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How much Weight for Military Capabilities? Africa's New Peace and Security Architecture and the Role of External Actors

Stephan Klingebiel

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Abbreviations

ACCORD	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
ACOTA	African Contingency Operations Training Assistance
AHSI	African Human Security Initiative
APFO	African Peace Forum
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
BMVg	Federal Ministry of Defence
BMZ	Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
CADSP	Common African Defence and Security Policy
CEWS	Continental Early Warning System
DFID	Department for International Development
DPI	Department of Public Information (UN)
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDF	European Development Fund
EIPC	Enhanced International Peacekeeping Capabilities
ESS	European Security Strategy
EU	European Union
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
GTZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
HIIK	Heidelberger Institut für Internationale Konfliktforschung
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Networks
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
KAIPTC	Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MOD	Ministry of Defense
MONUC	Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en République Démocratique du Congo
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NRF	NATO Response Force
OAU	Organisation for African Unity
PSC	Peace and Security Council
PSTC	Peace Support Training Centre
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WANEP	West African Network for Peace
ZIF	Zentrum für Internationale Friedenseinsätze

Summary

Peace and security have become a priority issue for the African continent itself, but also for the international community. The dynamics that Africa has developed on its own as well as the dynamics currently involved in outside support for Africa are concerned not exclusively but in large measure with military capabilities. In fact, there have in the past been only too many examples that clearly indicate that mechanisms put in place by African nations themselves (e.g. the Organisation for African Unity) or by the international community have been unwilling or unable to intervene militarily in extreme emergency situations to protect civilian populations.

Against this background, the present paper will outline the conflict situation given in Africa at present; in doing so, it will seek to determine (i) what the constitutive elements of the new African peace and security architecture are, (ii) how and in what form external actors are supporting African efforts in this regard, and (iii) what shape future challenges may take on. The paper will furthermore discuss whether the ongoing debate on the military dimension is more an indication of a "backlog" of issues that demand more attention, or whether the discussion must instead been seen as an indication of an overly narrow focus on the military. And not least, the paper will look into the implications all this has for development policy.

The present paper comes to the conclusion that the ongoing African efforts and measures aimed at implementing a new peace and security architecture must, on the whole, be seen as positive. However, there are still a number of structural deficits that must be overcome to implement a truly effective peace and security architecture. The efforts currently being undertaken by external actors in this field must be seen as positive. However, it would certainly not be advisable to concentrate solely on military security. There is, on the one hand, a need to enlarge the options available for short-term responses and peace missions. Seen in these terms, there is certainly still much work to be done in this area. On the other hand, this should not be allowed to obscure the fact that it is essential to assign high priority to long-term efforts.

1 Emergence of a more effective peace and security architecture in Africa?[1]

Peace and security have become a priority issue for the African continent itself, but also for the international community. While it is true that this issue has in the past been recognized as one of the most urgent challenges facing the continent, it had until recently not gained the marked profile it is coming to have as a political priority for concrete political approaches and efforts both inside and outside Africa. The basic parameters involved have clearly shifted in the direction of greater visibility and a heightened will to act.

The dynamics that Africa has developed on its own as well as the dynamics currently involved in outside support for Africa are concerned in large measure with military capabilities. In fact, there have in the past been only too many examples that clearly indicate that mechanisms put in place by African mechanisms themselves (e.g. the Organisation for African Unity) or by the international community have been unwilling or unable to intervene militarily in extreme emergency situations to protect civilian populations. Furthermore, numerous critical doubts have been expressed regarding the motives informing military actions that have been undertaken by African or external actors.

The immediate importance of the new peace and security architecture is bound up with a number of different factors, some of which are interlinked:

1. The creation of the African Union (AU) in 2002 must be seen as a step of crucial importance toward developing a new peace and security architecture. In structural terms, the AU offers a set of entirely new conditions, whereas the Organisation for African Unity (OAU), its predecessor organization, was marked by a largely unsatisfactory record in the field of peace and security. In connection with some positive developments at the regional level[2] and in conjunction with the NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development) initiative, the AU is now seen as constituting an interesting "African reform program" designed at the same time to set new, African political accents while at the same time consciously seeking support from abroad.

2. The dynamics developed by African reform efforts have been accompanied by an altered outside perception of Africa's growing significance for international politics. Today more attention is being paid to Africa's role in international relations than at the end of the 1990s.[3] This greater measure of attention is associated only in part with ongoing efforts to reduce poverty (keyword: Millennium Development Goals – MDGs) and re-

1 The present paper speaks deliberately of Africa and sub-Saharan Africa. Many ongoing efforts – in particular those of the African Union and NEPAD – are continental in scope, i.e. approaches that embrace Africa as a whole. However, a number of different questions and issues (e.g. those bearing on the social and economic conditions currently involved) are relevant either exclusively or primarily for sub-Saharan Africa. This is the reason why the present paper draws a distinction between Africa and sub-Saharan Africa.

2 The present paper distinguishes between the continental and the regional levels. The term regional level refers to regional arrangements within Africa (e.g. those specified by the AU's Peace and Security Council; see Chapter 3) or groupings like the Southern African Development Community (SADC) or the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). But in some cases reference is also made to a "regional" or "subregional" level in connection with Africa as a whole or with individual regions of Africa.

3 The 1998 bombing attacks on the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam served, for a time, to focus world attention on this dimension.

dress structural deficits, especially in sub-Saharan Africa; in fact, it has far more to do with new political priorities in international relations. In the context of the new international security agenda, Africa has come to be seen as a continent that is highly relevant in terms of security policy. As a report by the US Council on Foreign Affairs (Atwood / Browne / Lyman 2004, 2) rightly notes, "*Africa affects the G8's global interests in security*." Political structures and dynamics, factors bound up with stability and instability, have become a key issue for both scholarly and political approaches to the continent. Against this background, Africa must be seen as in the process of developing into a continent in which increasing international capacities for peace missions are concentrated.

3. Apart from the global security perspective, one other reason can be cited for the geostrategic renaissance currently being experienced by Africa. Some African regions are becoming important world oil suppliers. First and foremost the US, but also other countries, like China, are increasingly coming to view parts of the continent from the angle of energy security.

4. Against the background of Africa's reform dynamics and the new security agenda, external actors have started adapting their instruments and rethinking their options. Following a series of disappointing and in part problematic peace missions in the 1990s (above all in Angola, Rwanda, Somalia, and Liberia),[4] the UN Security Council has begun to renew its peace-related efforts on the African continent (Burundi, Côte d' Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo (DR Congo), Liberia, to cite just a few). An growing role is being played in this connection by some new, direct approaches – even including new military concepts – pursued by development policy and aimed at strengthening Africa's peace and security architecture.[5]

5. An additional factor is that more and more cross-cutting approaches are being sought and used that integrate elements from the fields of foreign, security, and development policy. Interfaces and overlaps between civil and military spheres have grown at a striking pace in recent years. Approaches cutting across policy fields have come to be a challenge for donors, first and foremost as far as sub-Saharan Africa is concerned.[6] This applies for bilateral donors no less than it does for the United Nations and the European Union (EU).

Against this background, the present paper will outline the conflict situation given in Africa at present (Chapter 2); in doing so, it will seek to determine (i) what the constitutive elements of the new African peace and security architecture are (Chapter 3), (ii) how and in what form external actors are supporting African efforts in this regard (Chapter 4), and (iii) what shape future challenges may take on. The paper will furthermore discuss whether the ongoing de-

4 See Secretary General 2004: 8f. See also Debiel 2002; Kühne 2003; Matthies 2003.

5 See Chapter 4.

6 One aspect of crucial importance for the debates currently underway is that, in recent years, various concepts of "security" on the one hand and "development" on the other have begun to converge. The ongoing debate is being conducted against the background of a series of goal convergences that, while not complete, have shown signs of relative progress; in the past there was no such convergence, and the result was a set of separate discourses in the fields of development, security, and foreign policy. This growing convergence has found expression in concepts such as "human security," "extended security," and, most recently, the "new security consensus" (see UN Panel 2004, 1).

bate on the military dimension is more an indication of a "backlog" of issues that demand more attention, or whether the discussion must instead been seen as an indication of an overly narrow focus on the military (Chapter 5). And not least, the paper will look into the implications all this has for development policy.

2 The given situation on the ground: positive tendencies, but at the same time persistence of violent conflict and structural conflict potentials

Sub-Saharan Africa continues to be the world region hardest hit by violent conflict and war.[7] According to African Union estimates, Africa has, since the 1960s, been affected by roughly 30 violent conflicts that have claimed the lives of some seven million persons[8] and cost the continent close to US$ 250 billion.[9]

Despite this concentration of violent conflict and war, a number of positive tendencies can also be observed. In his "*Report on the causes of conflict and promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa*" (August 2004), Secretary-General Kofi Annan notes an overall decline in the number of affected African countries. According to the report (Secretary-General 2004, 2 f.), six African countries are currently faced with situations of armed conflict and a small number of others are beset by serious political crisis. For comparison: The first such report of the UN General-Secretary (1998) pointed to 14 African countries affected by armed conflict and 11 grappling with profound political crisis.

Armed conflicts and instabilities can today be observed above all in parts of West Africa, in the Great Lakes region, in Sudan, and on the Horn of Africa. Even these continuing crises and instabilities are momentous in their scope and implications. While peace talks and accords as well as intermittent cease-fire agreements have, in some cases, lead to tenuous successes, they have not (yet) been able to set the stage for a durable end of conflict and crisis (here one need only think e.g. of Côte d' Ivoire, Burundi, the DR Congo, and Sudan).

According to the UN General-Secretary, most African countries are marked by relatively stable political conditions and are ruled on the basis of democratically elected structures, although the Secretary-General also noted that relatively little progress has been made in some important dimensions of governance (Secretary-General 2004, 19).

We can, in other words, note some individual positive developments. As far as crisis and conflict potentials are concerned, however, there continue to be good reasons to anticipate a high level of vulnerability. To cite several of them:[10]

- Following the line of argumentation set out in the study *Breaking the Conflict Trap* (Collier et al. 2003, 93 ff.) as well as similar statements in the *Report of the High-level Panel*

7 See e.g. HIIK 2004, 5 f. and 16 ff. For a topical overview, see Mehler 2004.

8 According to their estimates, the number of people who have lost their lives as a direct result of war and violent conflict in Africa is far higher.

9 See the IRIN (Integrated Regional Information Networks) report of 28 June 2004: "*African Union stresses importance of conflict resolution and peacekeeping*."

10 The points noted here should not be seen as a complete and final list, they are meant more as indications that armed conflict and crisis are likely to remain a central issue.

on Threat, Challenges and Change (UN Panel 2004, 15), the significant indicators for the likelihood of armed conflict include in particular: (i) low income, (ii) negative or weak economic growth, and (iii) a high level of dependence on primary goods. Accordingly, there is reason to assume that the structural risks facing sub-Saharan Africa are extraordinarily high.

- The deteriorating living conditions for young people, in particular high unemployment rates and the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS, harbor substantial destabilization potentials for large parts of sub-Saharan Africa (Secretary-General 2004, 19; UN Panel 12, 15, 24 f.).[11]

- There is, moreover, a close correlation between vulnerability to conflict and crisis on the one hand and the quality of governance on the other:

  "Good governance and conflict prevention in Africa are two sides of the same coin. The key early indicators of intra-state conflict and regional instability have repeatedly proven to be an abuse of power and transgression of human rights, bad governance and circumstances of democracy – soon resulting in substantial refugee flows and the internal displacement of people." (Cilliers / Sturman 2004, 101)[12]

- Despite some incipient efforts (in particular on the part of the African Peer Review Mechanism (in the framework of NEPAD), the ongoing endeavors of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA)), as well reports on some progress being made in individual areas, there are still a number of fields in which little progress has been made. In many African countries marked deficits are still to be found in areas that include democratic governance structures, administrative capacities, independence of the judiciary, transparency, and accountability.[13]

- Viewed in terms of stability and security, it is evident that a number of sub-Saharan African countries and regions are still marked by structural deficits. In view of the dimension of the problem and additional difficulties hampering scopes of political action, it must be assumed that the problem posed by unstable "large states" will continue to dog Africa in the future. Tendencies working toward destabilization may be aggravated by long and difficult-to-control external borders, large territorial dimensions, and, in some cases, low population densities. With the important exception of South Africa, all of the large countries in sub-Saharan Africa are "*... dysfunctional politically, economically, and socially. In the present conditions, these states do not serve the interests of their citizens, their neighbors, or the broader international community.*" (Ottaway / Herbst / Mills 2004, 2).

To sum up: Viewed against the background of acute and anticipated armed conflict, it must be said that the need to continue on with the debate over an effective and appropriate peace and security architecture is a priority of the very first order.

---

11 The line of argumentation of Collier et al. 2003 is focused in part on these phenomena.

12 Moore (2003) argues in a similar vein.

13 The first comprehensive, continent-wide governance report (ECA 2004) provides an interesting and in-depth analysis concerning this complex point. It notes progress in the fields of democratic transition, greater political inclusion and improved accountability structures and public budget management. However: "*Although our study shows considerable progress to report on many fronts, it also highlights many deficits. It is evident that much more has to be achieved before we can say that the capable state is the norm in Africa*." (ECA 2004: vi). See also: Secretary-General (2004, 19).

Map 1: War and armed conflict in Africa, 2004

Source: Arbeitsgemeinschaft Kriegsursachenforschung (AKUF)

3 The new peace and security architecture

3.1 Pillars of the new peace and security architecture

Nearly three years after the African Union (AU) was founded in Durban, reform of the continent's peace and security architecture has started to develop a pronounced and visible dynamic.

> *"The nature, scope and orientation of the activities of the African Union are vastly different from those of its predecessor, the Organization of African Unity."* (Secretary-General 2004, 20)

While the OAU was never able to assume a genuine role as a force for change, it was Africa's regional structures in particular – to the extent that they proved workable in the first place – that played this role in the past. This goes especially for the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) (see Bekoe / Mengistu 2002; Hettmann 2004) and, to a lesser extent, for the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) (see Terlinden 2004).

The AU has entailed a fundamental shift, one that has involved anchoring the issue of peace and security at the continental level, but without depriving regional institutions and arrangements of their important tasks.

What, concretely, are these fundamental differences that would seem to justify a relatively positive appraisal of the AU only a few years after it was founded?

In all, we can – in part with reservations – identify seven important pillars on which the new architecture rests:[14]

Departure from the former policy of indifference

First, the AU's fundamental disposition is geared to constructively addressing challenges presenting themselves in the field of peace and security. While the OAU was predicated on noninterference and nonintervention, the AU envisions for itself a role of responsibility and has been moving away from a policy of indifference . On this issue the AU's founding document, the Constitutive Act, states (Article 4) that the Union shall function in accordance with the following principles:

> *"(h) the right of the Union to intervene in a Member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity;*
>
> *(…)*
>
> *(j) the right of Member States to request intervention from the Union in order to restore peace and security."*

This altered self-conception has far-reaching implications for the AU's tasks and duties.[15]

Nexus of security and development

Second, there is, in connection with both the AU and NEPAD, a new consensus on the close interrelation between security and development. Security is generally acknowledged to be the central precondition for development. In some quarters the security dimension is accorded priority[16] or armed conflict is expressly seen as a central obstacle to reaching the MDGs in

14 On the AU structures involved, see the following publications: Golaszinski 2004; Cilliers / Sturman 2004; Mwabasali 2004; Pabst 2004; Gottschalk / Schmidt 2004; Wiesmann 2004, some of which go into great depth.

15 For an in-depth discussion, see Kiko 2003.

16 The Chairperson of the AU, Konaré, for instance, notes that "[*s*]*ecurity is the African Union's priority"*, http://www.african-geopolitics.org/show.aspx?articleid=3669 (last accessed on: 01 Dec. 2004).

Africa.[17] What this implies is an enlargement of the degree of self-responsibility for progress in development that the continent is prepared to assume.

Responsibility of continental mechanisms

Third, the AU has explicitly formulated a self-responsible and emancipated peace and security policy. The AU has on numerous occasions pointed to its paramount responsibility for providing for peace and security on the African continent in keeping with arrangements at the UN level ("*African solutions to African problems*"). It has in this way made it expressly clear that engagement of other countries in this area is welcome only under the condition that these countries are prepared to cooperate within the framework of AU approaches, and that they are invited to do so.

One contradictory aspect here would appear to be the continent's material and financial reliance on the external resources it needs to build the appropriate infrastructure and to conduct possible military missions (e.g. Darfur/Sudan).

Moreover, at its 2nd Extraordinary Assembly in February 2002 in Libya, the AU adopted a Common African Defence and Security Policy (CADSP). It should be underscored in this connection that the CADSP centers on the concept of "human security" instead of a narrowly defined security concept geared to military action.

Peace and security infrastructure

Fourth, the AU has built up a comprehensive array of organizational capacities and structures in the area.

The AU's central organ in here is the Peace and Security Council (PSC). The PSC has been operational since December 2003 (first session: 16 March 2004), when the relevant protocol entered into force. The PSC is composed of 15 rotating members (five members elected for a three-year term and 10 members elected for a two-year term) who represent Africa's five regions. Interestingly, every member of the PSC is required to meet certain conditions bearing on contributions to peace missions and "*respect for constitutional governance as well as the rule of law and human rights.*"[18] However, not all PSC members can be seen as having met these conditions. Since its establishment the PSC has considered a number of situations, including Burundi, Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire, Eritrea, and Ethiopia.[19]

17 E.g. by Tidjane Thiam, Commissioner for Peace and Security on the UK-led Commission for Africa, http://www.odi.org. uk/speeches/africa2004/meeting_9nov/print-friendly.html (last accessed on: 30 Nov. 2004).

18 See Article 5 of the Protocol establishing the PSC.

19 UN Secretary-General's Report names a total of 14 situations which the PSC had considered by August 2004 (Secretary-General 2004, 10). For the present state, see the documentation on the AU's website (http://www.africa-union.org).

Regional association of African countries in connection with the PSC and current PSC members
West Africa: Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana**, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria***, Senegal**, Sierra Leone, Togo**
Central Africa: Equatorial Guinea, Burundi, Gabon***, Cameroon**, Democratic Republic of Congo, Republic of Congo**, São Tomé and Principe, Chad, Central African Republic
East Africa: Ethiopia***, Djibouti, Eritrea, Kenya**, Comoros, Madagascar, Mauritius, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, Sudan**, Tanzania, Uganda
North Africa: Egypt, Algeria***, Libya**, Tunisia, Western Sahara
Southern Africa: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho**, Malawi, Mozambique**, Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa***, Swaziland
Explanatory notes: ** – PSC member, two-year term *** – PSC member, three -year term

1. The AU Commission, a support structure and one of the Union's organs, contains a Peace and Security Directorate.

   The overall objective of the Peace and Security Directorate is the maintenance of peace, security and stability through the coordination and promotion of African and other initiatives on conflict prevention, management and resolution within the context of the UN.[20]

   The fact that this directorate is the largest of the Commissions departments indicates the importance attached to the issue, but also the current priorities of donors, which have shown great interest in developing the directorate.[21]

2. There are also a number of other structures in the process of development that are likely to prove relevant for the Union's future peace and security architecture. This goes above all for the innovative role played by the Panel of the Wise, a consultative body, and the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) (see ISS 2004a).

Military capabilities

Fifth, the AU has decided to build an African Standby Force (ASF) by the year 2010. The ASF is to have a force level of 15,000 troops and to be made up of five regional standby brigades. The ASF is of central importance for an effective security policy that is to include military options, although it must be seen as a particularly ambitious undertaking in view of the highly divergent conditions prevalent in the five regions concerned; and thus far efforts in this direction have made most headway in West and East Africa. Additional difficulties are posed by funding[22] and structural problems, above all in connection with the question of what regional institutions should develop the standby brigades, an issue of some importance in view of the many overlapping memberships of individual AU countries in other organizations as well as of unclear divisions of responsibilities among regional institutions.[23]

20 Source: African Union, http://www.africa-union.org/home/Welcome.htm (last accessed on: Dec. 01 2004).

21 See Chapter 4.

22 See ISS 2004b.

23 See e.g. Alusala (2004) on relevant problems in eastern Africa.

At present it is realistic to proceed on the assumption of very weak military capabilities at both the continental and – above all – the regional level.[24]

Leadership

Sixth, in its founding phase the AU has been blessed with a number of recognizably constructive leaders, and it may thus be said to have started off with a set of relatively propitious framework conditions. In its Commission Chairperson Alpha Oumar Konaré and Commissioner for Peace and Security Said Djinnit, the AU has two leadership personalities respected throughout Africa and the world. The political weight of the current AU Chairperson Olusegun Obasanjo and the personal engagement of South African President Thabo Mbeki (e.g. in the ongoing conflict in Côte d'Ivoire) are visible signs of the AU's commitment in this regard.

Independent know-how

Seventh, in coming up with an overall picture of a functionally effective and legitimized peace and security architecture it is essential to bear in mind the important role played by African think tanks and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Institutions like the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), SaferAfrica, the Centre for Conflict Resolution, the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) (each based in South Africa), the African Peace Forum (APFO, Kenya), and the West African Network for Peace (WANEP, Ghana), as well as transboundary networks like the African Human Security Initiative (AHSI) are playing a major part in developing analytical capacities and broadening the debate on the continent. However, this know-how is concentrated in a limited number of countries (including perhaps chiefly South Africa).

3.2 First cases of application in practice

The African Union and the regional mechanisms have already become active in a number of different situations – not least the Darfur/Sudan crisis, with external support playing a major role in implementation:

- With its first African mission, the AU has taken a substantial step toward enhancing its operational effectiveness. The aim of the African Mission in Burundi (AMIB) was to provide a contribution to stabilizing the country. The mission was supported financially by the US, the UK, France, and the EU.[25] In 2004 the AMIB's task was taken over by a UN peacekeeping mission.

- The decision to embark on an African Mission in the Sudan (AMIS), which is set to reach a force level of 3320 troops, is more than likely to prove to be a milestone for the AU's

24 "*African regional and subregional organizations are nevertheless still extremely weak in planning, executing, and supporting peacekeeping operations*." (Atwood / Browne / Lyman 2004, 27).

25 See Atwood / Browne / Lyman 2004, 25, and Klingebiel / Roehder 2004, 15.

operational effectiveness. The mission, projected for one year, is expected to cost some € 178 million and will be supported mainly by the EU and the US.[26]

The manner in which the AU is dealing with the Darfur crisis in Sudan is generally seen as a test case for the operational effectiveness of the new peace and security architecture; and despite the Union's limited action radius, the AU's approach has generally been acknowledged to be highly constructive.

- Apart from continental peace missions, there have also been regional missions, above all those carried out by ECOWAS.[27] These would, for instance, include the ECOWAS peace mission in Liberia, which was supported mainly by the US, but also by the EU.[28]

4 New approaches of external actors

The new peace and security architecture is at the same time accompanied by changes in the policies pursued by external actors. Such policy changes among external actors can be observed at three levels: First, Africa is coming to play a more perceptible role in the international security agenda as well as in the ongoing (re)definition of geostrategic interests. Second, a certain measure of change can be observed in the willingness of external actors to commit themselves militarily and/or to dispatch peace missions to Africa. Third, among the concrete political options available, there appears to be a growing tendency to adopt joint approaches involving foreign, security, and development policy with a view to building and supporting the new African peace and security architecture.

4.1 Africa: the international security agenda and geostrategic considerations

Today Africa play a clearly more perceptible part in the security and geostrategic considerations of outside actors than it did in the 1990s. The debate in the US over Africa's new strategic significance is – despite its US-specific features – exemplary in this regard. The (US) Africa Policy Advisory Panel argues as follows:

> *"First, and arguably most profound, Africa has assumed a new, strategic place in U.S. foreign policy and in the definition of vital U.S. national interests. This shift moves the United States away from the past habit of treating Africa as a humanitarian afterthought and begins to reverse a decade-long decline in the United States' presence and engagement in Africa"*. (Africa Policy Advisory Panel 2004, 2)

While at the begin of his first term in office very little attention was paid to forging an American Africa policy, George W. Bush was the first Republican president to travel to sub-Saharan Africa (in 2003). Against the background of the struggle against international terrorism, Africa has likewise come to play an important role in the US National Security Strategy (Sep-

26 AU press release no. 098/2004 of 28 Oct. 2004 and the newspaper report "Darfur: EU unterstützt AU-Mission mit 80 Millionen Euro", (http://derstandard.at/druck/?id=1835483 (last accessed on: 25 Nov. 2004).

27 See Hettmann 2004 and Bekoe / Mengistu 2002.

28 See Atwood / Browne / Lyman 2004, 24, and Klingebiel / Roehder 2004, 15.

tember 2002).[29] The supposed link between fragile states on the one hand and international threats on the other is the important consideration here. After all, roughly one third of all African states are regarded as so unstable that they are unable to exercise effective control over the whole of their own national territory (e.g. in rural areas) and their borders (see Herbst / Mills 2003, 21).[30]

The European Security Strategy (ESS) adopted by the EU Council in December 2003 is of similar importance in this connection. Viewed against the background of new threat scenarios in the face of which the classic concepts of self-defense have lost much or their meaning, sub-Saharan Africa's crisis vulnerability is coming to play a growingly important role here. The ESS points in particular to the interdependence between the problems involved:

> *"Sub-Saharan Africa is poorer now than it was 10 years ago. In many cases, economic failure is linked to political problems and violent conflict"* (Council of the EU 2003, 3)[31]

Against the background of the traditionally import role it plays in Africa as well of as its G8 and EU presidency in 2005, the British government's aim is to accord the African continent a higher level of significance on the international agenda. The issue of peace and security is of high priority in this connection, as is indicated, for instance, by the work of the Commission for Africa recently set up by the British government (Commission for Africa 2004).

The discussion in Germany likewise clearly indicates that overall German policy is according Africa a relatively higher level of attention. Newly defined security parameters are one essential motive informing the German debate. Germany's increased interest in Africa has also found expression – among other things – in official high-level visits to Africa (e.g. in 2004 by German presidents Rau and Köhler, German Chancellor Schröder, and other members of the German government) dedicated not least to the issues of peace and security.

Stability and security rank high in recent German government documents dealing with Africa.[32] The German Foreign Office notes that both Germany and the other European nations have an immediate interest in security-related stability in sub-Saharan Africa. Accordingly, military and civil conflict prevention are playing an increasingly large role in cooperation with Africa.[33]

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29 *"Together with our European allies, we must help strengthen Africa's fragile states, help build indigenous capability to secure porous borders, and help build up the law enforcement and intelligence infrastructure to deny havens for terrorists. An ever more lethal environment exists in Africa as local civil wars spread beyond borders to create regional war zones...."* (Bush 2002, 10).

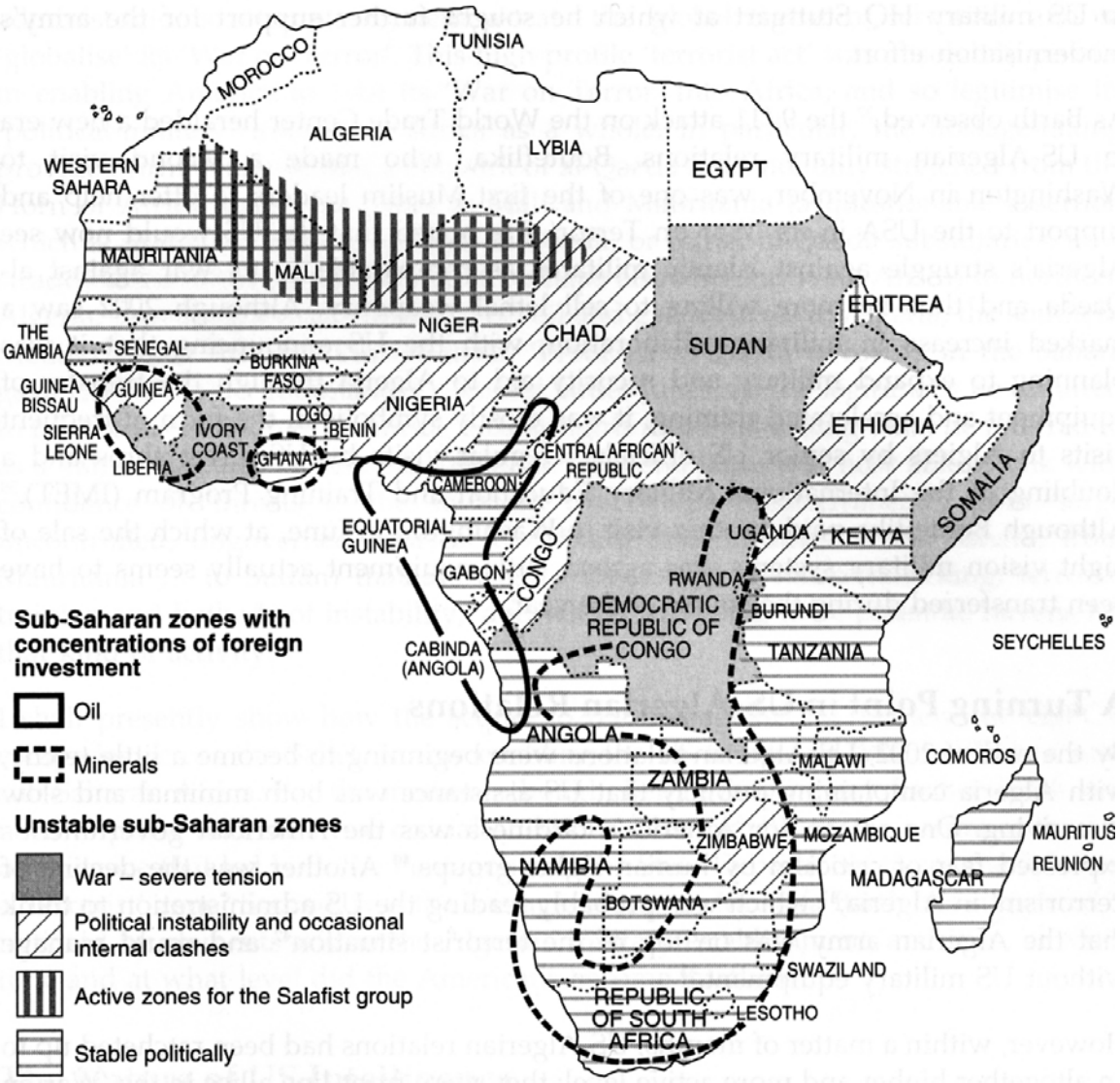
30 In this context HIV/AIDS is seen by many observers as one of the main destabilizing factors and hence as a risk potential.

31 German Defense Minister Peter Struck expresses himself in a similar vein: "*If we fail to invest today in development and stability outside NATO and the European Union, in the Near and Middle East, the Caspian region, southern Asia, and parts of Africa, it will bounce back on us as a security problem in Europe and the U.S.*" (Struck 2004, 22).

32 See e.g. the German Report on the Implementation of the G8 Africa Action Plan (Bundesregierung 2003), the German Foreign Office's Africa Strategy (Auswärtiges Amt 2003). And the Africa position paper issued by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ 2004). A broader analysis of Germany's Africa policy can be found in Engel / Kappel (eds.) 2002.

33 "*As far as security policy is concerned, while sub-Saharan Africa is free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and carrier systems, light and small arms (…) continue to be widespread in African crisis regions. Every year they are used to kill a large number of people. For international terrorism, sub-Saharan*

Map 2: Sub-Saharan Africa: Zones of stability and instability and concentrations of interests in the exploitation of oil and mineral resources[a]



a Salafist Group: Radical Islamist group

Source: Keenan 2004, 481

Africa is both a target area for attacks (e.g. Kenya and Tanzania), a base of operations, and, at least temporarily, a retreat area and training grounds for Islamist terrorists. There is a great risk that African raw materials, from diamonds to gold to coltan, may fall into the hands of terrorists. Europe is furthermore faced with security problems resulting from state failure. The breakdown of the state's monopoly on the use of force goes hand in hand with the exercise of criminal power and the unobstructed use of force. The resulting migration flows are mainly directed toward Europe. Germany and the other European nations therefore have an immediate interest in security-related stability in sub-Saharan Africa. Military and civil conflict prevention are assuming more and more importance in cooperation with Africa. Operation Artemis in the Democratic Republic of Congo, a joint effort of European Security and Defense policy, must be viewed in this context." (Auswärtiges Amt 2004a, 199 f).

The US sees Africa – above all West and Central Africa – as a region of growing importance for its oil supply. Strategic thinking in the US is coming more and more to be influenced by America's growing dependence on African oil – the US currently imports some 13–14 % of its oil from the region, a figure that is expected to rise to roughly 20 % in 10 years time – and this in turn has major consequences for the region's geostrategic weight (see Goldwyn / Ebel 2004; Keenan 2004, 478 f.).

4.2 Military interventions and peace missions

A good number of military interventions have already been conducted in Africa by external actors.[34] But in the recent past Africa has increasingly become a focus of international attention. Several interventions that have contributed (at least temporarily) to shifting a balance of power (e.g. in Sierra Leone or Côte d'Ivoire) or stabilizing a situation are good illustrations of the measure of influence that external actors may have in given cases (see Bayart 2004, 456).

- The African continent is increasingly becoming a focal point of United Nations peacekeeping missions. Of the 16 operations underway throughout the world on November 1, 2004, seven were concerned with Africa. The UN's annual budget (July 2004 to June 2005) has earmarked a total of US$ 3.87 for these missions; the percentage of these funds projected for measures in Africa is high – 74.5 %, or US$ 2.89. The worldwide largest mission, involving 14,500 troops, is currently underway in Liberia.[35]

- The EU's first out-of-area operation – a mission with a narrowly limited timeframe (from June to September 2003) – was carried out in Africa (Operation Artemis). The mission, conducted in the civil-war-stricken region of Bunia in the DR Congo, centered on protection of the local civilian population against attacks by warring militias. On request of the UN, the *Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en RD Congo* (MONUC) was provided military support by an EU-led multinational rapid-response force whose task it was to stabilize the security situation and to improve the population's humanitarian situation. The EU operation itself was led by France.[36]

- At present various actors are building the capacities needed for rapid military interventions. These include above all the NATO Response Force (NRF),[37] which reached its preliminary state of operational readiness in October 2004, and the European Union's battle-group concept. One reason why the battle-group concept is of particular significance in

34 See e.g. Pabst 2004.

35 Data from, and in part calculated on the basis of, United Nations Department of Public Information, Background Note, DPI/1634/Rev.41, November 2004.

36 See Auswärtiges Amt 2004a, 55 f., 68, and Bundesministerium der Finanzen, Monatsbericht 10/2003: Internationale Bundeswehreinsätze in 2003 und ihre Berücksichtigung im Bundeshaushalt, Berlin, and the German government press release of 01 Sept. 2003 “EU-Friedensmission im Kongo abgeschlossen”.

37 On the current state of the NRF, see the article “Die NATO Response Force (NRF)”, http://www.bmvg.de/sicherheit/nato/print/sivep_nato_nrf.php (last accessed on: 25 Nov. 2004). The NRF and battle-group approaches are complementary in nature.

this context is that it is designed above all for possible missions on the African continent.[38]

A concept on these battle groups was first agreed on bilaterally by the UK and France in November 2003; they were joined by Germany in February 2004; and finally, in November 2004, Europe-wide agreement was reached on the concept in the form of a joint initiative of the EU ministers of defense. The concept provides for a total of 13 battle groups, each of which is to include roughly 1500 troops and be available within 15 days for – among others – UN missions. Germany is contributing to four battle groups.[39] It remains unclear how, concretely, the battle-group concept can be linked to the African concepts and approaches mentioned in part above (African Standby Forces, and others).

- In Germany plans are maturing to deploy the Bundeswehr on the African continent. (i) The Bundeswehr was active in the framework of Operation Artemis in the summer of 2003.[40] (ii) Furthermore, in November 2004 the German government decided to provide air transport capacities to ferry troops to mission areas in which AMIS (African Mission in Sudan) is active. There are plans to deploy up to 200 Bundeswehr troops in this framework.[41]

- Military aid and military training programs provided for African partner countries mainly by the US[42] and other G8 countries (France, the UK, and others)[43] have moved more and more into the focus of public attention. At the 2004 G8 summit the US announced its intention to significantly increase the funds it provides in this area (US$ 660 million over five years), especially for Africa.[44]

4.3 Cross-policy-field and development-policy approaches to providing support for African capacities to undertake peace missions

One important feature of the support provided to develop African capacities in the field of peace and security must be seen in joint cross-policy-field approaches of external actors and

38 On the concept's focus on Africa, see e.g. the statements by Tony Blair, http://www.euobserver.com/?aid=17478&print=1 (last accessed on: 24 Nov. 2004) and the newspaper article "EU-Kampftruppen vor allem für Einsätze in Afrika vorgesehen", http://derstandard.at(druck/?id= 1864145 (last accessed on: 24 Nov. 2004).

39 See EU 2004a; Olshausen 2004, and the press release "Verteidigungsminister der Europäischen Union beschließen Battle Groups", http://www.bmvg.de/sicherheit/europa/print/041122_battlegroups.php (last accessed on: 23 Nov. 2004).

40 The mission was dispatched to stabilize the situation in the PR Congo; in this framework the Bundeswehr was deployed in Uganda. See German government press release of 01 Sept. 2003, "EU-Friedensmission im Kongo abgeschlossen."

41 See press release "Kabinett für Einsatz im Sudan", http://www.bmvg.de/sicherhei/print/041117_einsatz_sudan.php (last accessed on: 23.11.2004).

42 See e.g. Herbst / Lyman 2004, and Volman 2003.

43 See Atwood / Browne / Lyman 2004, 25 f.

44 See White House press release of 10 June 2004, "Fact Sheet: G-8 Action Plan: Expanding global capability for peace support operations." The press release specifies two programs that will benefit from these funds: (i) the African Contingency Operations Training Assistance program (ACOTA) and (ii) the Enhanced International Peacekeeping Capabilities program (EIPC).

the contributions of development policy. Both approaches are relative new and innovative. These are in part fundamental adjustments that go beyond the African continent. To cite a few important examples:

- The UN is increasingly interested in conducting comprehensive peace missions in Africa. Integrated missions with civil and military components were first conducted in Sierra Leone; others have since been carried out in other countries (Angola, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, and Liberia). The principle aim of these missions has been to provide targeted mutual support for development-related approaches (reconstruction efforts, transformation of the Revolutionary United Front into a political party, etc.) and coordinated peace missions aimed at stabilization (Secretary-General 2004, 8 f.).

- Since its 2002 summit in Kananaskis/Canada, the G8 has adopted an action plan (G8 Africa Action Plan) that, as one of the central priorities in its partnership with Africa, provides for support for African capacities to prevent and resolve armed conflict on the continent. In it, the G8 commits itself to:

  "Providing technical and financial assistance so that, by 2010, African countries and regional and sub-regional organizations are able to engage more effectively to prevent and resolve violent conflict on the continent, and undertake peace support operations in accordance with the United Nations Charter."

  At its summits in Evian / France in 2003 and Sea Island / US in 2004, the G8 worked out new plans to implement this objective. The G8 thus sees itself as an important motor and supporter of the efforts currently being undertaken on the African continent.

- The EU's Peace Facility for Africa has a major role to play in this context. The facility, which is based on a proposal by EU Commissioner Poul Nielson, was requested by the AU and has been available since May 2004. The Peace Facility is endowed with € 250 million from the 9th European Development Fund (EDF). Its purpose is to fund peacekeeping operations in Africa that are carried out and staffed by Africans. On request of the AU, the EU first, in June 2004, made € 12 million available and then, in October 2004, provided an additional € 80 million for the AU mission in Darfur.[45]

- In 2001 the British government set up two interdepartmental funding pools – one of the with a regional focus on Africa – designed to promote joint conflict-related projects of different ministries and departments. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), the Department for International Development (DFID), and the Ministry of Defense (MOD) are involved in the pools. The DFID is responsible for the Africa pool.[46]

- Various donors (Germany, Canada, etc.) are providing capacity-building support for the AU's Peace and Security Directorate, with the UN Development Programme playing a catalytic role (see Secretary-General 2004, 12).

45 See EU 2004b and EU press releases EU IP/04/727 of 10 June 2004 and IP/04/1306 of 26 Oct. 2004.

46 For more details, see Klingebiel / Roehder 2004, 29 ff.; DFID 2004 contains a summary of the results of a first evaluation.

- The support[47] Germany is providing for the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC)[48] is innovative in nature in that three ministries are contributing to the efforts. The Peace Support Training Centre (PSTC) in Nairobi is also receiving support from the German government (mainly through the BMZ).

The KAIPTC was set up in Accra in 1998 as a regional training center, one of the main aims being to tap Ghana's experience in peace missions and make it available to other African countries. The training program includes e.g. courses on military-police tasks as well as preparatory training for military observers. Germany, in the framework of the G8 Africa Action Plan, is using various instruments of its foreign, development, and defense ministries to support the development of the KAIPTC.[49]

5 Conclusions: Inconsistencies and dilemmas – chances and risks of the African peace and security agenda

5.1 Altered constellation of interests: intervention vs. nonintervention

It is noteworthy fact that Africa as a whole and sub-Saharan Africa in particular has in many different respects assumed a new and greater relevance for political action.[50] This (relative) increase in the continent's significance is in line with both African interests and the long-term interests of Germany, the EU, and the international community as a whole. It must certainly be regarded as reasonable that sub-Saharan Africa is increasingly coming to be seen as an "issue" not only for development policy but for other policy fields as well.

But this interest in Africa is also, and at the same time, instrumental in nature; it is concerned, in many respects, not with peace and security per se but with threats faced by third parties (especially the US and Europe) as well as with their concrete interests (energy supply, migration, etc.). Against this background, military approaches such as the battle-group concept should not be seen as a response to security interests that are primarily African in nature; indeed, in this framework Africa has become a potential operational area for new tasks that have been identified for military security policy.

The dilemma posed by the question of external military intervention and nonintervention, a legacy of the past, will become even more of a problem in the future. What military interven-

47 Other donors likewise regard the KAIPTC as an important project worthy of support.

48 See Klingebiel / Roehder 2004, 18; Bundesregierung 2003, 15 f.

49 The components involved include:

(i) Development of a model course on the use of civil forces for peacekeeping, funded by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and implemented by the Zentrum für Internationale Friedenseinsätze (ZIF); the Deutsche Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) is responsible for transacting the project.

(ii) Funds from the Federal Foreign Office are being used to build/equip the center; the Federal Ministry of Defence (BMVg) is in charge of implementation.

(iii) Support for training operations is provided by a German *Bundeswehr* instructor specialized in the field of civil-military cooperation. In Germany African training personnel is trained by the BMVg and the Foreign Office.

50 In this context, the role played by North Africa must be seen as a fundamentally different one.

tions are justified, what interventions should be seen as justified by urgent humanitarian disasters in the face of inaction on the part of the international community? There is little reason to expect that the development of the African Standby Forces will be completed by the target date of 2010 and that these forces will be able to mobilize the military capabilities expected of them.

The willingness of external actors to intervene militarily (above all combat missions) in extreme situations (that do not affect their own interests) is likely to remain low in the future as well. This goes in particular for nonclassic situations of armed conflict which involve increasing numbers of violence-prone actors and in which – for example – a confrontation with child soldiers, a case feared in many quarters, may turn out to be an object lesson for the complexity of the problem constellation on the ground.

> *"If conflicts take on the character of confrontations with groups not operating in accordance with the international laws of warfare, however, this will entail a declining willingness to provide troops for peacekeeping missions in Africa."* (Auswärtiges Amt 2004b)

Observers like John Prendergast (2003, 5) are therefore right in pointing to the risks entailed by the new interest in Africa. With US President Bush's Africa policy in mind, he sees some dangers in the continent's new strategic role, with peripheral zones assuming a position in strategic thinking that might very well be compared to the situation typical of the Cold War.

Measures designed to help build African capacities to engage in peace missions may well be closely linked with a certain reluctance on the part of external actors to dispatch peace missions of their own.

> *"Despite Washington's professed 'partnership' with Africa, the initial US capacity-peacekeeping programme to develop African peacekeeping capabilities was essentially a product of its policy of disengagement, and fairly limited."* (Berman 2004, 133)

5.2 Standards for engagement of external actors

In view of the ongoing debate on the new African peace and security architecture and its direct links to central international discussions (e.g. the UN Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change) it would make sense to identify standards for support by external actors. Development policy, above all, sees itself faced with many new questions in this connection, and there is very little experience to fall back on. The following points might provide some orientation for the development of standards:

1. Civil conflict-prevention efforts must be accorded clear priority. Development of new military capabilities (internal and external standby forces and the like) must not be allowed to contribute to an automatism that favors the use of military options. It would, though, be naïve and unrealistic not to proceed on the assumption of situations that call for military measures; but these should always be seen as the "ultimate option."

   > *"That force **can** legally be used does not always mean that, as a matter of good conscience and good sense, it **should** be used*." (UN Panel 2004, 3; emphasis in original)

2. It should be clearly recognizable that priority is accorded to civil options and an equally committed building of civil capacities (e.g. in cases in which the concern is that African structures should be used to stabilize post-conflict situations).

   Peace missions call for a focus on more or less comprehensive approaches involving sufficient civil components. (Keyword: developmental peacekeeping) (See Madlala-Routledge / Liebenberg 2004).

3. Military intervention must always be consistent with and legitimized by international law, which implies that any such measure must pursue clearly recognized objectives;[51] one central consideration is that a given measure provide a contribution to improving the security of the local population. It is becoming increasingly important to establish a "culture of protection" (Secretary-General 2004, 13 f.) or a "responsibility to protect" (ICISS 2001).

4. The ownership and political leadership for external civil and military interventions must lie with the African structures, i.e. the African Union and, in some cases, regional organizations, which rightly claim this role for themselves.

5. The pressure generated by expectations regarding the new African peace and security architecture is enormous, and possible exaggerated. It would be presumptuous – not least in view of continuing deficits at the UN level (inadequate decisions or inactivity of the Security Council, and so forth), but also bearing other world regions in mind – to expect the AU and regional African mechanisms to come up with viable and effective responses in all crisis and conflict situations that may occur.

6. Support for military capabilities presupposes verifiable improvements in responsible governance on the part of African partners. A return to the stability policies of the 1970s and 1980s would definitely not be constructive.

   AU and NEAPD are currently enjoying a considerable measure of goodwill; this, however, should not be construed to mean that clear-cut changes (for instance: How is Rwanda's military aggression against the DR Congo reflected in peer reviews?) will not be called for in the course of the processes.

5.3 Ownership vs. dependence on external actors

The ongoing African efforts and measures aimed at implementing a new peace and security architecture must, on the whole, be seen as positive. It is, however, unmistakably clear that many capacities have yet to be developed (e.g. in the field of transportation infrastructure, as has been noted in connection with the Darfur mission). Some of the goals set are likely to prove unrealistic when it comes to concrete implementation (e.g. the creation of all five projected regional standby forces).

One central question that will inevitably arise if the AU proves to be prepared to act will have to be answered in the future: How is the funding for the African peace and security architec-

51 On this point, too, the report of the UN Panel (2004) contains some important suggestions and criteria.

ture, peace missions in particular, to be secured? There is no doubt that a large share of the costs will have to be borne by external actors, even if the AU member states takes steps to intensify their efforts in this regard. This turned out to be the case e.g. with the AU mission in Sudan, where the lion's hare of the costs have been borne by the EU, the US, and other donors.[52] Even the EU's Peace Facility for Africa, with its endowment of € 250 million, is, in view of the funding requirements involved, unlikely to be able to provide more than intermittent solutions, and, theoretically, the facility would be entirely exhausted in roughly two years by the limited mission being carried out in Burundi alone. The question must be addressed with a view both to donor budgetary logics (Is it really a task of development policy to fund military peace missions?) and to the general willingness of the international community to provide additional resources to fund these tasks on a continuous basis (Are donors prepared to contribute – in absolute terms – more resources to fund AU missions?).

Although the AU's ownership approach to peace and security on the African continent is fundamentally correct, it stands in sharp contradiction to the funding and implementation capacities available there. In the end, the AU will prove to be effective only if the relevant donors are prepared to support, and above all to fund, the AU's policies.

5.4 Long-term and broad external engagement

The new peace and security architecture hinges in very crucial ways on whether or not the AU and its member countries prove able to change their conduct. To be sure, destabilizing effects generated by the AU countries and their governments themselves will continue to constitute a central risk.[53] While, for instance, Rwanda has stood out for its strong and positive engagement in the Darfur crisis, the country is at the same time engaged in a policy of aggression against its neighbor, the DR Congo, a fact of enormous import for the region as a whole.

A further risk is posed by a unilateral buildup of military capabilities within individual African countries, provided that this is not accompanied by a simultaneous further qualification and development of governance structures. It is for this reason that Atwood / Brown /Lyman (2004, 28) point to risks in African countries themselves:

> *"All too often … as in Nigeria, African governments deploy their militaries to contain civil unrest, when police capability is inadequate to the task. The result is often excessive use of force and serious human rights violations."*

Neither for development policy nor for other policy fields can and should the consequence be to do "nothing" in the face of actually existing risks. Instead, mindful of the African peace and security agenda, these policy fields should, first, accord especially high priority to non-military tasks,[54] second, pay great heed to the fundamental parameters, to governance requirements in particular, and third, continue to assign high priority to socioeconomic problems.

52 See AU 2004b, 7 f.

53 See e.g. Aning et al. 2004.

54 As regards the risk outlined above, the authors note: "G8 responses to these problems have been very limited." Atwood / Brown / Lyman 2004, 28.

5.5 The role of development policy

As far as Africa is concerned, “security” is bound to remain – and rightly so – one of the major issues. But a policy that concentrated solely on military security would be an all too curtailed and myopic one. There is, on the one hand, a need to enlarge the options available for short-term responses and peace missions. Seen in these terms, there is certainly still much work to be done in this area. On the other hand, this should not be allowed to obscure the fact that long-term efforts must be assigned high priority. If income levels, weak economic growth, and dependence on primary goods are any indicator of a country's vulnerability to conflict, then it is impossible to overlook the immediate links between long-term development-related goals and phenomena associated with violence. Something similar can be said for the progress needed in the field of governance or for the destabilizing impacts of HIV/AIDS; here, too, it is only longer-term approaches that offer any effective chances of structural stabilization.

It is for this reason that development policy will, for the foreseeable future, remain a central element involved in shaping policy with sub-Saharan Africa. The greatest challenges for development policy must be seen in (i) identifying further points of departure designed to build an effective African peace and security architecture with the means of development policy; (ii) crafting joint approaches with other policy fields in this area; and (iii) working to further improve the effectiveness of development policy.

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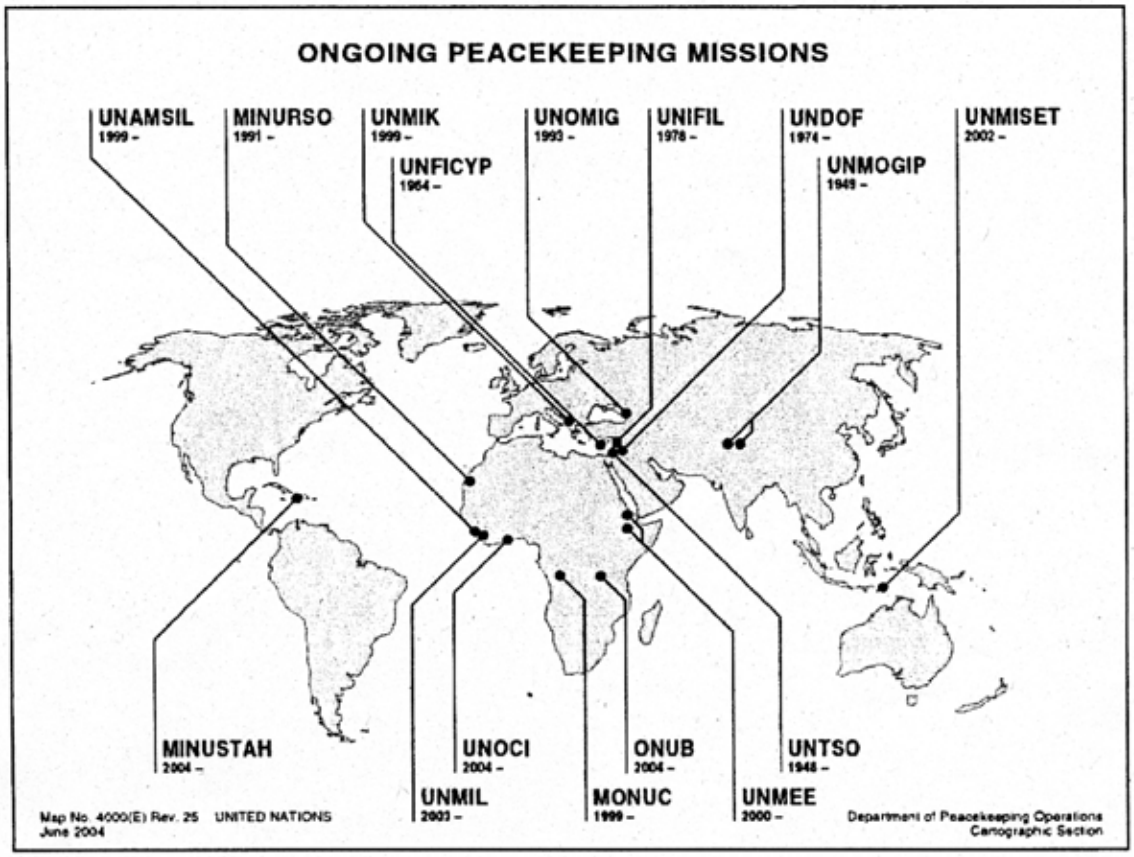
Annex

BACKGROUND NOTE: 1 NOVEMBER 2004

UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS since 1948 59

Current operations 16



PERSONNEL

Military personnel and civilian police serving in peacekeeping operations on 31 October 2004 62,271

Countries contributing military personnel and civilian police on 31 October 2004 103

International civilian personnel on 31 October 2004 3,949

Local civilian personnel on 31 October 2004 7,340

Total number of fatalities in peacekeeping operations since 1948 as of 31 October 1,847

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

Approved budgets for the period from 1 July 2004 to 30 June 2005 ..... About $3.87 billion

Estimated total cost of operations from 1948 to 30 June 2004 ..... About $31.54 billion

Outstanding contributions to peacekeeping on 31 October 2004 ..... About $2.39 billion

United Nations

NOTE: The term "military personnel" refers to military observers and troops, as applicable. Fatality figures include military, civilian police and civilian international and local personnel in United Nations peacekeeping operations only. Prepared by the United Nations Department of Public Information, Peace and Security Section, in consultation with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Office of Programme Planning, Budget and Accounts.

For updates visit http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/index.asp on the World Wide Web.

CURRENT PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

UNTSO Since May 1948
United Nations Truce Supervision Organization
Strength: military 154; international civilian 94; local civilian 121
Fatalities: 39
Appropriations for 2004: $27.69 million (gross)

UNMOGIP Since January 1949
United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan
Strength: military 45; international civilian 22; local civilian 45
Fatalities: 9
Appropriation for 2004: $7.25 million (gross)

UNFICYP Since March 1964
United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
Strength: military 1,222; civilian police 45; international civilian 44; local civilian 108
Fatalities: 173
Approved budget 07/04–06/05: $51.99 million (gross) including voluntary contributions of one-third from Cyprus and $6.5 million from Greece

UNDOF Since June 1974
United Nations Disengagement Observer Force
Strength: military 1,029; international civilian 37; local civilian 94
Fatalities: 40
Approved budget 07/04–06/05: $43.03 million (gross)

UNIFIL Since March 1978
United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
Strength: military 2,013; international civilian 104; local civilian 308
Fatalities: 250
Approved budget 07/04–06/05: $97.80 million (gross)

MINURSO Since April 1991
United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara
Strength: military 228; civilian police 2; international civilian 120; local civilian 113
Fatalities: 10
Approved budget 07/04–06/05: $44.04 million (gross)

UNOMIG Since August 1993
United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia
Strength: military 118; civilian police 11; international civilian 101; local civilian 182
Fatalities: 7
Approved budget 07/04–06/05: $33.59 million (gross)

UNMIK Since June 1999
United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
Strength: civilian police 3,562; military 37; international civilian 750; local civilian 2,723
Fatalities: 29
Approved budget 07/04–06/05: $278.41 million (gross)

UNAMSIL Since October 1999
United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
Strength: military 6,601; civilian police 118; international civilian 270; local civilian 520
Fatalities: 155
Approved budget 07/04–06/05: $301.87 million (gross)

MONUC Since November 1999
United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
Strength: military 10,649; civilian police 139; international civilian 708; local civilian 1,122
Fatalities: 44
Approved budget 07/04–06/05: $746.10 million (gross)

UNMEE Since July 2000
United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea
Strength: military 3,875; international civilian 210; local civilian 257
Fatalities: 8
Approved budget 07/04–06/05: $216.03 million (gross)

UNMISET Since May 2002
United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor
Strength: military 472; civilian police 150; international civilian 263; local civilian 538
Fatalities: 13
Approved budget 07/04–06/05: $85.15 million (gross)

UNMIL Since September 2003
United Nations Mission in Liberia
Strength: military 14,535; civilian police 1,097; international civilian 475; local civilian 565
Fatalities: 24
Approved budget 07/04–06/05: $846.82 million (gross)

UNOCI Since April 2004
United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
Current strength: military 6,002; civilian police 216; international civilian: 228 (as of 23 November 2004, 100 of these were temporarily based in Accra, Ghana.); local civilian 268
Approved budget 07/04–06/05: $378.48 million (gross)

MINUSTAH 1 June 2004
United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
Authorized strength: 6,700 troops, 1,622 civilian police
Current strength: military 3,769; civilian police 963; international civilian 258; local civilian 300
Approved budget 07/04–06/05: $379.05 million (gross)

ONUB 1 June 2004
United Nations Operation in Burundi
Authorized strenght: military 5,650; civilian police 120
Current strength: military 5,446; civilian police 79; international civilian 267; local civilian 189
Fatalities: 3
Approved budget 07/04–06/05: $329.71 million (gross)

UNTSO and UNMOGIP are funded from the United Nations regular biennial budget. Costs to the United Nations of the 14 other current operations are financed from their own separate accounts on the basis of legally binding assessments on all Member States. For these missions, budget figures are for one year unless otherwise specified and include the prorated share of the support account for peacekeeping operations and the United Nations Logistics Base at Brindisi (Italy). The United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) as well as the advance mission in Sudan, two of a number of United Nations political and peace-building missions, are also directed and supported by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. The UNAMA website is located at http://www.unama-afg.org/. Information on the mission in Sudan can be found at http://www.un.org/apps/news/infocusRel.asp?infocusID=88&Body=Sudan&BodyT=. For more information on United Nations political missions, see DPI/2166/Rev.17, also available on the web at http://www.un.org/peace/ppbm.pdf.

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