

## The European Union (EU): African Peace and Security Environment's Champion?

William Assanvo and Christian E. B. Pout<sup>1</sup>

(27 novembre 2007)

### 1. Introduction

For almost forty years, the European Union (EU) has been the privileged partner of the African continent in the area of development cooperation. During that period and within the framework of the Yaoundé, Lomé, and finally the Cotonou Agreements, the EU has assisted African states, alongside with other countries from the Caribbean and Pacific areas, in their long way towards economic and social development. Over the years, this cooperation has evolved and diversified, notably in the field of peace and security. This shift emerged from the acknowledgement of the “persistence of numerous conflicts, which continue to cause (...) loss of human life as well as destruction of infrastructure and property and threaten peace, stability, regional and international security and hinder the aspirations of African peoples to peace, prosperity and development”.<sup>2</sup> It therefore became clear that development cooperation and sustainable development could not be achieved in the absence of peace, security, stability, respect for good governance, democratic, human rights considerations. Equally, to be more effective and efficient, it became a necessity for the EU-Africa longstanding partnership to tackle the underlying causes of conflict, insecurity, and instability to take effect on the ground of development.

---

<sup>1</sup> William Assanvo is from Ivory Coast, he is currently a PhD candidate at the Graduate Institute of International Studies (Geneva, Switzerland). His main research interests are related to peace and security issues and particularly to Security Sector Reform in Post-conflict Reconstruction situations in Africa, with a focus on UN involvement. Christian E. B. Pout is an associate researcher at the International Politics Department IRIC Yaounde; he is the Coordinator for Africa of the Programme afro-européen de recherche sur la coopération et la sécurité (Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique, Paris).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cairo Declaration, Africa-Europe Summit under the aegis of the OAU and the EU Cairo, 3-4 April 2000.

In the same vein, increasingly conscious of the importance of addressing the challenges posed by conflicts, Africans committed themselves, notably through the African Union (AU), to develop an African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and particularly to adopt a proactive stance (at policy, structural and operational levels) towards tackling challenges relating to peace and security issues, particularly conflict prevention, management and resolution.

However, Africa's commitment and endeavor in such a demanding and challenging area will inevitably need support from the international community. In this regard, considering its primary responsibility and place in the framework of the world collective security environment, as well as its longstanding experience in the maintenance of peace and security worldwide and particularly in Africa, the UN imposed itself as the privileged partner of Africa. However, despite its role and place, and its support to Africa, some experiences concluded that the UN might not be well designed to directly support the development of regional and sub-regional organizational capacities with their mission deployments or field activities due notably to the lack of a formal mechanism and strategic vision for providing either staff or material assistance on a regular basis.<sup>3</sup>

In that context, the EU, whose some member states have strong historical ties with Africa, and a broad diplomatic engagement on the ground, through notably the ACP-EU Cotonou Agreement, and others, and relying on unique capacity, a global reach and agility, was therefore perceived as having the potential to make a major contribution on promoting structural stability in Africa. In that regard, the European Union (EU) has so far been playing an important and central role in assisting and supporting the continent in the field of peace and security.

The aim of this paper is to outline the main features of the APSA by briefly addressing the status of its establishment, analyzing some of the most significant African undertakings within that framework and questioning how effective and efficient they have been so far. Against the background of the emergence of the EU as a global actor in peace, security, defence and foreign policy areas, the legal and policy framework within which the EU is supporting Africa in the prevention, management and resolution of conflict and in setting up its peace and security architecture will be highlighted. In doing so, the paper will present the main missions and initiatives so far undertaken by the EU.

---

<sup>3</sup> Victoria K. Holt. *African Capacity-Building for Peace Operations: UN Collaboration with the African Union and ECOWAS*. The Henry L. Stimson Center, February 2005, p.12. [http://www.stimson.org/fopo/pdf/African\\_Capacity-building.pdf](http://www.stimson.org/fopo/pdf/African_Capacity-building.pdf)

## 2. Building up an Effective Africa Peace and Security Architecture

“I say yes to ‘Africa to Africans’...”<sup>4</sup>

Until the late 1980s, the need to address peace and security issues in Africa hadn’t gained the necessary attention at the political level, though recognized as a crucial challenge to economic and social development. In fact, it is after taking stock of the continent’s future over three decades that African Leaders concluded that its development would be held back as long as an atmosphere of lasting peace and stability did not prevail in Africa.<sup>5</sup> Following that recognition and significant changes that occurred throughout the continent over the past years, the issue of peace, security and stability was set as a central challenge and prerequisite to development to be actively and systematically addressed (at political, policy, institutional and operational levels).

This change took place in the international environment of the 1990s characterized by “the growing lack of interest by external actors”<sup>6</sup> and relatively “generalized international indifference to African problems”<sup>7</sup> and conflicts. For many African leaders, it became clear that it was urgent to find “*African solutions to African problems*”. This philosophy was therefore exemplified by the creation by numerous Africa’s sub-regional organizations of security mechanisms (political, legal, and institutional) to address the issue of local conflicts as well as by adopting mandates to incorporate conflict management activities<sup>8</sup> to their core missions and by playing an increasing role in preventing conflicts, and sometimes in making, keeping and enforcing peace.<sup>9</sup>

At the continental level, these changes led to a number of institutional and political transformations and commitments. The transformation from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU) in 2002

---

<sup>4</sup>Closing address at the 8<sup>th</sup> Institut des Hautes Etudes de Défense Nationale (IHEDN) Forum on African Continent by Mr. Abdou Diouf, Secretary-General of the Francophonie, Paris, 9 June 2007. [http://www.ihedn.fr/actualites/discours2007\\_diouf.php](http://www.ihedn.fr/actualites/discours2007_diouf.php).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Mr. Nana Effah-Apenteng, Permanent Representative of Ghana to the UN (New York) during the open debate on the maintenance of international peace and security: role of the Security Council in supporting security sector reform, 20 February 2007, S/PV.5632 and S/PV.5632 (Resumption 1).

<sup>6</sup> Monica Juma. *The Infrastructure of Peace in Africa: Assessing the Peacebuilding Capacity of African Institutions*. A Report by the Africa Program of the International Peace Academy to the Ford Foundation. International Peace Academy, September 2002, p. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Omar A. Touray. “The Common African Defence and Security Policy” in *African Affairs*, October 2005, p. 637.

<sup>8</sup> Excepting the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which was driven since its inception by security considerations, most of these organizations have been initially created to fulfill mandate aimed at promoting economic and social development through regional integration.

<sup>9</sup> Monica Juma, *Op. Cit.*

represented the most significant one.<sup>10</sup> In this regard and because of the different innovations and proactive conditions, the creation of the African Union (AU) must be seen as a step of crucial importance in the development of a new peace and security architecture. The African commitment to peace and security was reaffirmed<sup>11</sup> in the article 3 of the Constitutive Act creating the AU<sup>12</sup> that set the promotion of peace, security, and stability on the continent as an objective of the Union. Furthermore, the right to intervene in a Member State upon the recommendation of the Peace and Security Council in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity as well as a serious threat to legitimate order to restore peace and stability to the Member State of the Union was defined as core principles of the Union.<sup>13</sup>

With regard to the new African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) that is therefore being established, according to Salim Ahmed Salim,<sup>14</sup> former Secretary-General of the OAU and member of the Peace and Security Council (PSC) Panel of the Wise, the term “Architecture” refers to structures, norms,<sup>15</sup> capacities, and procedures relating to averting conflict and war, mediating for peace, and maintaining security. However, what it currently referred to as the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) is a set of AU structures, in conjunction with African Sub-Regional Organizations (SRO), spearheaded by the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) as the cornerstone of the building.

---

<sup>10</sup> The first ever AU Summit, held in February 2003, was dedicated to the resolution of conflict in Africa.

<sup>11</sup> The need for preventing, managing and resolving conflicts in Africa was already one of the major preoccupations of the OAU since its creation in May 1963. In that regard, in its Charter was adopted the principle of “peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration”, which was later institutionalized through an Organ called the Commission for Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration. In addition, recognizing the importance of peace and stability to the development process, the OAU started to give prominence to the issue of addressing all conflicts only at the turn of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s as it will be exemplified further in the paper while taking stock of the [O]AU Experiences in Peace Support and Peacekeeping Operations.

<sup>12</sup> The AU Constitutive Act was adopted in July 2000 in Lomé (Togo).

<sup>13</sup> Article 4, h) of the Protocol on Amendments to the Constitutive Act of the African Union adopted by the 1<sup>st</sup> Extraordinary Session of the Assembly of the Union in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) on 3 February 2003 and by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the Union in Maputo (Mozambique) on 11 July 2003.

<sup>14</sup> Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, “The Architecture of Peace and Security in Africa”, address during the African Development Forum III, “Defining Priorities for Regional Integration”, 3-8 March 2002, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

<sup>15</sup> With regard to the norms, principles, values and goals that would underline and provide the African collective security’s policy framework with the needed identity, the Common African Defence and Security Policy (CADSP) adopted in Sirte (Libya) in February 2004 by the AU Assembly of Heads of State and Government furnishes a “strategy based on a set of principles, objectives and instruments that aims at promoting and consolidating peace and security on the continent as well as at releasing energies and resources for development”, Cf. Omar A. Touray. “The Common African Defence and Security Policy” in *African Affairs*, October 2005, pp. 635-656.

In that regard, the creation of the PSC<sup>16</sup> first illustrated an historical step forward and strong stance in African efforts towards settling conflicts and promoting a durable peace and security for Africa. Secondly, it testified Africa's willingness to play a greater role in the maintenance of its peace and security. In that context, the creation of the PSC was a necessary undertaking towards establishing an operational structure for the effective implementation of the current and future AU decisions in the areas of conflict prevention, peace-making, peace support<sup>17</sup> operations, as well as peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction undertakings.

The PSC has been conceived as the “standing decision-making organ for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts and a collective security and early-warning arrangement to facilitate timely and efficient response to conflict and crisis situations in Africa.”<sup>18</sup> In that respect, it has been mandated to anticipate and prevent conflicts; authorize the mounting and deployment of Peace Support Operations (PSOs); promote and implement peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction activities; coordinate and harmonize continental efforts in the prevention and combating international terrorism; develop a common defence policy for the Union; and promote and encourage democratic practices, good governance and the rule of law, protect human rights and fundamental freedoms, and international humanitarian law.<sup>19</sup>

As said before, the PSC lies at the heart of the current continental peace and security architecture. In the fulfillment of its missions, the PSC shall be supported by the AU Commission, through its Commission for Peace and Security and will rely on the following structures: the *Panel of Wise*, the *Continental Early Warning System*, the *African Standby Force*, and the *Special Fund*.

The *Panel of the Wise* is expected to act as an advisory mechanism to the PSC and to the Chairperson of the AU Commission in the area of conflict prevention. The logic behind its creation is to enable it to carry out “discreet diplomatic initiatives” at the very early stage of conflict prevention to avoid its escalation and try to resolve it peacefully. For this purpose, the Panel is composed of five high African personalities from

---

<sup>16</sup> Formally created in July 2002, the PSC was set as an AU organ in 2003 by the Protocol on Amendments to the Constitutive Act of the African Union adopted by the 1<sup>st</sup> Extraordinary Session of the Assembly of the Union in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) on 3 February 2003 and by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the Union in Maputo (Mozambique) on 11 July 2003.

<sup>17</sup> The Training for Peace (TFP) in Africa Programme defines Peace Support Operations (PSO) “as multifunctional operations in which impartial military activities are designed to create a secure environment and to facilitate the efforts of the civilian elements of the mission to create a self sustaining peace. PSO may include Peacekeeping (PK) and Peace Enforcement (PE) as well as conflict prevention, peacemaking, peace building and humanitarian operations. Outside of military circles, the term ‘Peacekeeping’ is often used erroneously to embrace all PSO, including PE.” Cf. <http://www.trainingforpeace.org/themes/supp.htm>.

<sup>18</sup> Article 1 of the Protocol relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, 9 July 2002.

<sup>19</sup> Article 3 of the Protocol relating to the Establishment of the AU PSC.

various segments of society who have made outstanding contribution to the cause of peace, security and development on the continent.<sup>20</sup> During its eighth Ordinary Session gathered in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) on 29 January 2007, the Assembly of the AU appointed for three years the following personalities to serve as its members: Salim Ahmed Salim, former Secretary-General of the OAU, Brigalia Bam, Chairperson of the Independent Electoral Commission of South Africa, Ahmed Ben Bella, former President of Algeria, Elisabeth K. Pognon, President of the Constitutional Court of Benin, and Miguel Trovaoda, former President of Sao Tome and Principe. However, the Panel still remains non-operational since the modalities for its functioning have not yet been adopted.<sup>21</sup>

The *Continental Early Warning System* (CEWS) is an information system that should enable and support the PSC in the anticipation and prevention of conflicts.<sup>22</sup> For that purpose, it should be based on an observation and monitoring centre located at the Conflict Management Directorate of the AU Commission,<sup>23</sup> and be responsible for data collection and analysis on the basis of an appropriate early warning indicators<sup>24</sup> module. It should finally rely on observation and monitoring units of the Regional Mechanisms<sup>25</sup> to be linked directly through appropriate means of communications to the Situation Room, and which shall collect and process data at their level and transmit the same to the Situation Room. In establishing this continental system, the AU should take into consideration similar systems set up or in the process of being set up by sub-regional organizations.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> Article 11 of the Protocol relating to the Establishment of the AU PSC.

<sup>21</sup> Last August 9, 2007, the modalities for the functioning of the Panel were discussed at the AU in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia).

<sup>22</sup> For an overview of CEWS essential characteristics as a continental system, and present a brief history of the development and current status of the System see Jakkie Cilliers. Towards a Continental Early Warning System for Africa. *ISS Paper 102*. April 2005. <http://www.iss.org.za/pubs/papers/102/Paper102.pdf>.

<sup>23</sup> The Conflict Management Directorate in one of the three divisions (together with the Defence and Security Division and the Peace and Support Operations Division) composing the Department of Peace and Security headed by the Commissioner for Peace and Security, Ambassador Said Djinnit.

<sup>24</sup> The development of indicators for EWS is currently being discussed. See Meeting of Governmental Experts on Early Warning and Conflict Prevention, Kempton Park, South Africa, 17 – 19 December 2006. “Meeting the Challenge of Conflict Prevention in Africa – Towards the Operationalization of the Continental Early Warning System”. Background Paper No 3, “Development of Indicators for Early Warning Systems. Some Conceptual and Methodological Issues”, PSD/EW/EXP/8(I).

<sup>25</sup> Article 12 of the Protocol relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, 9 July 2002.

<sup>26</sup> The ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) has established a system of observation and monitoring in its Member States; the SADC (Southern Africa Development Community) has made significant progress toward the establishment of an EWS. The process of putting in place an effective and functioning early warning unit is at its final phase and the next level will be to define the modalities of linking the SADC early warning system to the continental system; the ECCAS (Economic Community of Central African States) is in process of establishing an EWS as envisaged in the Protocol Relating to the Peace and Security Council of the Central African region (COPAX) adopted in 1999; the COMESA (Common Market for Eastern and

The *African Standby Force* (ASF) is designed to be a continental military intervention force of about 15,000 troops capable of rapid reaction with the view to enabling the PSC perform its responsibilities with respect to the deployment of peace support missions<sup>27</sup> and achieving full AU capacity to manage complex peacekeeping operations in close cooperation with regional standby forces.<sup>28</sup> In that regard, it shall be composed of five regional brigade-sized contributions to be provided by each of the sub-regional organizations (Economic Community of West African States – ECOWAS,<sup>29</sup> Southern Africa Development Community –SADC,<sup>30</sup> Economic Community of Central African States -ECCAS, Arab Maghreb Union -AMU). The regional brigades shall take steps to establish standby contingents for participation in peace support, observations and monitoring missions decided on by the PSC. Following plans initially adopted, the Standby Force was expected to reach initial operational capacity in 2006 and full operability by 30 June 2010<sup>31</sup>. However, despite

---

Southern Africa) has not yet put in place an early warning system, but is in the process of conceptualizing one; the IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority on Development) has established an early warning unit (CEWARN) with its Headquarters in Addis Ababa; the CEN-SAD (Community of Sahelo-Saharan States) does not have an operating early warning system so far, but the Secretariat is preparing a framework for the eventual establishment of an Early Warning Mechanism; the EAC (East African Community) has not yet put into practice an early warning system, but has developed a draft Protocol on Early Warning and Response Mechanism. Cf. Meeting of Governmental Experts on Early Warning and Conflict Prevention, Kempton Park, South Africa, 17 – 19 December 2006. “Meeting the Challenge Of Conflict Prevention in Africa – Towards the Operationalization of the Continental Early Warning System”, Concept Paper - PSD/EW/EXP/2(I)-, and “Report of the workshop on the establishment of the AU Continental Early Warning System (CEWS)”, Background Paper No. 1, 30 – 31 October 2003, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, -PSD/EW/EXP/6(I).

<sup>27</sup> Article 13 of the Protocol relating to the Establishment of the AU PSC, 9 July 2002.

<sup>28</sup> John L. Hirsch and Nancy Walker. *Strengthening African Peacekeeping Capacity. African Military Perspectives*. Bamako, Mali. October 2005.

[http://www.ipacademy.org/pdfs/STRENGTHENING\\_AFR.pdf](http://www.ipacademy.org/pdfs/STRENGTHENING_AFR.pdf)

<sup>29</sup> ECOWAS has adopted a Standby Force concept and in the framework of the establishment of this, twenty-three officers have completed in mid-July 2007 a four-week training programme in Bamako (Mali) to sharpen their professional skills and equip them to serve as staff officers and commanders in peace support operations. The ESF Task Force of 2,773 is scheduled to become operational after its certification, before the end of 2008. The main brigade of 6,500, which is based on the timetable of the African Union, will be available as one of the standby forces for the Regional Economic Communities (RECs). Cf. ECOWAS Press Release N°: 67/2007, Abuja 13 July 2007.

<sup>30</sup> On 17 August 2007, the SADC Heads of state and government, gathered in Summit in Lusaka (Zambia), launched the Southern African’s Standby Force. With the exception of Madagascar which doesn’t possess Armed Forces, the Force will be made of troops for the SADC member states: Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

<sup>31</sup> For a comprehensive overview of the road to the operationalization of the ASF, see “Experts’ Meeting on the Relationship between the AU and the Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution”. Roadmap for the Operationalization of the African Standby Force. Addis Ababa, 22 – 23 March 2005. <http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/AUC/Departments/PSC/Asf/doc/ASF%20roadmap.doc>, African Union. “A Vision for the African Standby Force?” A Draft Document for Discussion. Second Draft for Bereng Mtimkulu, Addis Ababa 23 September 2005. <http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/AUC/Departments/>

efforts currently being undertaken at the continental, regional and national levels, much more needs to be done in order to establish this Force and singularly to establish and strengthen African peacekeeping capacity on a long term and sustained basis. In this vein, the international community is providing continued support (technical and financial notably) for the effective operationalization of the Force.<sup>32</sup>

The *Special Fund* is the continental financial mechanism created to support AU's activities in the area of peace and security. This fund is constituted from the AU's annual regular budget and direct contributions by donors. With regard to the contribution from the AU, 6% of its annual budget is allocated to the fund;<sup>33</sup> As a matter of fact, we may consider that about US\$ 2,58 million are transferred into the *Special Fund* from the AU annual regular budget estimated at US\$ 43 million<sup>34</sup>.

However, so far, the AU has regularly lacked generic funding since the contribution from the *Special Fund* has proven insufficient for the tasks in hand. This is notably due to the membership arrears<sup>35</sup> that reduced the AU budget and therefore the contribution dedicated to the Fund. In addition, external funding<sup>36</sup>, which formed a larger portion of contributions, came in slowly, with conditions and was not enough for addressing the multiplicity of challenges the AU faces.

Alongside the AU and its PSC, Sub-Regional Organizations (SROs) have a significant role to play since they are an essential part of the emerging overall security continental peace and security architecture.<sup>37</sup> To date, most of them have adopted instruments,<sup>38</sup> set up institutions or structures

---

[PSC/Asf/doc/ASF%20vision-Second%20Draft%20Vision.doc](#) and Cilliers and Malan, "Progress with the African Standby Force", *ISS Paper* No. 107, May 2005.

<sup>32</sup> In that regard, France, the UK and United States launched initiatives (the French RECAMP launched in 1997, the US African Crisis Response Initiative –ACRI- launched in 1996 and replaced in 2002 by the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance –ACOTA- and UK African Peacekeeping Training Support Programme launched the 1990s and carries out by British Military Advisory and Training Teams -BMATT) aimed at strengthening African peacekeeping capabilities by training and equipping African troops and conducting military exercises. For a comprehensive review of bilateral and multilateral initiatives see Fernanda Faria. "Crisis Management in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Role of the European Union", Occasional Paper, No 51, April 2004. <http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ51.pdf>; Eric G. Berman and Katie E. Sams. *Constructive Disengagement. Western Efforts to Develop African Peacekeeping*. ISS Monograph No 33, December 1998.

<http://www.issafrica.org/Pubs/Monographs/No33/WesternResponses.html>.

<sup>33</sup> The AU Peace and Security Directorate would like to increase this percentage to ten.

<sup>34</sup> 2004 figure. Cf. BBC News, "Profile: African Union", 8 May 2007, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country\\_profiles/3870303.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country_profiles/3870303.stm). In 2005, the AU's budget stood at US\$ 158 million, of which US\$ 72 million supposedly went towards peace and security initiatives; an amount likely to increase in the coming years because of the expanding agenda on governance, peace and security within the AU.

<sup>35</sup> In 2004, government arrears totaled US\$ 26 million.

<sup>36</sup> Including the Africa Peace Facility created by the EU that will be addressed further in the paper.

<sup>37</sup> Article 16, paragraph 1 of the Protocol relating to the Establishment of the AU PSC.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. The ECOWAS's protocol on the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security signed on 10. December 1999; IGAD's Conflict Early

and developed experiences (whether through diplomatic or military means) in the area of the maintenance of peace, security and stability within their respective geographical context, particularly with regard to the prevention, management and resolution of conflict.<sup>39</sup>

Taking into account the role SROs have so far played in the area of peace and security and the AU's centrality in the evolving African security architecture, it has become important and necessary to establish a better coordination and cooperation in the work of these different stakeholders with a view to rationalizing the maintenance of peace and security on the continent. In that regard, a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the AU and the different SROs/RECs<sup>40</sup> in the area of peace and security has been in discussion during the year 2005 and its signing was supposed to take place no later than January 2006.<sup>41</sup> This MoU will aim at coordinating the efforts of the AU and RECs.<sup>42</sup>

## **2.1. Taking Stock of [O]AU Experiences in Peace Support and Peacekeeping Operations**

Over the recent decade, the conduct of peace support and peacekeeping operations has represented a perfect illustration of African willingness to play a greater role with regard to the stability and security of the continent. Nonetheless, one might raise the question how strong the continent's commitment towards addressing this issue and how effective and efficient its capacities in this area have been.<sup>43</sup>

---

Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) signed on 9th January 2002; SADC Protocol on Politics, Defense and Security for Southern Africa; ECCAS's Council for Peace and Security in Central Africa (COPAX), etc.

<sup>39</sup> ECOWAS, ECCAS and IGAD for instance have been more active than other RECs since they have already carry out peacekeeping operations (ECOWAS in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, etc. and ECCAS in the Central African Republic) or played an important role in brokering peace agreement (IGAD in Sudanese peace process with regard to the North-South conflict). For a comprehensive overview of African regional and sub-regional organizations (AU, SADC, ECOWAS, ECCAS, IGAD, EAC, COMESA, ANAD) protocols and conventions, and organs relating to peace and security, as well as experiences in carrying out in the area of conflict, see Fernanda Faria. "*Crisis Management in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Role of the European Union*", Occasional Paper, No 51, April 2004. <http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ51.pdf>.

<sup>40</sup> The necessity of this MoU was recommended by the Article 16, paragraph 9 of the Protocol relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, 9 July 2002.

<sup>41</sup> At the time of the writing of this paper, it wasn't clear if it had already been signed.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Communiqué of the Second Periodic Meeting of the African Union (AU) and the Regional Economic Communities (RECS) on Peace and Security, 24 - 25 October 2005, Addis Ababa (Ethiopia).

<sup>43</sup> Eric Berman reviewed some of the missions so far conducted by African Regional Organizations, highlighted their accomplishments as well as challenges that remain, and suggested ways to move forward. See "African Regional Organizations Peacekeeping Experiences and Capabilities". Accessible at [http://www.trainingforpeace.org/pubs/accord/ctrends204/CT2\\_2004%20PG%2027-33.pdf](http://www.trainingforpeace.org/pubs/accord/ctrends204/CT2_2004%20PG%2027-33.pdf).

The illustration of African involvement in peace support and peacekeeping activities can be traced back to the inception of the OAU in 1963.<sup>44</sup> In fact, within the framework of the OAU, some less complex ceasefire monitoring missions were carried out such as the Bamako Ceasefire Commission (1963); the OAU peacekeeping force that operated in the Shaba Province of Congo (DRC) in 1978-79;<sup>45</sup> and the Chadian operation (1979-82),<sup>46</sup> which was the only truly OAU peacekeeping venture of a complex nature.

So far, the AU has undertaken or carried out its own five peace support and peacekeeping operations throughout the continent. They included the AU Mission in Burundi (AMIB),<sup>47</sup> AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM),<sup>48</sup> AU Mission in Sudan (AMIS),<sup>49</sup> AU Mission to secure elections in the

---

<sup>44</sup> Although it had nothing in common with classical peace support operations, the establishment of the Organization of the African Unity (OAU) Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa (OCCLA), an instrument used for securing independence from colonial rule, as well as from apartheid in South Africa and which was responsible for organizing and channeling diplomatic, financial, military and logistical support to African liberation movements has been interpreted as the start of the OAU peace support operations. See Policy Framework for the Establishment of the African Standby Force and the Military Staff Committee. (Part II – Annexes). Document adopted by the Third Meeting of African Chiefs of Defence Staff, 15 – 16 May 2003, Addis-Ababa. A History of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and resolution (1993) and existing operational capacity (Annex B).

<sup>45</sup> This operation has been conceived as the first OAU “first generation” peace support undertaking.

<sup>46</sup> The Chadian operation was deployed in the context of the civil war the country was experiencing. Composed of approximately 3,000 troops from Nigeria, Zaire and Senegal, the mission has been mandated to ensure the defence and security of the country before the integration of governmental forces and to contribute to the restoration of a legitimate government and to the country’s territorial integrity. See Linnea Bergholm, “The African Union (AU) and its commitment to non-indifference: can the AU be an actor for the promotion of human security?” Department for International Politics, University of Wales, Aberystwith. Accessible at [http://www.peacenet.org/document\\_publications/Linnea\\_Bergholm.pdf](http://www.peacenet.org/document_publications/Linnea_Bergholm.pdf).

<sup>47</sup> Though created before the creation of the AU PSC, AMIB (February 2003-June 2004) can be conceived as the first entirely African multinational peace keeping force. It was created on February 3, 2003 as a contribution to supporting and monitoring the peace process that was undergoing in the country after years of civil war. The mission has been notably mandated to monitor the implementation of the cease-fire agreements signed between warring parties on October 7 and December 2, 2002 and to facilitate activities of the joint cease-fire commission and of the technical committees for the setting up and restructuring of the national armed forces and police. See Communiqué of the 91th ordinary session of the Central Organ of the AU Mechanism for conflict prevention, management and settlement, 2 April 2003, Central Organ/MEC/AMB/Comm. (XCI).

<sup>48</sup> The AMISOM (January 2007 to present) was created by the AUPSC to contribute for a period of six months to the initial stabilization of the ravaged country before the setting up of a UN operation that will take on the long-term stabilization and post-conflict reconstruction of the country (Cf. Resolution 1744 (2007) of the UN Security Council). AMISOM was notably mandated to support Somalis’ Transitional Federal Institutions in their efforts to stabilize the country and promote national dialogue and reconciliation; to facilitate the conveyance of humanitarian aid and create favorable conditions for stabilization, reconstruction and long-term development (Cf. Communiqué of the 69<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the PSC, 19 January 2007, PSC/PR/Comm(LXIX).

<sup>49</sup> See <http://www.africa-union.org/DARFUR/homedar.htm>.

Comoros (AMISEC)<sup>50</sup> and the AU Mission to provide electoral and security assistance to the Comoros.<sup>51</sup>

## **2.2. Assessing Africa's Readiness and Preparedness to Meet Peace and Security Challenges**

To date, records from AU experiences in meeting the challenges relating to peace, security and stability in Africa, and particularly, in deploying and conducting peace support and peacekeeping operations had shown mixed achievements, with main challenges generally remaining unmet. In that regard, Holt found African ambitions too high, since the proposed architecture of the AU and SROs far exceeds their current support structures for peace operations.<sup>52</sup> Despite effective African involvement in peace support and peacekeeping activities, there are still serious and critical gaps in the capacity of African military and civil<sup>53</sup> personnel to effectively and efficiently undertake the broadening spectrum of African peace operations tasks on their own. In that regard, past and current AU efforts to support and undertake peace initiatives at the political and operational levels have regularly suffered from a wide range of difficulties mostly ranging from political, institutional, technical, operational, to financial. These difficulties are not new, as most of them had already been identified with regard to the 1980s undertakings in this area. They mainly have to do with the following:

- Inadequate funding has always been one of the main factor undermining past and current African commitments to maintain peace and security on the continent. This is particularly critical since the maintenance of peace and security, particularly the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts is a resource demanding exercise and requiring human, financial, logistics resources.<sup>54</sup> In that regard, as put by the Senegalese Ambassador to the AU, Amadou Kébé, while presiding over the AU Peace and Security Council, last July 2007, the presence of AU forces in war-torn countries is so financially so exorbitant that it is impossible, for

---

<sup>50</sup> Composed of military and police officers, the AMISEC (March 2006 to June 2006) has been mandated by the AU PSC to observe and monitor the electoral process and contribute to the creation of a secure environment before, during and after elections (Cf. Communiqué of the 47<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the PSC, 21<sup>st</sup> March 2006).

<sup>51</sup> This Mission (May 2007 to July 2007) was created by the PSC to assist Comorian forces in providing a stable and secure environment before to elections held on 10 and 24 June 2007.

<sup>52</sup> Victoria K. Holt. *African Capacity-Building for Peace Operations: UN Collaboration with the African Union and ECOWAS*. The Henry L. Stimson Center, February 2005, p.12. [http://www.stimson.org/fopo/pdf/African\\_Capacity-building.pdf](http://www.stimson.org/fopo/pdf/African_Capacity-building.pdf).

<sup>53</sup> Since most support and assistance programmes have mainly focused on military capabilities, awareness has not been sufficiently raised on the need to equally build up civil capabilities within African (continental and sub-regional) structures dealing with conflict prevention, management, resolution and particularly post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding.

<sup>54</sup> Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, "The Architecture of Peace and Security in Africa", address during the African Development Forum III, "Defining Priorities for Regional Integration", 3-8 March 2002, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

the AU on its own, to do it effectively and efficiently.<sup>55</sup> To a large extent, the functioning of African' structures and mechanisms continue to rely on external support and funding. This deficit culminated in under-equipped, under-funded and under-manned AU missions due to the delay in deploying troops where needed (case of Darfur and currently Somalia<sup>56</sup>). Finally, the lack of funding has significantly affected AU efforts that regularly failed in sustaining its missions;<sup>57</sup>

- Another result of funding shortfall, and, to some extent, due to its inexperience, the AU has lacked capacities in planning and conducting PSOs, and in ensuring the early operationalization of the Continental Early Warning System<sup>58</sup> and Panel of the Wise.
- Lack of experience also limited the level of expertise in multinational command and control functions at the brigade level and higher;
- AU enterprises in the field of conflict prevention, management and resolution have regularly suffered from lack of political leverage of the AU Commission, resulting in uncertain political support from members states that sometimes substantially, if not fully, undermined empowerment of some of the AU structures in their peace and security initiatives. As an illustration, AU peacemaking efforts in brokering a peace agreement in the context of the Darfur crisis, strongly benefited from the wide support, including political, of the international community;<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Addressing the financial dimension of supporting or carrying out peace operations in Africa and singularly AU peace operations, Ambassador Amadou Kébé, added that Africa is however capable of assuming a greater responsibility at the only condition that some of its oil exporting countries were willing to allocate a part of their additional revenue earned thank to the increase of oil prices.

<sup>56</sup> As an illustration, of the planned 8,000 troops authorized for the AMISOM, only 1,600 have effectively been deployed to Somalia. The mission is therefore under-equipped and ineffective while come to face and address the tough Somali security environment in which AU peacekeepers are targeted by insurgents and Islamic groups. See BBC News, "Burundi delays Somali deployment", 7 August 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6935033.stm> and Barry Moody, "Only funds delay Somalia peacekeepers-govt", Reuters, 3 July 2007, <http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/MOO364346.htm>.

<sup>57</sup> Most AU peace support and peacekeeping missions have been handed off to the UN as exemplified by the AMIB in June 2004, the creation of the UN-AU Force in Darfur and as it will probably be the case with the AMISOM.

<sup>58</sup> The full operationalization of the CEWS and of sub-regional Early Warning mechanisms (observation and monitoring units) has been hampered by lack of adequate technological infrastructure, limited financial and human resources, and barriers of national sovereignty which undermined the collection of reliable data and information. Cf. Meeting of Governmental Experts on Early Warning and Conflict Prevention, Kempton Park, South Africa, 17 – 19 December 2006. "Meeting the Challenge Of Conflict Prevention in Africa – Towards the Operationalization of the Continental Early Warning System", Concept Paper -PSD/EW/EXP/2(I)-, and "Report of the workshop on the establishment of the AU Continental Early Warning System (CEWS)", Background Paper No. 1, 30 – 31 October 2003, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, PSD/EW/EXP/6(I).

<sup>59</sup> The EU, UN and United States appointed Special Representatives and Envoy to Sudan in their efforts to achieve or support a political settlement of the conflict in Darfur.

### 3. The EU: Rise and Limits of a Actor seeking for Global Role

*“Europeans have to take on their full responsibility and their role in their security and that of the world”<sup>60</sup>*

Since the inception of the European integration process in the 50s, there have been many attempts to develop a European defence and security identity, adopt policies and set up structures to give strength to this quest and make Europe a significant global player.

Through this endeavor, the EU envisions to play a significant political and military role in global politics. This endeavor was illustrated by the design and adoption of a political and legal, and institutional framework aimed at backing European ambitions for a greater political role on the international scene. While regarding security and defence issues, and when it comes to foreign policy, the EU’s evolutions have so far got complicated. In that context, the adoption of a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and European Security Strategy perfectly illustrated these ambitions.

The ***Common Foreign and Security Policy*** (CFSP) was established within the framework of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 after failed attempts to set up a common policy in the area of foreign policy and defence. The CFSP illustrated the development of a new dimension of the European integration aiming at providing the EU with competences in foreign policy, diplomacy, defence and security matters. The CFSP aims to develop and strengthen democracy and the rule of law, as well as respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and preserving peace and strengthening international security in compliance with the principles of the most relevant international and European treaties (UN Charter, Helsinki Final Act, etc.).

The CFSP marked a significant step forward because it covered all areas of foreign policy and security including the definition of a common defence policy. In addition, it imposed on member states’ national policies to comply with common positions adopted on international issues by relevant EU institutions and finally, it created a new juridical instrument, the common action, which allows the mobilization of EU financial means.

In 1997, the Amsterdam Treaty created the position of the High Representative for the CFSP and vested the European Council with a strengthened competency of orientation over security and defence matters. It also set the so-called “Petersberg” missions (humanitarian and evacuation missions, peacekeeping and combat missions in the framework

---

<sup>60</sup> Nicolas Sarkozy, President of France at the occasion of the French Ambassadors Conference, 27 August 2007.

of crisis management, including peace enforcement missions) as part of the common defence policy.

Despite the development of this framework, the EU was lacking a central element, a strategy that will frame, guide and shape EU actions abroad. The ***EU Security and Defence Policy*** (ESDP) filled this gap and gave the CFSP more teeth. It is conceived and defined as its military and civil operational facet. The ESDP aims at providing the CFSP with military and civilian means that enable it to carry out activities in the field of security and defence, particularly with respect to conflict prevention and management of international crisis.

In December 2003, the EU adopted its ***Security Strategy*** entitled “*A Secure Europe in Better World*”. The Strategy brought some clarifications to the CFSP objectives. As it committed the EU to make a significant contribution to security and stability in Europe and in the world, it identified key threats that include: terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state failure, and organized crime. The Strategy consequently set strategic objectives for the Union which include: address the threats, build security in its neighborhood and stress on the need for an effective multilateralism. The strategy finally indicates policy implications relating to how to make the EU more active, more coherent, and more capable in the field of security. Regarding the policy implications, the Strategy put the emphasis on defining more active policies in pursuing EU strategic objectives, creating synergies between all EU and member states diplomatic means, and developing diplomatic, civil, and military member states and Union capabilities.

With regard to Africa, the ***ACP-EU Cotonou Agreement*** adopted in 2000 shaped, at least from a political point of view, EU’s contribution to peace and security in Africa by recommending in its article 8 the development of broadly based policies to promote peace and to prevent, manage and resolve violent conflict.

Basically, the EU, whose action in the area of conflict prevention, management and resolution is taking place within the CFSP/ESDP framework, has to date taken a number of decisions to assist and support this part of the world in addressing the challenges it is facing. In that regard, the EU adopted on 26 January 2004 a Common Position on the Prevention, Management and Resolution of violent conflicts in Africa<sup>61</sup> whose objective “is to contribute to the prevention, management and resolution of violent conflicts in Africa by strengthening African capacity and means of action in this field, in particular through enhanced dialogue with and support for the AU and Sub-Regional Organizations and initiatives, and civil society organizations.”

---

<sup>61</sup> See Council Common Position 2004/85/CFSP, 26 January 2004.

In November 2004, the *Action Plan for ESDP in Africa* was submitted from the Political and Security Committee to the Council of the EU for adoption.<sup>62</sup> This Action Plan aimed at determining practical ways for implementing EU support to African organizations, including the African Union, in building autonomous conflict prevention and management capacities. The Plan mainly encompassed actions in the field of capacity building, planning support, Demobilization Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR) of combatants, Security Sector Reform (SSR), and EU internal and external co-ordination. Possible actions were envisaged in the area of training, provision of equipment, operational support, and possibly ESDP advisory or executive missions in the framework of African-led operations or United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations.

The Action Plan notably agreed on some of the following actions in support of the African organizations:

- Technical advice to the AU and/or SROs in order to improve their planning and management capabilities (particularly in setting up Early Warning structures, and strengthening planning staff Standing Operating Procedures);
- Provision of a list of relevant EU documents as a basis for developing African own documents;
- Appointment of EU Liaison Officers to the AU and SROs;
- Database of African officers educated or trained by EU Members States;
- Teams of experts for support to planning or DDR/SSR activities that would be made available to provide planning support to African organizations for African-led operations and planning and conduct of DDR and SSR actions (case of the EU SSR Mission in the DRC – EUSEC DR Congo- and the EUPOL RD Congo);
- EU training course for civilian and military participants to DDR actions;
- Political Dialogue with African Organizations and African States on peace and security matters;
- Co-ordination with relevant third parties, notably UN and G8.

The EU contribution to peace and security in Africa was also framed by the *EU Strategy for Africa*, entitled “*Towards a Strategic Partnership*”, adopted by the European Council in December 2005, which reaffirmed, as one of its main goal, EU’s commitment “to step up its efforts at all stages of the conflict cycle and to support the emerging new structures, collectively known as the ‘African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)’ , with the African Union (AU) and its Peace and Security Council at the centre.” The overall objective of the strategy was to set up a strategic and coherent European partnership with the entire African continent.<sup>63</sup> In that regard,

---

<sup>62</sup> Council of the European Union. *Action Plan for ESDP in Africa*. Brussels, 16 November 2004.

<sup>63</sup> Aside from peace and security issues, the Strategy was also set as a common framework of reference in the areas of trade, and development assistance with the aim to achieve Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). For its implementation, the strategy lies on an EU-Africa political dialogue covering the following six areas: peace and security; human rights and good governance;

several actions have been undertaken within the Peace and Security cluster. They included among others:<sup>64</sup>

- Establishment of the EU Concept for strengthening African capabilities for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts;
- EU assistance to the African Centre for Study and Research on Terrorism of the AU (CAERT) by the European Commission and the Council General Secretariat to increase the capacity of both the centre and of the Member States of the AU;
- Policies to stem the illicit flow of small arms and light weapons; Creation and replenishment of Africa Peace Facility for the period 2008-2010, etc.

The ***EU Concept for Strengthening African Capabilities for the Prevention, Management and Resolution of Conflicts***<sup>65</sup> was adopted by the EU General Affairs and External Relations Council held on 13 November 2006 in Brussels. It was notably a response to the ***EU Common Position on the Prevention, Management and Resolution of Violent Conflicts in Africa*** that stated that “the EU shall support, over the long term, the enhancement of African peace support operations capabilities, at regional, sub-regional and bilateral levels as well as the capacity of the African States to contribute to regional integration, peace, security and development.”<sup>66</sup>

This Concept “is intended to provide a coherent and comprehensive EU framework for the implementation of key aspects of the Peace and Security cluster of the EU Strategy for Africa”<sup>67</sup> and to be implemented through concrete measures and initiatives to directly support the ongoing establishment of the continental peace and security architecture, including the creation of the African Standby Force (ASF).

As a result of these developments, the EU has so far been able to significantly contribute to peace, security and stability at the global level. As a matter of fact, there is an increasing demand for a strong EU on the international arena; for a Europe capable of proposing and supporting

---

development assistance; economic growth and trade; human development; and partnership with Africa.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. European Union Factsheet. “Progress Report on the implementation of the EU Strategy for Africa”, 17 October 2006. Accessible at

[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/061017-Africa\\_Strategy.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/061017-Africa_Strategy.pdf).

<sup>65</sup> Council of the European Union. “EU concept for strengthening African capabilities for the Prevention, Management and Resolution of Conflicts” adopted at the 2760<sup>th</sup> General Affairs Council meeting, Brussels, 13 November 2006.

[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/gena/91667.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/gena/91667.pdf)

<sup>66</sup> Art 6-1 Common position 2004/85/CFSP dated 26 January 2004, JO L21/25 dated 28 January 2004.

<sup>67</sup> Council of the European Union. “EU concept for strengthening African capabilities for the Prevention, Management and Resolution of Conflicts” adopted at the 2760<sup>th</sup> General Affairs Council meeting, Brussels, 13 November 2006.

[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/gena/91667.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/gena/91667.pdf)

another dynamic in international relations, particularly based on multilateralism.

Despite the aim of this process in granting the EU with a political identity and power on the international scene and its tangible progress, notably exemplified by the EU involvement in Africa and elsewhere in the world, we must recognize that the European body is still a young and relatively weak global actor,<sup>68</sup> in need of essential reforms and improvements at policy, political, financial, technical and structural levels in order to make it bring a significant, effective and efficient contribution as a global actor and meet growing expectations and demand.

In this regard, in their current features, EU's capacities do not suit neither the current demand for EU involvement, nor EU's willingness to increase its role in international politics; It notably needs to strengthen its military command and control structures, means and procedures, and civil-military planning capabilities.<sup>69</sup> In the same vein, the lack of coherence of the institutions and actors involved in the CFSP has been evoked as one of the reasons of the EU weakness and low profile in some area of world politics.<sup>70</sup> All that happens in a context in which the EU is facing a number of challenges regarding a crisis of confidence, of project, institutions, and identity.<sup>71</sup> Notwithstanding these difficulties in the way towards an effective Europe role with regard to defence, foreign policy and security issues, this framework has significantly contributed to support peace and security in Africa.

#### **4. EU Support to Peace, Security and Stability in Africa**

*“I say yes to ‘Africa to Africans’,  
but no to Africa without the international community”<sup>72</sup>*

Nowadays, there is an increasing demand for peacekeeping and peace support in troubled areas. Even if, this increasing demand is primarily targeting the UN<sup>73</sup>, and though the world body bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security through authorizing, conducting and managing peace operations, the

---

<sup>68</sup> Federico Santopinto used to expression “weak actor with an authoritative force”. Cf. “Why the EU needs an institutional reform of its external relations”, Note of Analysis Group for Research and Information on Peace and Security, 19 June 2007. <http://www.grip.org/bdg/pdf/g1081.pdf>.

<sup>69</sup> Nicole Gnesotto, “L’Institut d’Etudes de Sécurité de l’Union Européenne. 2002-2006 : cinq années pour l’Union européenne. Un bilan” in *Newsletter European Security and Defence Policy*, Issue 4, July 2007, p. 8. Accessible at [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/esdp/95328.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/esdp/95328.pdf).

<sup>70</sup> Federico Santopinto, Idem.

<sup>71</sup> Nicole Gnesotto, Idem.

<sup>72</sup> Closing address at the 8<sup>th</sup> Institut des Hautes Etudes de Défense Nationale (IHEDN) Forum on African Continent by Mr. Abdou Diouf, Secretary-General of the Francophonie, Paris, 9 June 2007. [http://www.ihedn.fr/actualites/discours2007\\_diouf.php](http://www.ihedn.fr/actualites/discours2007_diouf.php).

<sup>73</sup> Report of the Secretary-General on the Implementation of the recommendations of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, A/61/668, 13 February 2007, paragraph 5.

organization is no longer to only one actor in this field. In that regard, over the past decades, Regional and Sub-regional organizations<sup>74</sup> throughout the world have become increasingly active and directly involved in undertaking, carrying out and supporting peace activities. Similarly, these undertakings are currently facing a wide range of challenges relating notably to the diverse and complex nature of tasks planned to be carried out in their framework in conflict and post-conflict environments more and more fragile, instable, and volatile. Considering the AU, this situation becomes more critical. The call for closer cooperation between the AU and the international community in order to share the burden in a field where the needs and challenges are simply enormous and tremendous has therefore increased in the last years.

In that vein, Abdou Diouf, former president of the Senegal and Secretary-General of the Francophonie, evoking stability, security, and peace challenges, acknowledged that “increased involvement of African bodies in favor of the continent should not exonerate the Security Council and the international community<sup>75</sup> from the obligations of assisting an endangered Africa”.<sup>76</sup> Over the past years, peace and security have been affirmed as one of the key areas of co-operation between Europe (through the European Union) and Africa (through the African Union and the Sub-regional organizations) when reshaping and strengthening their long-standing relationship.

---

<sup>74</sup> This is notably the case of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), European Union (EU), Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), African Union (AU) for regional organizations; Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC), Common Market for Eastern African Community (COMESA), East African Community (EAC) for African sub-regional organizations.

<sup>75</sup> The international community support has notably been provided through financial and technical assistance on a multilateral (UN, EU, OSCE, G8, NATO, World Bank, the Commonwealth, *Francophonie*, Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries –CPLP-, etc.) and bilateral basis (from individual states: China, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, France, Norway, United States, etc.). For a comprehensive review of bilateral and multilateral initiatives see Fernanda Faria. *Crisis Management in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Role of the European Union*, Occasional Paper, No 51, April 2004. <http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ51.pdf>; Eric G. Berman and Katie E. Sams. *Constructive Disengagement. Western Efforts to Develop African Peacekeeping*. ISS Monograph No 33, December 1998.

<http://www.issafrica.org/Pubs/Monographs/No33/WesternResponses.html>. For an overview of Nordic involvement in PSOs in Africa see Ståle Ulriksen. *Deployments for Development? Nordic Peacekeeping Efforts in Africa*, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) Working Paper, 27 March 2007. <http://english.nupi.no/content/download/844/22657/version/5/file/St%C3%A5le+Ulriksen+kap.pdf>. Also as an illustration, on 28 August 2007, the Ambassador of China to Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) handed over to the Chairperson of the African Union Commission a cheque worth three hundred thousand American dollars (US \$ 300.000) aimed at assisting the African Union in the ongoing peace keeping operations in Somalia (Cf. [http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/News/Press/2007/August/PR\\_CHINESE\\_DONATION\\_FOR\\_SOMALIA.doc](http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/News/Press/2007/August/PR_CHINESE_DONATION_FOR_SOMALIA.doc)).

<sup>76</sup> Closing address at the 8<sup>th</sup> Institut des Hautes Etudes de Défense Nationale (IHEDN) Forum on African Continent, Paris, 9 June 2007. [http://www.ihedn.fr/actualites/discours2007\\_diouf.php](http://www.ihedn.fr/actualites/discours2007_diouf.php).

The EU's contribution was namely significant in the area of conflict prevention, management and resolution, and particularly in peace making, peacekeeping, peace enforcement, and, to some extent, in peacebuilding. This commitment aims at supporting the continent in the establishment of its Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) that was briefly outlined above, and strengthening African peacekeeping and peace support capacities. It was also illustrated by the direct involvement of troops from EU member states through their deployment to conflict theaters. This involvement was notably undertaken within the framework of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)/EU Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and the EU Strategy for Africa.

#### **4.1. EU Support for Peace and Security in Africa within the framework of the ESDP**

In the last four years, the EU has conducted several civilian, military and civilian-military operations in the Africa, Asia, the Middle East, South Caucasus, and Western Balkans. These operations represented a significant breakthrough for ESDP and illustrated the first hands-on manifestation of the EU's security and defence dimension. A variety of tasks ranging from rule of law, law enforcement, ceasefire monitoring, security and humanitarian crisis management, advisory and assistance in security sector reform and institution building were performed within their framework.

So far, Africa has hosted six operations conducted within the EU CFSP/ESDP framework. Some of these operations have already been completed, others are still ongoing. In addition, another ESDP military operation is currently at a planning stage. These operations include the following:

##### *Military Operations*

- *Artemis Operation* in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).<sup>77</sup> This operation was authorized in the Eastern region of Ituri in a context characterized by a generalized instability that was undermining an ongoing pacification process. Following a request by the UN for an EU intervention to hand over 750 blue helmets in the town of Bunia before the deployment of a stronger UN Force in the region, the EU started the Artemis Operation. The operation, led by France, was composed of 2,000 troops from six EU Member States, as well as of troops from South Africa, Brazil and Canada. It has been mandated to contribute to the stabilization of the security conditions and the improvement of the humanitarian situation in Bunia, to ensure the protection of the airport, the internally displaced persons in the camps in Bunia and, if needed, to

---

<sup>77</sup> See Council decision 2003/432/CFSP of 12 June 2003 on the launching of the European Union military operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo and UN Security Council Resolution 1484 (2003) adopted on 30 May 2003.

contribute to the safety of the civilian population, UN personnel and the humanitarian presence in the town. The *Artemis Operation* lasted from 12 June to 1<sup>st</sup> September 2003.

- *EUFOR DR Congo*<sup>78</sup>: The EUFOR DR Congo was a military operation launched in support of the United Nations Organisation Mission in the DRC (MONUC) during the period encompassing the presidential and parliamentary elections in the country. The operation was authorized on 25 April 2006 by the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1671 (2006). The military operation was conducted in full agreement with the authorities of the DRC and in close coordination with the MONUC. The aim of this mission was to contribute to the protection of civilians under imminent threat of physical violence, protect the airport in Kinshasa and ensure the security and freedom of movement of the personnel as well as the protection of the installations of EUFOR DR Congo. This autonomous EU-led operation was conducted in the framework of the ESDP. The EUFOR DR Congo was successfully concluded on 30 November 2006.
- In addition to these operations the EU is currently planning a military operations that will possibly be deployed within the framework of a multidimensional United Nations presence in Eastern Chad and the North-Eastern Central African Republic that is envisaged by the UN “with a view to addressing instability along the borders between the Sudan, Chad and the Central African Republic and the threat posed to the safety of civilian populations, including, in particular, refugees and internally displaced persons, as well as the conduct of humanitarian activities in the area”.<sup>79</sup> This multidimensional UN presence will comprise international military and police elements, as well as civil affairs, human rights and other civilian components, with the military component made of EU troops. The EU military force will be deployment for a period of 12 months within the framework of the ESDP. As stated by the UN Secretary-General, this “military component would play a fundamental role in efforts to improve security and is a requirement for the deployment and effective functioning of an international police presence”.<sup>80</sup>

Following a request by the UN, EU foreign ministers, gathered on July 23, 2007 in Brussels within the framework of the General Affairs and External Relations Council, and after the Chad’s president, Idriss Deby, had agreed

---

<sup>78</sup> See Council Joint Action 2006/319/CFSP of 27 April 2006 on the European Union military operation in support of the United Nations Organisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) during the election process and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1671 (2006) adopted at its 5421st meeting, on 25 April 2006.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Report of the Secretary-General on Chad and the Central African Republic, S/2007/488, 10 August 2007. The multidimensional presence’s tasks will range from security and protections of civilians to human rights and rule of law.

<sup>80</sup> *Idem*.

to allow the EU force<sup>81</sup>, positively responded by ordering their military planners to draw up an operational blueprint for sending forces to help UN police struggling to get control of the situation. If approved, the EU military force is expected to be made of between 1,500 to 3,000 soldiers.<sup>82</sup> On August 27, 2007, the UN Security Council expressed its readiness to authorize the deployment of that UN-EU presence.<sup>83</sup>

### *Civilian Operations*

- EU Police Mission in Kinshasa (DRC) (EUPOL-Kinshasa)<sup>84</sup> was launched in April 2005 within the framework of the ESDP following an official request of the Congolese government, to monitor, mentor, and advise the Integrated Police Unit (IPU) with a view to provide assistance in securing the electoral process in the capital, Kinshasa. This mission ensured that the IPU acted according to international best practice. The Mission counted approximately 30 staff members and operated from February to 30 June 2007.
- EU Police Mission in the DRC (EUPOL DR Congo): EUPOL DR Congo illustrates the continued EU commitment to the DRC security, stability and post-conflict reconstruction. It has succeeded to the EUPOL-Kinshasa. Conversely to its predecessor, EUPOL-Kinshasa whose jurisdiction was limited to the capital, Kinshasa, the EUPOL DR Congo mission will support the development of the police nationwide. EUPOL DR Congo has been mandated to support and assist Congolese authorities in the security sector reform, particularly with regard to the police and justice. In that framework, EUPOL DR Congo will assist the Congolese police in their restructuring and in fulfilling their core missions. The mission will be composed of 39 international agents, including police officers, experts in criminal justice, transversal issues relating to security sector reform, human rights and children in conflict. EUPOL DR Congo will initially be deployed for 12 months until 30 June 2008.

---

<sup>81</sup> VOA News, "Chad's President Accepts EU Force in East", 19 July 2007.

<http://www.voanews.com/english/archive/2007-07/2007-07-19-voa71.cfm?CFID=194796837&CFTOKEN=60925775>.

<sup>82</sup> Teri Schultz, "EU Foreign Ministers Okay Planning for Chad Peacekeepers", VOA News, 23 July 2007.

[http://www.voanews.com/mediaassets/english/2007\\_07/Audio/mp3/schultz\\_EU\\_Chad\\_23jul07.mp3](http://www.voanews.com/mediaassets/english/2007_07/Audio/mp3/schultz_EU_Chad_23jul07.mp3).

<sup>83</sup> UN News Centre, "Security Council ready to set up UN presence in Chad, Central African Republic", 27 August 2007.

<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=23606&Cr=chad&Cr1=car>.

<sup>84</sup> See Council Joint Action 2004/847/CFSP of 9 December 2004 on the European Union Police Mission in Kinshasa (DRC) regarding the Integrated Police Unit (EUPOL 'Kinshasa'). Accessible at

[http://www.eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/oj/2004/l\\_367/l\\_36720041214en00300034.pdf](http://www.eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/oj/2004/l_367/l_36720041214en00300034.pdf).

### *Civilian-Military Operations*

- EU Support to AMIS II (Darfur)<sup>85</sup>: This EU civilian-military support mission to AMIS II was established on 18 July 2005 in response to a request of the African Union (AU). It aims at ensuring effective and timely EU assistance to support the AMIS II enhancement. This initiative consists in supporting the AU political, military and police efforts to address the crisis in the Darfur region of Sudan. For this purpose, it is composed of a civilian and military component and has included financial, personnel and political support to the Abuja talks process and the Ceasefire Commission and to the AU Mission in the Darfur region of Sudan (AMIS) through the provision of equipment and assets, planning and technical assistance, military observers, training of African troops and civilian police officers and strategic transportation.<sup>86</sup>
- Following an official request by the DRC government, the EU Security Sector Reform Mission in the DRC (EUSEC DR Congo)<sup>87</sup> was launched on 8 June 2005. The mission provides advice and assistance to the Congolese authorities in charge of security while ensuring the promotion of policies that are compatible with human rights and international humanitarian law, democratic standards, principles of good public management, transparency and observance of the rule of law.

### **4.2. EU Support within the framework of the Africa Peace Facility (APF)**

The setting up and funding of the *African Peace Facility* also represented one of the most important undertakings of the EU in the context of its Strategy towards Africa. This Facility has so far been another important instrument the EU has provided in support of Africa towards the effective establishment of its APSA. According to the AU Peace and Security Commissioner, Ambassador Said Djinnit, the Facility has been the

---

<sup>85</sup> See Council Joint Action 2005/557/CFSP of 18 July 2005 on the European Union civilian-military supporting action to the African Union mission in the Darfur region of Sudan; Council Joint Action 2007/245/CFSP of 23 April 2007 amending Joint Action 2005/557/CFSP on the European Union civilian-military supporting action to the African Union mission in the Darfur region of Sudan with regard to the inclusion of a military support element providing assistance to the setting up of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).

<sup>86</sup> See European Union Factsheets. EU Response to the Darfur Crisis, July 2006. Accessible at [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/060714-Darfur\\_Update2.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/060714-Darfur_Update2.pdf) and EU Support to the African Union in Darfur – AMIS. AMIS II/06, May 2007. Accessible at [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/070507-factsheet6-AMIS\\_II.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/070507-factsheet6-AMIS_II.pdf).

<sup>87</sup> See Council Joint Action 2005/355/CFSP of 2 May 2005 on the European Union mission to provide advice and assistance for security sector reform in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).

backbone of the funding for AU operations<sup>88</sup> since it “remains by far the most important source of funding” for the support these operations.<sup>89</sup>

The APF is built on three core principles: *African ownership*<sup>90</sup>, *solidarity*<sup>91</sup> and *partnership between Africa and Europe*. The decision on its establishment was adopted by the European Council on 17 November 2003, following a request from the AU earlier this year to establish a Peace Facility for Africa within the framework of the European Development Fund (EDF). The request was formulated at the African Union Summit held in Maputo (Mozambique) in July 2003. In December 2003, a decision of the ACP-EC Council of Ministers was taken to use resources from the long-term development envelop of the 9<sup>th</sup> EDF for the creation of this Peace Facility. In March 2004, EU Member States approved the proposal of the European Commission for an €250 million Peace Facility and adopted a Financing Proposal for the Facility. In April 2006, the EU Council decided to extend the duration of the Facility for an initial period of three years (2008-2010), increased the Facility funding by another €50 million and provided it with a replenishment of €300M in total under the 10<sup>th</sup> EDF.

The APF is based on two pillars. The first is to build up African capacities (including military and civilian) for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict and support peace operations (PSOs) run by African organizations. In that respect, to date, the bulk of the APF has been dedicated to support peacekeeping operations (€242 million). The second pillar, backed by €35 million, was aimed at allowing the AU and SROs build their capacity in the area of planning and organizational skills for instance for training reconnaissance teams to prepare such operations.

The AU Mission in Sudan (AMIS) has received most of the funds dedicated to peace support operations. A total €242m was allocated with a view to

---

<sup>88</sup> “Peacekeeping in Sub-Saharan Africa: a practical approach”. Report submitted on behalf of the Political Committee by Charles Goerens, Rapporteur (Luxembourg, Liberal Group). Assembly of Western European Union. The Interparliamentary European Security and Defence Assembly, Fifty-first Session, 6 December 2005, Document A/1913.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Final Communiqué of the 8<sup>th</sup> EU - AFRICA Ministerial Troika Meeting, Brussels, 15 May 2007.

<sup>90</sup> The APF has been conceived as an instrument “led, operated and staffed by Africans”. However, in reality “EU member states retain final control over it”. Cf. “Peacekeeping in Sub-Saharan Africa: a practical approach”. Report submitted on behalf of the Political Committee by Charles Goerens, Rapporteur (Luxembourg, Liberal Group). Assembly of Western European Union. The Interparliamentary European Security and Defence Assembly, Fifty-first Session, 6 December 2005, Document A/1913.

<sup>91</sup> Charles Goerens referred to this principles as a “virtual solidarity” since from the EU side, the €123,6 million contributed to the APF were not new funds but rather unallocated funds from the 9<sup>th</sup> European Development Funds (EDF). In that regard, they didn’t illustrated additional efforts from the EU towards a real support to peace and security in Africa. Cf. “Peacekeeping in Sub-Saharan Africa: a practical approach”. Report submitted on behalf of the Political Committee by Charles Goerens, Rapporteur (Luxembourg, Liberal Group). Assembly of Western European Union. The Interparliamentary European Security and Defence Assembly, Fifty-first Session, 6 December 2005, Document A/1913.

create an environment of mutual trust as a start of the return of peace and stability in the region, by supporting the AU efforts through the Cease fire Commission (CFC) to monitor a cease fire between the conflicting parties in the Darfur region in Sudan. In the same vein, €4m were used from the APF for the support of the AU Mission to Secure Elections in the Comoros in order to help it secure and observe the election process.

Regarding the capacity building pillar, €6m from the APF were dedicated for the strengthening of the role and leadership of the AU in promoting peace, stability and security in Africa and for enhancing the institutional capacity of the Peace and Security Department (PSD) of the AU Commission.

Following the mid-term evaluation of the AFP undertaken in 2005,<sup>92</sup> it was concluded that the Facility “has been a very positive initiative which has allowed the EU to support African work on peace and security in a practical, flexible and highly relevant manner that has respected the principle of African ownership”. The AU also underscored the positive contribution of the Peace Facility to the substantial progress realized in the area of conflict resolution in Africa, as well as in strengthening the AU’s capacity in conflict prevention, management and resolution.<sup>93</sup>

### **4.3. EU Financial Support**

The financial support of the EU to conflict prevention, management and resolution in Africa has started long before the creation of the AU and also took place beyond the framework of the APF. It has included some of the following programmes and initiatives:<sup>94</sup>

- The purchase of communications equipment (satellite telephones and VHF radio equipment with encryption) and related training for the Conflict Management Center and for OAU/AU Missions for a total of €860,000 in November 1998;
- The Joint Military Commission (JMC), which was set up by the OAU in pursuance of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement in DRC and supported with a total of €1.2 million in 2000;
- Financial agreement amounting to €10 million from the 8<sup>th</sup> EDF signed on April 2003 by the AU and EU to support the AU’s peace and security agenda and transition activities in increasing the effectiveness and operational capacity of AU involvement in peace-building in Sub-Saharan Africa and carrying out the transition measures from OAU to AU by providing institutional support, as

<sup>92</sup> James Mackie and al. Final Report of Mid-Term Evaluation of the African Peace Facility. Maastricht, 1 December 2005. Accessible at [http://ec.europa.eu/development/Geographical/europe-cares/africa/docs/APF\\_Eval\\_Final\\_Report-ECDPM\\_1DEC05.doc](http://ec.europa.eu/development/Geographical/europe-cares/africa/docs/APF_Eval_Final_Report-ECDPM_1DEC05.doc).

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Final Communiqué of the EU-Africa Ministerial meeting, Luxembourg, 11 April 2005.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. EU Financial support to the AU. [http://www.africa-union.org/root/AU/Conferences/Past/2006/October/EU-AU/Financial%20support%20DER%20\(2\).doc](http://www.africa-union.org/root/AU/Conferences/Past/2006/October/EU-AU/Financial%20support%20DER%20(2).doc) and [http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/AUC/Departments/PSC/AU\\_EU.htm](http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/AUC/Departments/PSC/AU_EU.htm).

- well as some immediate short term technical support through the following activities: Peace agreement negotiations, facilitation and implementation, liaison office support in the sub-Saharan countries, and in other possible conflict areas; post-conflict initiatives, electoral observations, work with civil society and other institutional support for peace and security, including short-term training on election observation, in selected African countries; appointment and deployment of the Panel of the Wise; local project support staff and equipment for the Peace and Security Directorate;
- €850,000 to support the OAU/AU liaison mission to Ethiopia-Eritrea (OLMEE) in 2000 to allow the deployment of (O)AU observers with the military headquarters of Ethiopia and Eritrea, as well as with the Command of the UN Forces;
  - €1.2 million to support the deployment of the AU Observer Mission in Burundi in April 2003 and to consolidate and monitor the Cease-fire Agreements of 7 October and of 2 December 2002 between the transitory Government of Burundi and the signatory rebel groups.
  - Financial agreement of €400,000 signed in February 2003 to support the AU special envoy to the Central African Republic and set up an AU liaison office in Bangui in order to avoid further aggravation of the conflict and to facilitate a peaceful solution and to promote peace and stability in the region.
  - €850,000 to support the AU-led peace negotiations for Darfur-Abuja talks to complement the efforts being undertaken by the AU, through its enhanced Mission in Sudan (AMIS), in order to facilitate the implementation of the N'Djamena Ceasefire Agreement of 8 April 2004, the Protocols on the Improvements of the Humanitarian Situation in Darfur and on the Enhancement of the Security Situation in Darfur.
  - Support of €25 million to sustain the African Mission in Burundi in order to ensure the implementation of the Arusha Agreement and various cease-fire agreements between the transitional government of Burundi and the armed rebel groups.

## Conclusion

Despite the multidimensional support “received from other parts of the international community that has contributed immensely to the momentum generated within the AU in the past two years, particularly in the area of peace support operations”,<sup>95</sup> including the EU support addressed in this paper, it remains clear that the development of effective, efficient and robust conflict prevention, management and resolution capabilities at large and particularly peacekeeping, peace support ones remained one of the Africa, and singularly AU, major challenges for years to come. The task ahead is huge and unlikely to be effectively and

---

<sup>95</sup> Funmi Olofinakin. African Peacekeeping at the Crossroads: An Assessment of the Continent's Evolving Peace and Security Architecture. DPKO's Best Practices Section. External Study, September 2004.

efficiently achieved without determined and real commitment, and the political will from African States and particularly without sustained support from the international community. It is also clear that the EU has undoubtedly played a considerable role and significantly contributed to meet challenges relating to peace and security in Africa. However, the EU could not be considered as the African peace and security environment champion, other partners also played and are playing a role.

*Les opinions exprimées ici n'engagent que la responsabilité de leur auteur.*

## References

- Council of the European Union. “Action Plan for ESDP support to Peace and Security in Africa”, Brussels, 16 November 2004.
- Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, “The Architecture of Peace and Security in Africa”, address during the African Development Forum III, “Defining Priorities for Regional Integration”, 3-8 March 2002, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- European Union Factsheet. *EU Support to the African Union in Darfur – AMIS*. AMIS II/06. May 2007. Accessible at [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/070507-factsheet6-AMIS\\_II.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/070507-factsheet6-AMIS_II.pdf).
- Fernanda Faria. “Crisis Management in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Role of the European Union”, Occasional Paper, No 51, April 2004. <http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ51.pdf>.
- Funmi Olonisakin. *African Peacekeeping at the Crossroads: an Assessment of the Continent’s Evolving Peace and Security Architecture*. DPKO’s Best Practices Section. External Study, September 2004.
- James Mackie and al. *Mid-Term Evaluation of the African Peace Facility. Final Report*. Maastricht, 1 December 2005.
- Monica Juma. *The Infrastructure of Peace in Africa. Assessing the Peacebuilding Capacity of African Institutions*. A Report by the Africa Program of the International Peace Academy to the Ford Foundation. International Peace Academy, September 2002.
- Nicole Gnesotto, “L’Institut d’Etudes de Sécurité de l’Union Européenne. 2002-2006: cinq années pour l’Union européenne. Un bilan” in *Newsletter European Security and Defence Policy*, Issue 4, July 2007, p. 8-9. Accessible at [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/esdp/95328.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/esdp/95328.pdf)
- Omar A. Touray. “The Common African Defence and Security Policy” in *African Affairs*, October 2005, p. 635-656.
- Policy Framework for the Establishment of the African Standby Force and the Military Staff Committee. (Part II – Annexes). Document adopted by the Third Meeting of African Chiefs of Defence Staff, 15 – 16 May 2003, Addis-Ababa. A History of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and resolution (1993) and existing operational capacity (Annex B).
- Solemn Declaration on the Common African Defence and Security Policy. Second Extraordinary Session of the AU Conference of Heads of state and government, 27-28 February 2004, Sirte (Libya), Ext/Assembly/AU/3/(II).
- Stephan Klingebiel. “Africa’s New Peace and Security Architecture. Converging the roles of external actors and African interests” in *African Security Review* 14(2) 2005.
- Thierry Tardy. “The European Union in Africa: A Strategic Partner in Peace Operations”, Report on a Seminar Co-organized by the Geneva Centre for Security Policy and the International Peace Academy (New York), 7 July 2006.
- Ulrich Golaszinski. *Africa’s Evolving Security Architecture*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) Briefing Paper, December 2004.