GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS

The African Union

Addressing the challenges of peace, security, and governance

Second Edition

Samuel M. Makinda, F. Wafula Okumu and David Mickler

ROUTLEDGE

The African Union

Fully revised and updated, the second edition of *The African Union* continues to offer the most comprehensive overview of the work of the African Union (AU), with special emphasis on its capacity to meet the challenges of building and sustaining governance institutions and security mechanisms. This new edition:

- Re-examines the AU at the historic moment of the golden jubilee of the OAU (Organization of African Unity), its predecessor. It examines the AU's efforts in its first decade, points out some of the organization's weaknesses, and posits options for addressing more effectively the challenges of peace, security, and governance in coming years.
- Critically reviews several arrangements and initiatives, including the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM).
- Analyzes performance of key institutions and programs of the AU, including the Commission, the Executive Council, the Assembly, and the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) as well as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).
- Discusses how far instability and insecurity on the continent are consequences of bad governance and the lack of strategic leadership.
- Considers how the absence of a clearly articulated ideology may undermine the implementation of the AU agenda.

In addition to offering revised and updated chapters throughout, this edition includes one new chapter, which critically discusses the AU's new international partnerships. With an emphasis on the current work of the AU and a view to the future of the organization, this book is essential reading for students and scholars researching African Politics and international organizations.

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Praise for the previous edition

This book, authored by two eminent African scholars, is timely and analyses the African continental movement from the OAU in 1963 to the AU. The authors make an honest and sobering assessment of the performance of the AU. Few books have been written on the AU, and this one fills a big gap by providing researchers and lay people with an analysis of this important organization at a time when African leaders are debating the establishment of the United States of Africa.

Ambassador Ahmed Haggag,
Former OAU Assistant Secretary General

The dream of a United Africa is over 100 years old. It crystallized among Black people in the Diaspora, and its founders included the legendary African American intellectual, W.G.B. DuBois. The creation of the AU is the most ambitious stage of Pan-Africanism so far. This book gives us an insight into both the scale of Africa's ambition and the formidable challenges facing such a vision of regional integration. The authors are in command of the facts and are sensitive to the vision.

Professor Ali A. Mazrui, Former Director,
Institute of Global Cultural Studies,
Binghamton University, State University of New York

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In memory of Professor Ali A. Mazrui (1933–2014)
A public intellectual, great teacher, and mentor

Contents

	List of figures	xi
	List of tables	xii
	Notes on contributors	xiii
	Acknowledgments	xiv
	List of abbreviations	xv
	Introduction	1
1	The Organisation of African Unity: liberation, integration, and mutual preservation	12
2	The African Union: meeting the challenges of an ambitious and rapidly expanding agenda	30
3	The challenge of promoting governance, democracy, and the rule of law	71
4	The challenge of maintaining security and building peace	97
5	The African Union's international partners	136
6	Knowledge and development	163
7	Addressing the challenges of peace, security, and governance	183

Select bibliography 193
Index 196
Routledge Global Institutions Series 206

Figures

2.1	Organs of the African Union	44
2.2	Current structure of the African Union Commission	58
4.1	The African Union peace and security organs	99
4.2	The African Union Peace and Security Architecture	108
4.3	The Proliferation of African Regional Economic Communities	128

Tables

2.1	AU budget ($), 2014	64
2.2	Sources of funding, AU budget, 2004–14	65
2.3	Sources of funding, AU programs, 2007–14	65
3.1	Coups in Africa, 1960–2014	78
3.2	Corruption ranking of African countries, 2006–12	79
3.3	APRM members that are parties to AU and UN anti-corruption conventions	85
4.1	APSA legal instruments	117
5.1	Trust Fund and UN assessed contributions to AMISOM	145

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Abbreviations

ACCORD	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
ACERWC	African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
ACHPR	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
ACIRC	African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crisis
ACJHR	African Court of Justice and Human Rights
ACOTA	African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance
ACRI	Africa Crisis Response Initiative
ACSRT	African Centre on the Study and Research on Terrorism
AfDB	African Development Bank
AFISMA	African-led International Support Mission in Mali
AFRICOM	(United States) Africa Command
AGA	African Governance Architecture
AMIB	African Union Mission in Burundi
AMIS	African Union Mission in Sudan
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
ANC	African National Congress
APA	African Peace Academy
APF	African Peace Facility
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
AUCIL	African Union Commission on International Law

BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa
CAAU	Constitutive Act of the African Union
CADSP	Common African Defence and Security Policy
CAR	Central African Republic
CEN-SAD	*Communauté des États Sahelo-Sahariens* [Community of Sahel-Saharan States]
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism
CEWS	Continental Early Warning System
CISSA	Committee of Intelligence and Security Services in Africa
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CSSDCA	Conference on Security, Stability, Development, and Cooperation in Africa
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EAC	East African Community
EC	Executive Council
ECA	(UN) Economic Commission for Africa
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOSOCC	Economic, Social, and Cultural Council
ECOWARN	ECOWAS Early Warning and Response Network
ECOWAS	Economic Community of Western African States
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
EWS	Early Warning System
FOC	Full operational capability
FOCAC	Forum on China–Africa Cooperation
G8	Group of Eight
G20	Group of Twenty
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GPOI	Global Peace Operations Initiative
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IANSA	International Action Network on Small Arms
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICGLR	International Conference of the Great Lakes Region
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development

IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOC	Indian Ocean Commission
JAES	Joint Africa-European Union Strategy
LO	Liaison Officer
MINUSMA	UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MSC	Military Staff Committee
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OIF	*Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie*
PAP	Pan-African Parliament
PAU	Pan-African University
PCRD	Policy on Post-conflict Reconstruction and Development
PKO	Peace Keeping Operation
PMCD	Partnerships Management and Coordination Division
PoW	Panel of the Wise
PRC	Permanent Representative Committee
PSC	Peace and Security Council
PSD	Peace and Security Department (of the AU Commission)
PSO	Peace Support Operation
RDC	Rapid Deployment Capability
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
RM	Regional Mechanism
SADC	Southern African Development Community
STCs	Specialized Technical Committees
STCDSS	Specialized Technical Committee on Defence Safety and Security
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UK	United Kingdom
UMA	Union of Arab Maghreb

UN	United Nations
UNAMID	African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan
UNOAU	United Nations Office to the African Union
UNSOA	United Nations Support Office for AMISOM
US	United States of America

Introduction

As we were completing this second edition of the book, the international community was debating how it would protect itself from Ebola by addressing the epidemic at its source in West Africa. As of this writing there was no cure for Ebola, but at the request of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, an Australian-based drug company, CSL, announced in early October 2014 that it would look into the possibility of designing a prophylaxis.[1] Besides the Ebola epidemic, Africa has been continuously in the news for other reasons, including: political uncertainty in Burkina Faso after the long-time dictator, Blaise Compaore, fled the country on October 31, 2014; the kidnapping of over 200 Nigerian schoolgirls by the Muslim militant group, Boko Haram,[2] in April 2014; the breakdown in law and order in Libya; and the continuing conflicts in Mali, South Sudan, Somalia, and the Central African Republic (CAR).[3] Thus, there were many issues that suggested themselves for inclusion in our analysis.

The first edition of this book examined the African Union (AU) when it was only five years old. Its main argument was that the AU was established to deal with various global challenges with a view to improving the livelihoods of the African people through the promotion of several common goods, such as peace and security, good governance, respect for human rights and the rule of law, environmental sustainability, and gender equality. The book was organized around the understanding that globalization, security, and governance were symbiotically connected, and that the failure to realize one of them would compromise the opportunities for achieving the other two. It claimed that the lack of a clear African approach to building and sustaining institutions had resulted in the creation of structures that impeded, rather than accelerated, vital public goods, including healthcare, development, democracy, and justice.

In the past decade the AU has undertaken a range of activities with various degrees of success and failure. The performance of the African Union Commission (AUC), the Executive Council (EC), and the Assembly has varied, and, in some cases, has fallen short of expectations. As a result, the AU's accomplishment in some areas, such as the promotion of peace, integration, good governance, and respect for human rights, has been weak. In addition, the AU has taken questionable positions on the International Criminal Court (ICC)[4] and other international issues and processes. It was also noticeable during the golden jubilee anniversary of the founding of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in May 2013 that the AU was experiencing what could be described as a lack of ideology and a framework to drive and guide its objectives and missions.

This second edition – *The African Union: Addressing the Challenges of Peace, Security, and Governance* – is designed to re-examine the AU in the aftermath of the historic moment of the golden jubilee of the establishment of the OAU, its predecessor. It examines the AU's efforts in its first dozen years, points out some of the organization's weaknesses, and posits options for addressing more effectively the challenges of establishing and maintaining peace, security, and good governance in the coming years. It critically reviews several key arrangements and initiatives, including the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), the African Governance Architecture (AGA), and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). It also critically reviews the performance of key structures, organs, and programs of the AU, including the Commission, the EC, the Assembly, the Pan-African Parliament (PAP), and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). This has entailed revising and updating all of the chapters. However, this revised edition is not simply an update of the earlier book. It features one new chapter on the establishment and management of the AU's emerging international partnerships that shape Africa's widening peace, security, and governance agendas. Moreover, the argument for this new edition revolves around two hypotheses. The first is that the key to most of Africa's problems rests with having the right paradigm and generating appropriate knowledge. The second hypothesis is that the lack of a clearly articulated ideology has undermined, and might continue to hinder, the implementation of a large part of the AU agenda.[5]

The principal assumption of the first edition of this book was that the AU could fulfil its broad mandate only if it capitalized on the dynamic tension between globalization, security, and good governance. This new edition recognizes the vitality of this dynamic tension, but moves beyond it and adds the challenges of peace – broadly defined. The fall of some of Africa's long-serving political leaders in

Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia in the wake of the so-called "Arab Spring" brings into focus the relationship between peace, security, and good governance. Moreover, the crises in the CAR, South Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) raise questions about the AU's capacity to help forge and maintain peace, security, and good governance on the continent.

The AU has been in existence for 12 years following its launch in July 2002. Although it was built on the infrastructure of the OAU, which was infamous for turning a blind eye to bad governance, its mandate is different and has been expected to deliver public benefits to the African people. Before examining in detail the AU's achievements and challenges, it is important that we explain the key variables defining the tasks that the organization has been expected to perform: peace, security, and good governance. We are conscious of the fact that each of these factors would look different if viewed through various theoretical lenses, such as constructivism, critical social theory, feminism, liberalism, Marxism, realism or post-colonialism. In this book we take an eclectic approach, which allows us to utilize insights from any theoretical framework to illuminate the issues in question.[6]

The peace imperative

As already indicated, this book is concerned with examining the challenges of peace, security, and good governance on the continent; and whether the AU has the capacity to deal with them effectively or not. Albert Einstein argued that peace was "a moral duty which no conscientious [person] [could] shirk."[7] Underlining the imperative for peace in international society, Johan Galtung, the founder of peace studies, argued: "If we begin with the need to survive, we immediately see that peace is a primary requirement of the human condition itself."[8] Thus, peace, sometimes defined as a period of political tranquility or the absence of war, plays an important role in society. Peace is the foundation for human solidarity, survival, and progress.

Writing in sixteenth century England, Thomas Hobbes argued that without peace, there would be "no place for industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain."[9] He concluded that "worst of all, [there would be] continual fear, and danger of violent death."[10] Without peace, Hobbes observed, human life would be "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short."[11] Hobbes' observations have relevance for twenty-first century Africa. It is peace that makes development, democracy, healthcare, and education possible. Without peace, other important public goods, such as state sovereignty, security, governance structures, and institutions would be undermined. Hence the need to interrogate the AU's contribution to peace on the continent.

The eruption of crises in Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia between 2011 and 2014 demonstrated not only the fragility of peace, but also the close relationship between peace, security, and good governance. Moreover, democracy, human rights, peace, and security, in any part of the world, are the shared responsibility of all states and other global agents. A former Ghanaian leader, Kwame Nkrumah, underlined this connection in the 1960s. Whenever Nkrumah talked of the "African personality" playing a role on the world stage, he argued that freedom, human rights, and peace were global entitlements that were indivisible. Having declared in the early 1960s that the liberation of the remaining colonial territories in Africa was the responsibility of every African person, Nkrumah insisted that freedom anywhere could be meaningful only if the whole world was free and at peace. Thus, Nkrumah could be credited with advancing the idea that peace and freedom were universal, global, and indivisible. Nkrumah asserted: "World peace is not possible without the complete liquidation of colonialism and the total liberation of peoples everywhere. The indivisibility of peace is staked upon the indivisibility of freedom."[12] In doing so, Nkrumah postulated that it was the responsibility of every state in the world to champion the causes of peace and freedom. It was for this reason that one of us claimed in 1976 that through the African personality, Nkrumah attempted the "globalization of the liberation strategy."[13]

One of our aims in this book is to explore how the AU might utilize the interrelationships among peace, globalization, security, and good governance as a catalyst to pursue the objectives and principles stipulated in its Constitutive Act.

Addressing security

In one sense, security implies boundaries, both real and metaphorical, and these boundaries are, in turn, about identity and interests. Analysts differ over what identity issues and interests are to be secured. Should they be individuals, nations, socio-economic classes, states, or ethnic communities? What should African states and people aim to secure? What role does the AU play in securing these objects? What roles do peace and governance structures play in the construction and management of security in Africa?

In the twenty-first century, good governance – propelled by globalization – has evolved to the point at which public policies are increasingly becoming people-centered. This implies that security policies have to be defined in terms of the aspirations, needs, and dignity of the people.

Accordingly, security should be viewed as people-centered, and whether states achieve, undermine, or are irrelevant to security is an open question, depending on time and place.[14] Therefore, security in Africa, viewed in terms of identity and interests, should be regarded as the protection of people and the preservation of their norms, rules, institutions, and resources in the face of military and non-military threats. The latter may include natural disasters, ecological and environmental degradation, lack of access to affordable healthcare, poverty, severe economic problems, human rights abuses, and the erosion of democratic rule. Ken Booth goes further and equates security with emancipation.[15]

Our definition avoids the binary division between national security and human security. It is broad enough to include the preservation of states and the structures, principles, and institutions on which states are anchored – but only to the extent that protection of state boundaries and the governing structures and elites is not privileged over people. This definition also assumes that people are prior to states, and, therefore, the security of the state is derived from that of the people. However, defining security in terms of people also raises significant questions about gender, which space does not allow us to explore here.

This book is partly concerned with how the AU can "promote peace, security and stability on the continent" (Article 3[f] of the Constitutive Act of the AU) by using globalization and good governance. The interrelationship between peace, security, and good governance dictates that we occasionally isolate particular security issues and explore how peace and governance affect them. For example, providing solutions to the Darfur crisis – which is a security problem – would require negotiations among various parties such as the United Nations (UN), the AU, the Sudanese government, and representatives of the parties within Darfur which are governance entities and structures. It would also require the support of various international actors, such as the European Union (EU). Furthermore, the issues over which the parties negotiate – such as human rights, self-determination, autonomy, and access to food, shelter, education, and health facilities – are interests that are continually recast by globalization. If some of the parties were found to have committed war crimes or crimes against humanity, they would probably be prosecuted through the ICC – which is a governance structure. Good governance appears to be so essential that it is plausible to argue that security is achievable in Africa only where governance structures are stable, effective, and are designed to meet the people's needs, rights, and hopes.