Africa's Peace and Security Agenda

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Abstract:

    This article aims to publicize the extent of importance that has been given by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and its successor, the African Union (AU), to Africa's peace and security topics. As a matter of fact, the AU has accorded greater attention to the continent's peace and security issues. It has adopted architecture for the continent's peace and security[1], and put in place different robust mechanisms, instruments and efficient institutions, to effectively deal with all types of threats to peace, security and stability throughout the continent with an aim to establishing them as a key pre-requisite for sustainable development. However, the final aim of any peace and security architecture, whatever its level, is to effectively address the root causes of conflicts with an aim to[2] ensuring that sustainable peace and security have been achieved and there would be no relapse into violence by the conflicting parties, as key prerequisites for sustained economic progress and a reduction of poverty. However, the focus of the article is to provide detailed information about these mechanisms and institutions as well as the functions and roles entrusted to them in order to implement the continent's agenda of peace, stability and security.

تحاول هذه الورقة أن تسلط الضوء على الاهتمام الذي أولته منظمة الوحدة الإفريقية، خليفتها الاتحاد الإفريقي لقضايا السلم والأمن في إفريقيا. وفي الحقيقة نجد أن الاتحاد الإفريقي قد اهتم بهذه القضية بصورة أكبر. وقد وضع الاتحاد الإفريقي بنياناً لقضية الأمن والسلم وأوجد آليات ووسائل ومؤسسات ذات كفاءة للتعامل مع كل مهددات الأمن والسلم والاستقرار في كل إفريقيا، والهدف من ذلك هو إيجاد أساس

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للتنمية المستدامة في القارة ومعالجة جذور أسباب النزاعات بهدف تأكيد أن السلم
الأمن الدائمين قد تم تحقيقهما في القارة.

INTRODUCTION

It is a common knowledge that one of the most serious impediments to Africa's development is the scourge of conflicts. There is a great agreement about the complete impossibility to realize an economic growth and poverty reduction without peace which represents a key prerequisite for lifting the continent from the current state of extreme poverty and underdevelopment.[3] Conscious of this fact, and in July ١٩٩٠, the African Heads of State and Government adopted a declaration entitled "*Declaration of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of the African Unity on the Political and Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and the Fundamental Changes Taking Place in the World*".[4] In that declaration, the Heads of State and Government dedicated themselves "*To work together towards the peaceful and speedy resolution of all conflicts.*" To this end the leadership of the continent adopted in June ١٩٩٣, in Cairo, a declaration establishing within the OAU, a Mechanism for preventing, managing and resolving conflict in Africa.[5]

Conflicts have no single cause. It is multi-causal and multi-dimensional and can result from a combination of political and institutional factors such as elite power struggles and political exclusion; and socioeconomic factors such as inequality, exclusion, marginalization and poverty; and resource and environmental factors such as greed, scarcity of natural resources, environmental insecurity and unjust resource exploitation.[6] Most of the conflicts in Africa have been largely caused by a combination of the afore-mentioned factors.

However, the adoption of such a Mechanism had signalled the determination of Africa's leaders to work together towards the peaceful and speedy resolution of all conflicts on the continent. In fact, conflict resolution and the issues of peace, security and stability had been a major concern of the OAU from its inception. To this end, the founding fathers of the OAU set up a Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration under the OAU Charter.[7] However, as it is well- known, this

Commission had been virtually dormant since its establishment, though it would appear there were some suggestions and unsuccessful attempts to use it.[8] Although the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration had been virtually dormant from its establishment up to its abolishment in ١٩٧٩,[9] its setting up showed the extent to which the management of conflicts had constituted one of the major occupations of the founding fathers.

OAU's Agenda for Peace and Security

At the time it was founded in ١٩٦٣, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) took upon itself the duty of supporting collective struggles for national liberation from colonialism, as well as the responsibility to act as the guardian of Africa's hard-won yet fragile independence from colonial rule. The principles of equality, respect for national sovereignty, non-interference as well as territorial integrity constituted cardinal principles that defend the modalities and parameters of multilateral cooperation within the OAU.[10]

Three decades later, the radically altered international environment that resulted from the collapse of the Berlin Wall in ١٩٨٩ and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in ١٩٩١, the pressures of unrestrained globalization on an increasingly poor African continent in need of a new development paradigm, the unprecedented increase in the number and intensity of violent armed conflicts and perception of the inability and gradual disengagement of the international community to respond to the worst forms of violence in the early part of the decade (*Somalia and Rwanda come to mind*) form part of the complex background within which the reinvention, repositioning and restructuring of the OAU took place.[11]

Against the afore-mentioned background, the OAU established its Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution in ١٩٩٣ to address conflicts in Africa. The Mechanism was entrusted with the realization of three goals: first, to anticipate and prevent situations of potential conflict from developing into full-blown wars; second, to undertake peacemaking and peace-building efforts if full-blown conflicts should rise; and third, to carry out peacemaking and peace-building activities in post-conflict situations.[12]

However, it was clear that the OAU Mechanism had been largely ineffective in managing African conflicts such as Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Comoros. In many cases, the OAU had not been able to focus on its stated priority of anticipating and preventing conflicts. Instead, the Organization had been preoccupied with efforts to resolve existing conflicts across the continent.[13] The reality was that the OAU had been active but peripheral actor in most cases. The United Nations (UN) and sub-regional organizations like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the South African Development Community (SADC) had taken the lead in managing conflicts in countries such as Sierra Leone, Liberia, Lesotho and DRC. The reasons for the marginal role played by the OAU in these conflicts were three-fold: first, the AU was relatively new to the field of conflict management and lacked the necessary experience; second, the number, intensity scope and range of conflicts in Africa had been overwhelming for the OAU Mechanism; and third, the OAU was not in a state to overcome several of the financial, organizational, and mandate-related limitations.[14]

African's Union Agenda for Peace and Security
The establishment of the African Union (AU) in ٢٠٠٢ was important for the development of a new African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). In fact it marked a new phase in African leaders' efforts at promoting peace, security and stability on the continent. The African Heads of State and Government declared themselves conscious of the fact that the scourge of conflicts constitutes a major impediment to the socio-economic development of the continent and the need to promote peace, security and stability as a perquisite for implementation of the development and integration agenda of the Union.[15] Moreover, conflicts in Africa remain one of the chief obstacles to upholding democratisation and pose a threat to regional and global peace and security as they lead to a large scale of human displacement and environmental degradation, while creating conditions for global criminal and terrorist networks. Additionally, conflicts indeed pose the greatest threat to any citizenship worthy of its name because force gains primacy over legality in conflict situations.

Africa's Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)

The afore-mentioned is the reason for which the AU has set as one of its priorities, the establishment of a conflict and security management mechanism in the continent that includes mechanisms, instruments and institutions that have as their aim the goals of prevention, management and resolution of violent conflict.[16] The main pillars of the said set of mechanisms, instruments and institutions, which called Africa's Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) include (i) The AU and (ii) The Regional Economic Communities (RECs). (i) The most important elements of the AU's structure are its Assembly of Heads of State and Government and its Peace and Security Council (PSC), the main decision-making organs. *The Commission of the AU and its Department of Peace and Security are required to implement and coordinate the PSC's decisions.* (ii) The RECs are considered to be building blocks of the AU and primarily responsible for the implementation of the AU policies within their respective regions.[17] Whilst the AU should coordinate, monitor and establish policies and act at political level, the RECs are meant to implement at regional level decisions taken at continental level. At present 8 RECs[18] have signed MoUs with the AU.[19] However, this is inconsistent with the AU's vision of having only five RECs representing its 5 regions, namely ECAS, COMESA, SADC, UMA and IGAD.

APSA describes the various elements developed, or in development, by the AU (*and some regional organizations*) to bring about peace and security on the Continent. The Structure, as set below provides for a political decision-making body: 1.*The Peace and Security Council*; an intelligence gathering and analysis centre: 2.*The Continental Early Warning*; an external mediation and advisor body: 3. *The Panel of the Wise*; **a military element**: 4. *The African Standby Force and Military Staff Committee*; and a special fund to cover costs: 5.*The Peace Fund*.[20] The above-mentioned elements are intended to provide a comprehensive set of tools for addressing the security concerns of the continent by African Actors. The Peace and Security Council (PSC) receives advice and information from the Panel of the Wise, Continental Early Warning and Military Staff Committee and instructs the African

Stand by Force on the Actions it deems necessary.[21] (See the attached figure)

In order to identify the methods and ways APSA operates, below lights are shed on each of its elements:

1. *The Peace and Security Council (PSC):*

The Peace and Security Council is the AU's standing decision-making body responsible for the maintenance of continental peace and security.[22] It has 15 members, elected by the AU Executive Council on regional basis: three from Central Africa; three from East Africa; two from North Africa; three from Southern Africa; and four from West Africa. Members are elected for three-years (five members) or two-year (ten members) terms, and can be re-elected immediately for another term. There are no permanent members and no veto. However, there are limits to its power: although the PSC - in conjunction with the Chairperson of the African Union Commission – may authorize the mounting and deployment of peace support missions, but no military action may be taken without the consent of the AU Assembly.[23] PSC chairmanship rotates on a monthly basis, in alphabetical order of the English-language names of member states.[24]

Background

At the AU inaugural meeting in Durban, the African leaders signed the "*Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the AU*" which came into force on 26 December 2003. The Protocol defines the PSC as "*a standing decision-making organ for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts. The PSC shall be a collective security and early-warning arrangement to facilitate timely and efficient response to conflict and crisis situations in Africa*".[25]

The Protocol also stipulates that "*The Peace and Security Council shall be supported by the Commission, a Panel of the Wise, a Continental Early Warning System, an African Standby Force and a Special Fund.*"[26]

In March 2004, the PSC adopted its Rules of Procedure and sat for its inaugural meeting one day later, thereby marking the beginning of the operation of the PSC. Indeed, two months later, the PSC was

solemnly launched at the level of Heads of State and Government on ٢٥ May ٢٠٠٤.

Objectives of the PSC

- *P*romote peace, security and stability in Africa;
- *A*nticipate and prevent conflicts and where conflicts have occurred,
- *U*ndertake peace-making and peace-building functions for the resolution of these conflicts; promote and implement peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction activities to consolidate peace and prevent the resurgence of violence;
- *C*o-ordinate and harmonize continental efforts in the prevention and combating of international terrorism in all its aspects;
- *D*evelop a common defense policy for the Union, and
- Promote and encourage democratic practices, good governance and the rule of law, protect human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the sanctity of human life and international humanitarian law, as part of efforts for preventing conflicts.[٢٧]

Structure

The PSC shall meet as often as required but a minimum of two times a month at ambassadorial level. The agenda is based on the assessment of ongoing conflict and crisis situations on the continent, and the assessment can be initiated by any member or by the Commissioner for Peace and Security, in consultations with the Chair of the PSC. According to the PSC Rules of Procedure, "*The inclusion of any item in the provisional agenda may not be opposed by a Member State*". The rules foresee the following types of meetings and their respective participants:[٢٨]

- *C*losed meetings;
- *O*pen meetings; to which the PSC may invite to participate, "*without a right to vote*", in the discussion under its consideration:[٢٩]

 (a) Any member State of the AU, which is not a member of the Council, when the interests of that Member States are specifically affected, or

when a Member State brings to the attention of the Council a matter that threatens national or regional peace and security; and

 (b) Any Regional Mechanism, international organization or civil society organization, which is involved and/or interested in a conflict or situation related to the discussion under consideration by the Council.

 Any AU member state invited to participate in the discussions of the Council may submit, through a member of the Council, proposals and propose draft decisions for consideration. The rules also say that the Council may invite the media to attend its open meetings.

Most PSC meetings are held at the AU headquarters in Addis Ababa, but the PSC has the option of choosing other venues. ٣٠

٢. *Continental Early Warning System (CEWS)*:

In the area of conflict prevention, the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union states: "*a continental early warning system shall be established*". The establishment of this system aims to build the capacity of the African institutions for early warning as well as enhancing their capacity to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts. The CEWS is tasked with providing the Chairperson of the AU Commission with information in a timely manner so that he can advise the PSC on "*potential conflicts and threats to peace and security*" and "*recommend best courses of action*". As set out in the PSC Protocol, the CEWS is intended to be one of the key pillars of the Peace and Security Council in addition to other components of the continental peace and security architecture.[31] To this end, a road map for the operationalization of the Continental Early Warning System has been set. The key issues identified in the road map for the operationalization of the Continental Early Warning System as well as the plan developed for their implementation, include:[32]

- *D*ata collection;
- *S*trategic analysis;
- *R*eports and engagement with decision-makers; and
- *C*o-ordination and collaboration.

The CEWS uses open sources of information to compile reports that identify potentially dangerous activity and then passed to early warning analysts to decide on the level of gravity and potential consequences from events identified. Consequently, the Early Warning System develop an early warning module based on clearly defined and accepted political, economic, social, military and humanitarian indicators which shall be used to recommend the best course of action.[33]

In the area of co-ordination and collaboration, the PSC will have to be pro-active in working with the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) to move towards harmonization and common standards. As regards practical modalities of collaboration, the Protocol, states that: "*in order to ensure close harmonization and co-ordination and facilitate regular exchange of information, the Chairperson of the AU Commission shall convene periodic meetings*".[34] Furthermore, the Protocol states that: "*In order to ensure co-ordination and co-operation the AU Commission shall establish liaison offices to the RECs*".[35]

The Protocol identifies the critical utility of harmonizing the various early warning systems developed by RECs. The AU recognizes that the RECs at various levels in the development of their respective systems. The AU system will engage the RECs both in the definition of indicators, support the development process of the Early Warning System (EWS) of the RECs, the exchange of analysis and interpretation of crisis issues and other situations, and support response strategies as may be developed both at the RECs and through the PSC. The harmonization process will work towards a continental wide EW framework development. As an open system, the CEWS will cooperate with a number of African and international partners, including the UN and NGOs.[36]

٣. *The pane of the Wise*:

With an aim to supporting the efforts of the PSC and those of the Chairperson of the Commission, particularly in the area of conflict prevention, as well as to advise the PSC and the Chairperson of the Commission on issues pertaining to the promotion and maintenance of peace, security and stability in Africa, the Protocol of the PSC indicates that a Panel of the Wise shall be established of five highly respected African personalities from various segments, on the basis of regional

representation and appointed by the Assembly to serve for the period of three years.[37] They are elected by the Chairperson of the Commission after consultation with Member states concerned.[38] The Panel of the Wise shall report to the PSC, and through the PSC, to the Assembly.[39]

The Panel of the Wise was inaugurated on 18 December 2007. The members of the Panel of the Wise, who were elected in January 2007, are respected and distinguished statesmen, namely Salim Ahmed Salim, former Secretary of the OAU (East Africa), Ahmed Ben Bella, former President of Algeria (North Africa), Miguel Trovoada, former President of Sao Tome and Principe (Central Africa); and respected women who had reputable domestic institutions: Brigalia Bam, Chairperson of the independent Electoral Commission of South Africa (Southern Africa), and Elisabeth K. Pognon, President of the Constitutional Court of Benin (West Africa).[40]

While the general mission of the Peace and Security Council is to respond to and manage conflicts in Africa, the Panel has four main tasks: Conflict Prevention or Preventive Diplomacy (*The Panel is charged with opening channels of communication that would prevent disputes from escalating into conflict*); Early warnings (*The Panel carries out fact finding missions where there is a danger of conflict either breaking out or seriously escalating*); Conflict Resolution (*The Panel encourages conflicting parties or belligerents to the negotiating table);* Conflict Settlement (*The Panel enhances the implementation of Peace Agreements*).[41]

In most parts of indigenous Africa, the concept of the wise is embodied in the belief that holds the elderly as custodians of wisdom for conflict prevention and peaceful settlement of disputes.[42] It is therefore not surprising that a mechanism bearing the brand "Panel of the Wise" was established in the African Peace and security Architecture.[43]

4. African Standby Force

To enable the AU to respond to threats and breaches of the peace on the continent, African leaders have called for the creation of multinational African armed force ready to intercede in situations of armed conflict or genocide. The African Chiefs of Defense Staff (ACDS) recently laid the groundwork for a continent-wide force that would be able to respond to requests for African Union, United Nations, or regional

monitoring, peacekeeping, and peace enforcement (intervention) missions. The AU also plans to manage a standby system that would include a roster of military observers, civilian and police components.[44]

It is within this framework that a mechanism was put in place in the protocol relating to the establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, which provides for the establishment of a Pan-African Standby Force to be created on the basis of regional mechanisms.

By the provisions of the Peace and Security Council Protocol, the African Standby Force will be composed of standby multidisciplinary contingents, with civilian and military components located in their countries of origin and ready for rapid deployment at appropriate notice. It further states that the African Standby Force shall, *inter alia*, perform functions in the following areas:[45]

- *O*bservation and monitoring missions;
- *O*ther types of peace support missions;
- *I*ntervention in a Member State;
- *P*reventive deployment;
- *P*eace-building, including post-conflict disarmament and demobilization;
- *H*umanitarian assistance to alleviate the suffering of civilian population in conflict areas and support efforts to address major natural disasters; and any other functions as may be mandated by the Peace and Security Council or the Assembly.

Other provisions of the Constitutive Act also have direct linkages with peace and security. These include an article related to the establishment of a Common Defense Policy; and article, which deals with right of the Union to intervene in a Member State in specific grave circumstances; and another article on the right of Member States to request intervention by the Union in order to restore peace and security. The African Defense Policy serves as a reference for all initiatives aimed at promoting peace and security.[46]

5. *The Peace Support Fund (Peace Facility Fund):*

In the face of limited financial resources that need to the required cost of managing conflict, particularly through peace support operations, a peace support facility has been established for the following purposes:

- *T*o support the implementation of the continental peace and security policy that has been designed;
- *T*o increase the capacity of the AU and sub-regional African organizations in the planning and conduct of African peace support operations on the continent conducted by African forces; and
- *T*o effectively and efficiently support the conduct of African peace support operations for which this project will provide part of the finances. The number of operations might vary depending on the actual cost, duration, mandate, size, etc., but for the purpose of this proposal indicative number of six to ten operations is envisaged.

However, the project intends to achieve the following results: [47]

- *T*he AU is developing a comprehensive policy on peace keeping and peace support on the continent. This includes close cooperation and coordination with sub-regional bodies with a mandate on peace keeping and peace support within the sub-region;
- *T*he AU and sub-regional organization will have increased their capability to respond quickly and efficiently to opportunities for peace, which requires the sending of African peace support force in close coordination with the UN; and
- *E*ffectively establish peace support operations on the ground in Africa.

Currently the Peace Facility is operating with an amount of EURO ٢٥٠ million allocated by the EU Commission.

Conclusion

The AU is aware of the fact that efforts for building Africa's capacity to manage all aspects of conflict must focus on the means necessary to strengthen existing regional and sub-regional institutions, especially in four key areas:

- *P*revention, management and resolution of conflict;
- *P*eacemaking, peacekeeping and peace enforcement;
- *P*ost-conflict reconciliation and reconstruction; and
- *C*ombating the illicit proliferation of small arms, light weapons and landmines.

However, the AU Commission tasked itself to speed up the establishment of the Continental Peace and Security Architecture, with particular emphasis on the African Standby Force (ASF), the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) and the Memorandums of Understanding between the AU and the Regional Mechanisms for conflict prevention and resolution.

Moreover, the AU continues to work in concert with many other prominent stakeholders, among which the United Nations and regional mechanisms. The complexity of the situation that needs to be managed is such that it requires effective co-ordination of efforts based on the comparative advantages of the respective organization concerned. Undoubtedly, this entails development of a dynamic and flexible cooperation framework, which would allow for more effective response to the challenges of peace and security.

Causes of conflicts in Africa are multi-dimensional, but poverty remains one of the most serious trigger of deadly conflict, and often coupled with weakness of post-conflict state in Africa. One of the objectives of the Strategic Framework of the Commission of the African Union will therefore be to find how best to stimulate sustainable economic development which is fundamental in eradicating poverty. Also, lack of good governance and democracy, negation of individual and collective rights and shortcomings in matters relating to the culture of peace have significant role to play in explaining the causes of conflicts and internal upheavals in African countries (coup d'état, civil wars, etc.). It is therefore, a priority is given to a creation of governance mechanisms capable of promoting peace, stability and human security thereby reducing the causes of conflict in the continent.

The promotion of peace and human security also requires that sustained efforts be deployed in many related area such as illegal natural resources exploitation and international inciminalty, all of which help the scourge of conflict to be accorded to problems such as disarmament (small arms and light weapons, anti-personnel mines, chemical and nuclear weapons) and terrorism.

The objective is to ensure effective operationalization of existing continental and international instruments, particularly through the

strengthening of the capabilities of Member States to honour their commitments.

In the area of peace building, the Protocol of the PSC also contains detailed provisions on post-conflict reconstruction and peace consolidation.[٤٨] Among them an article that stipulates "to assist Member States that have been adversely affected by violent conflicts, the PSC shall undertake the consolidation of the peace agreements that have been negotiated" and also "undertake the activity of the implementation of disarmament, demobilization and integration programs including those for child soldiers".[٤٩]

Furthermore, the protocol emphasizes the link between prevention of conflict and consolidation of peace, and mandates the PSC to "take all measures that are required in order to prevent a conflict for which a settlement has already been reached from escalation".[٥٠] The objective is to ensure that societies emerging from conflict do not relapse into violence. To this end, the AU has suggest a framework for post-conflict reconstruction and development which outlines a comprehensive strategy that would consolidate peace, prevent a relapse into conflict, and guide affected countries towards rehabilitation and reconstruction. The AU strategic framework on post-conflict reconstruction and development comprises six constitutive elements, namely, security; political governance and transition; human rights, justice and reconciliation; humanitarian assistance; and socio-economic development; and gender.

Needless to mention that the protection of human rights is central to any post-conflict reconstruction and consolidation effort. This is because human rights abuses in the form of policies of marginalization, identity-based discrimination, and perceptions of injustices can trigger or perpetuate conflicts. Furthermore, most conflicts are characterized by human rights abuses resulting in physical and psychological trauma, distrust of government authorities and inter-communal mistrust – all of which require focused attention as part of reconstitution of society.

In the final analysis, the ultimate objective of the Continental Peace and Security Architecture is to underpin the creation of the necessary condition for development and contribute to poverty reduction. Violent conflicts destroy development efforts and lead to suspensions and

reduction of programs, thus increasing poverty. It is now widely understood that there can be no development without peace and security. Moreover, promotion of human rights in Africa will enable the continent to consolidate and even broaden the gains made in other areas.

Finally, the need to redouble efforts for conflict prevention should be understood. It holds the key for promotion of lasting peace and stability. The success of efforts in this direction supposes not only a more dynamic approach on the part of PSC, bur also greater cooperation of all the actors concerned.

Endnotes

¹ Peace and security architecture, whether at societal, sub-regional, regional or international level, refers to organizations, mechanisms, instruments and relationships through which the international, regional and local communities undertake conflict management, conflict prevention and peace-building

³ http://gsdrc.org/go/conflict/chapter-٥-intervening-in-conflict-affected -areas

⁴ See the report of the Secretary-General on the Establishment, within the OAU, of a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. *The report was adopted in the thirties year of the OAU Assembly of Head of State and Government on* ٢٩ *June* ١٩٩٣, *during its Twenty-ninth Ordinary session held from* ٢٨ *to* ٣٠ *June* ١٩٩٣, *in Cairo, Egypt.*

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ohlson T, "Understanding Causes of War and Peace", European Journal of International Relations, Volume ١٤, No. ١, ٢٠٠٨, PP ١٣٣-١٦٠.

⁷ See the OAU Charter and Rules of procedure, Article III. ٤.

⁸ Polhenus James Higbie, The Organization of African Unity and Intrasystem Conflict Management ١٩٦٣-١٩٦٨, Duke University Phd; ١٩٧١, p ١١٣.

⁹ Festus B. Aboagye, "Motivations and dynamic issues of post-conflict war security issues in Africa". Comlex Emergencies in the ٢١ˢᵗ century: Challenges of New Africa's Strategic Peace and Security Policy Issues, Edited by Festus B. Aboogaye, ISS Monograph Series, No.١٣٤, May ٢٠٠٧, Page ١.

¹⁰ Ulf Engel and Joao Gomes Porto "Africa's New Peace and Security Architecture", Africa's New Peace and Security Architecture: Promoting Norms, Institutionalizing Solutions, Edited by Ulf Engel and Joao Gomes Porto,Ashgate Publishing Company, Surrey GU٩ ٧PT, England, pp ١-٥.

¹¹ Ibid, pp ١-٥.

¹² Monde Muyangnwa and Margaret A. Vogt, An assessment of the OUA Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution ١٩٩٣-٢٠٠٠, International Peace Academy, November ٢٠٠٠, New York , pp ١-٣

¹³ Ibid, pp ١-٣.

¹⁴ Ibid, pp ١-٣.

¹⁵ Constitutive Act of the AU.

¹⁶ See www.aupeace.org

¹⁷ A study report on donor contributions to the strengthening of the APSA, prepared by the German   Development Institute (DIE), Tulpenfeld,٦،٥٣١, Bonn, Germany, page ٢.

[18] The 8 Regional Economic Community are: 1) Arab Maghreb Union (UMA), 2) Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), 3) Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), 4) Southern Africa Development (SADC), 5) Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), 6) Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, 7) East African Community, 8) Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD).

[19] Ibid, page 3.

[20] Alex Vines and Roger Middleton, Options for the EU to support APSA, Feb 2008, See www.chathamhouse.org.uk/publications/papers/view/_/id/625

[21] http://ec.europa.eu/development/geographical/europe/cases/africa-en-strategy-en.html.

[22] The PSC Protocol, Article 5(2).

[23] A study report on donors contributions to the strengthening of the APSA, prepared by the German Development Institute (DIE)m Tulpenfeld,6, 513, Bonn, Germany.

[24] PSC Protocol, Article 8(6).

[25] Ibid, Article 2(1).

[26] Ibid, Article 2(2)

[27] Ibid, Article 3.

[28] Rules of Procedures of the PSC of the AU, Rules 2,3,4 and 6.

[29] Ibid, Rule 15,2(a&b), 3 and 4.

[30] Ibid.

[31] PSC Protocol, Article 12(1)

[32] Ibid, Article 12(2).

[33] Ibid, Article 12(4).

[34] Ibid, Article 16(4).

[35] Ibid, Article 16(8).

[36] Ibid, Article 17.

[37] PSC Protocol, Article 11

[38] Ademola Jegede, "The African Peace and Security architecture: Can the Panel of the Wise make a difference", African Human Rights Law Journal, Negotiation and Conflict Management Group, NA, page 417.

[39] PSC Protocol, Article 11

[40] AU Doc Assembly/AU/Dec 152 (VIII)

[41] www.gwane.com/2010/04/the-panel-of-the-wise-and-early-warning-systems-in-Africa

[42] Ibid.`

[43] Ademola Jegede, Ibid, Page 416.

⁴⁴ PSC Protocol, Articles ١،٢،٣،٤،٥،٦،٧،٨،٩،١٠

⁴⁵ PSC Protocol, Article ١٣

⁴⁶ Constitutive Act of the AU, Article ٤(d,h and J).

⁴⁷http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/acp/regional-cooperation/peace/capacity_building/apsa_en.htm

⁴⁸ PSC Protocol, Article ١٤.

⁴⁹ Ibid, Article ١٤ (٣).

⁵⁰ Ibid, Article ٩(١).