strategy in this last field – which it calls a “common challenge” for Europe and Africa – is to reach APSA's full operational capacity and, in particular, that of the African Standby Force. In order to achieve these objectives, the document foresees the reinforcement of dialogue at the political and technical levels – specially between the AU Peace and Security Council and the EU Political and Security Committee; support for training and skill-acquisition of African military troops and for the establishment of sustainable financing mechanisms.

Setting in motion the **Peace and Security Partnership** includes the creation of different joint work groups between the AU and the EU, as well as with other institutions (such as the UN and NATO). Some of these groups are already in operation; however, and after having been approved half a year ago, the Strategy is facing some delays, due, among other reasons, to the disparity of interests and points of view in the EU with regards to Africa (there are some States with a long-standing involvement in that continent, such as France, and States with no experience or tradition in that sense), together with the problems of the AU to devote human and material resources to this project. A ministerial meeting is envisaged in November between the EU and members of the AU Peace and Security Council, within the framework of this Peace and Security Partnership.

Regarding the reinforcement of capabilities and training of African military troops, it is interesting to underline the French-spearheaded EURORECAMP program, which has been managed at European level since 2007 with respect to training at the strategic level. France still manages the training of African military manpower for peace operations through the RECAMP programs, which are open to any country wishing to participate and support (in fact, Spain has participated with logistical support in the RECAMP IV and V cycles).

The forthcoming French presidency of the EU, starting this July, will endeavour to boost the African security agenda. The doubt now is that, after the Irish 'No' to the Lisbon Treaty, the practical implementation of the EU-Africa Peace and Security Partnership might be jeopardized, in view of other pressing priorities.

² Due to the participation of Morocco, it is not, however, called Joint EU-AU Strategy.

6. Recommendations for Spain

Africa is an extremely important continent for Spain, a new priority for its foreign policy. The 2005-2008 Africa Plan foresees a bigger involvement of our country in the conflicts that ravage the continent, including a firm support to the African regional and continental organizations. This support must also translate in a greater participation of our country in crisis management operations – a field in which Spain already has a solid experience- especially in scenarios of serious human rights violations, diametrically opposed to the international order to which Spain belongs. Spain, in general and in coherence with modern ideas about security and governance, must also foster policies, mechanisms and instruments to promote conflict prevention and peace consolidation in the African continent.

On the other hand, Spain will be also presiding over the EU in 2010, and the next joint EU-Africa summit might be held that year. It is our country's responsibility that Africa and the resolution of the different crisis that beset the continent are among the priorities of the Spanish presidency.

Hence the Spanish government should consider the following short and mid-term priorities/actions:

1. Promoting the prompt implementation of the actions envisaged in the Joint EU-Africa Strategy in order to make the APSA fully operational. In particular, **Spain must become actively involved in the Strategy's Peace and Security Partnership, supporting, if necessary, the initiatives that the French presidency should launch in the coming months** in the realm of capacity building, as well as new financing for African peace operations, thus preserving the momentum gained in Lisbon.
2. **Training and skill-acquisition for soldiers and officers** is another relevant field where African states have important needs and which our country could allocate more resources to. The government could increase and strengthen training programs for African officers in the Spanish defence training institutions. Spain should also actively participate in EURORECAMP, with economic aid for African excellence schools or sending observers and military trainers for the exercises that will be carried out.
3. Aside from military capabilities, the European Union should foster the African Union's capacities to implement **civilian missions**. Bearing in mind that the aforementioned Joint Strategy accepts the possibility of bilateral contributions from the Member States, **Spain may play here a leadership role, having committed 30 million Euros of Spanish aid** to support the AU in 2008; a chunk of these funds might be allocated to civilian aspects of peacekeeping missions. Civilian experts could also be assigned to contribute to the development of the APSA civilian structures.

4. Concerning **specific missions** by the AU, or jointly with the UN (such as UNAMID), in coordination with the ESDP-EU efforts or on its initiative, Spain must consider **sending a larger number of support civilian staff or military observers, through a more regular and sustainable commitment**. This should be compatible with the deployment of more troops in ESDP missions in Africa, an issue which again must lead to a sound reconsideration of the 3,000 troop self-imposed limit for missions abroad. Such is the demand of close European partners and, ultimately, our country's strategic interest.

Madrid, June 2008

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