

Peace and Security Council Report

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Current members of the Peace and Security Council: Algeria, Angola, Cameroon, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, the Gambia, Guinea, Lesotho, Mozambique, Nigeria, Tanzania and Uganda

Peace and Security Council Protocol

'The PSC shall encourage non-governmental organizations to participate actively in the efforts aimed at promoting peace, security and stability in Africa. When required such organizations may be invited to address the Peace and Security Council' – Article 20 of the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the PSC of the African Union

Early warning issues for December 2013

During December, there are a number of potential peace and human security threats that require close monitoring by the Peace and Security Council.

In Tunisia arms trafficking, rising Arab extremism and political deadlock continue to threaten the initial gains of the revolution; in Libya, the political and economic instability of weak institutions is exacerbated by inter-militia conflicts, Al-Qaeda opportunists and an oil industry under threat; and in Egypt, continuing violence sown by extremists through bombings and assassinations, when added to governmental incompetence and corruption, have threatened to turn the country's post-Mubarak era into a nightmare of incipient civil war.

In Central, West and East Africa, ongoing peace and security threats abound in Mauritania, Mali, Nigeria, Sudan, South Sudan, Kenya, and other

African states (also see country analyses in this edition).

In addition, Madagascar's presidential run-off elections scheduled for 20 December are effectively a proxy contest between arch rivals Marc Ravalomanana and Andry Rajoelina, and have the potential to escalate political tensions into civil strife and violence. Also, in the wake of Renamo's withdrawal from the 1992 accord with Frelimo, sporadic fighting continues to take place between Mozambican government forces and Renamo rebels, threatening the economic and political stability of the country.

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► Current PSC Chair

Bio data: H.E. M. Sajo Jallow

Current posts: Gambia's Ambassador to Ethiopia Permanent Representative to the AU and UNECA and Chair of the PSC

Livingstone formula

'Civil Society Organizations may provide technical support to the African Union by undertaking early warning reporting, and situation analysis which feeds information into the decision-making process of the PSC' – PSC/PR/(CLX), 5 December 2008, Conclusions of a Retreat of the PSC on a mechanism of interaction between the Council and CSOs.

Country analysis

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO (DRC)

Previous PSC and AU Communiqués

On the 19th of August the Peace and Security Council of the AU held its 391st meeting in an open session. The Council noted that the “negative forces” in the eastern DRC are largely responsible for “violence, instability, insecurity”, the lack of access to humanitarian assistance and the increase in internal displacement. The Council welcomed the outcome of the 6th Extraordinary Summit of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) on 31 July 2013, as it pertains to the implementation of the PSC Framework. The increase in fighting in the eastern DRC was condemned. The government of the DRC and the armed groups operating in this region were urged to conclude the peace talks facilitated by the ICGLR.

On the 28th of August 2013, the Peace and Security Council of the AU held its 393rd meeting. The resumption of hostilities by the M23 *against the Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo* (FARDC) and the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) or *Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en République démocratique du Congo*, as well as the shelling on Rwandan territory, was condemned. The Council also condemned all negative forces, including the Mai Mai (a collective umbrella term for armed militias), the Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda (FDLR), the National Army for the Liberation of Uganda (NALU) and the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF). The Council demanded that the M23 stops military operations in order to facilitate a solution through the urgent conclusion of the Kampala talks. The progress made by the Force Intervention Brigade was welcomed and the importance of the Expanded Joint Verification Mechanism (EJVM) was highlighted.

Crisis escalation potential

Recent developments in the crisis in the eastern DRC have significantly changed the playing field. After months of intermittent low-level

fighting between the FARDC and the M23, starting in June and continuing until early September, there was a brief lull in September-October. The momentary halt to the fighting coincided with increased diplomatic efforts to bring the parties to a negotiated solution at the ICGLR-mediated peace talks in Kampala. The various national and international special envoys to the region attended a summit in early October, and there were hopes that a deal could be signed. Instead the talks collapsed again – largely due to disagreements over who in the M23 should be granted amnesty and be allowed to join the FARDC. At the same time, there was a noticeable increase in military reinforcements along the Rwandan side of the border, and reported reinforcements of M23 positions. Coupled with Rwanda's aggressive reaction to the landing of several shells of an unknown origin on its side of the border, this raised fears that Rwanda itself was preparing to enter the military arena and prompted increased diplomatic pressure on its government.

On 24-25 October, just days after the collapse of the talks, fighting again broke out between the FARDC and the M23. In an unprecedented situation, the FARDC, with the crucial support of the Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) and MONUSCO, subsequently pushed the M23 out of key positions in North Kivu, first capturing Kiwanja, then Rumangabo, Rutshuru (the M23's urban centre) and finally the border town of Bunagana which had been a source of significant revenue for the movement. The lightning campaign took many observers by surprise and seems to have succeeded due to two key elements: the deployment of the FIB and the decision by Rwanda to step aside and allow the M23 to be defeated.

The sudden and overwhelming victory by the FARDC and the international military forces aligned with it was widely celebrated by MONUSCO and by the Congolese government. MONUSCO was careful to allow the FARDC to claim most of the credit for the victory, but MONUSCO's Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General (SRSG), Martin Kobler, nonetheless expressed his satisfaction with the result, declaring the M23 a “dead” movement.

President Joseph Kabila appeared on national television in the DRC and addressed the nation. He said that the military victory over the M23 did not mean that the political aspects of the

peace process were irrelevant and pledged his commitment to the Kampala talks. While the region was still digesting the M23's defeat, the Congolese government announced that the next target of the FIB and the FARDC was the FDLR, the Rwandan Hutu militia responsible for the 1994 genocide in Rwanda.

A week after the M23 were routed, a joint summit of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the ICGLR was held in South Africa. This was the first joint summit of the two regional bodies, both of which had played pivotal roles in the peace process in eastern DRC. A key resolution of the joint summit was that the parties to the conflict agreed to sign an agreement provided that the M23 leadership announced it would end its rebellion.

“The Joint Summit noted that all the 11 issues under discussion in the Kampala Dialogue had been agreed upon and that the parties would sign an agreement on condition that the M23 makes a public declaration renouncing rebellion, after which the Government would make a public declaration of acceptance. Five days after this is done, then a formal signing of the agreement would be done.”

The M23's civilian leadership, led by Bertrand Bisimwa, who by then had taken refuge in Kampala, subsequently announced that the M23 was officially renouncing its political struggle and would in future pursue its objectives politically.

Following these rapid developments, a resumption of the talks and a signing ceremony were scheduled for Monday, 11 November 2013, in Kampala. The Congolese government sent a high-level delegation, led by Foreign Minister Raymond Tshibanda; the M23 was represented by Bisimwa; and Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni was in attendance to preside over the signing. At the last minute, however, after keeping Museveni and company waiting for over an hour, the Congolese delegation announced that it would not sign an agreement with an armed group it had recently defeated. Instead, it would agree to sign only a declaration. The Congolese government also accused the Ugandan mediators and the Ugandan government of lacking neutrality in the mediation process.

The Congolese government's refusal to sign an “agreement” with the M23 has left the Kampala process at yet another impasse, and has perhaps temporarily

interrupted the momentum for peace which had been set in motion with the defeat of the M23. Domestically the DRC's refusal to sign has won support across the political spectrum, and President Joseph Kabila is enjoying a rare moment of popularity. The military victory has also restored some confidence in the FARDC, otherwise notorious for its corruption, inefficiency and excesses, while the M23 is so universally unpopular that it is easy to rally support against signing an agreement with that group, especially now that it has been defeated militarily and has publically acknowledged its own collapse.

Nonetheless, this impasse is at best inconvenient for the international community which contributed significantly to the military victory and is feeling very frustrated with this new hurdle, at worst a dangerous invitation to resume hostilities. Rwanda, which appears to have refrained from supporting the M23 following significant international pressure, is unlikely to look kindly upon Kinshasa's intransigent stance. Meanwhile, Uganda, where the M23's military leader Sultani Makenga has sought refuge along with a large number¹ of M23 combatants, is outraged by the accusations of mediation bias, and by what they see as the Congolese government's humiliation of Museveni. Tensions between the two countries are high, and will likely hamper what should be a straightforward rendition of Makenga and the M23 forces currently being harboured by the Ugandan government.

Key issues and internal dynamics

The key issues in the aftermath of the M23's military defeat are:

- What kind of an agreement, if any, will be signed between the M23 and the Congolese government?
- What will happen to the M23 military leadership which stands accused of committing serious crimes?
- How will the region – notably Rwanda and Uganda – react in the long-term?

It is clear from developments in past weeks that tensions and distrust between the key regional governments, Rwanda, Uganda and the DRC, as well as between the Congolese government and the M23, remain extremely high. Even if the M23

as a movement has been permanently neutralized, regional agendas are still opaque and therefore represent an ongoing threat to long-term stabilization of eastern DRC.

If one assumes that the M23 has lost its military capacity, and no longer represents a threat to the Congolese government, then one can conclude that its leverage has diminished considerably, to the point of almost disappearing. This means that there is little chance for it to exert its influence at the Kampala talks and to compel the Congolese government to sign an "agreement" rather than a declaration. Significantly, it does not really matter to the M23's future what the final document is called, as the terms of amnesty and the integration of its fighters have already been broadly agreed upon and do not represent the primary bone of contention amidst current wrangling. The M23 is free to pursue its future politically, as part of any democratic processes in the DRC. A key point of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) process will be to deploy former M23 combatants outside of the Kivu, and to break up M23 units. Past DDR programmes involving the M23's predecessor, the National Congress for the Defence of the People (CNDP), have allowed units to remain intact and also to be deployed only in North and South Kivu provinces. These have been key reasons behind the failure of previous DDR programmes involving this group.

The military leadership of the M23, notably Sultani Makenga and Innocent Kaina, both of whom are on UN and US sanctions lists, had been delaying the signing of an accord prior to the movement's military defeat. This was due to the fact that the Congolese government had excluded them and up to 100 other senior M23 military officials from the amnesty and military integration process, as they face accusations of committing serious crimes and must face criminal proceedings. Kaina is believed to have sought refuge in Rwanda, but his whereabouts are unknown, while Makenga is in Ugandan custody. It is now too late for their demands to seriously influence the dynamics of any future discussion between the Congolese government and the M23 leadership as the military leverage has been lost. Nonetheless, Makenga's presence on Ugandan soil could easily become a growing point of contention between the two governments. In addition, the reported presence of a

significant number of M23 troops in Uganda – although the figures are disputed – seems designed to intimidate the Congolese government and perpetuate the possibility that the M23 could yet make a military comeback. It is unclear how Uganda intends to justify its refusal to hand them over, given both its signing of the Peace, Security and Cooperation (PSC) Framework agreement earlier this year and its participation in the ICGLR-SADC summit which "urged SADC and ICGLR Member States to hand over negative forces to their countries of origin within the spirit of the UN Framework for Peace, Security and Cooperation for DRC and the Region."

The Rwandan government has been remarkably silent throughout the recent dramatic developments. Although its links to, and support of, the M23 have been established by successive reports of the UN Panel on the Arms Embargo in the DRC, the Rwandan government has steadfastly denied the allegations.

Nonetheless, since these links first emerged in a May 2012 report by the Panel, the international community has publically exhorted Rwanda to halt its support of the M23. More recently the American Secretary of State and the British Foreign Minister have strongly urged Rwandan President Paul Kagame to refrain from supporting the M23 or from escalating the crisis in the east into a regional war. Judging by the M23's recent defeat, this pressure has been successful, but the key question is whether this is a wholesale shift in Rwanda's policy in eastern DRC – where it has supported a string of proxy rebel groups since 1996 – or whether this was a moment of restraint. If it is the latter, one can expect the Congolese government's recent refusal to sign the Kampala agreement as just the type of provocation the Rwandan government will seize upon to justify a return to its policy of interference in the eastern DRC.

Africa and RECS

Both SADC and the ICGLR have remained heavily engaged in the peace process over the last six months. In early September, following a spike in fighting between the M23 and the FARDC, the heads of state of the ICGLR met at an extraordinary summit to discuss the situation. The summit resolved that the M23 and the Congolese government had to return to the Kampala talks within five days

¹ Official Ugandan estimates say 1500 M23 troops, but this is higher than previous total estimates of M23 strength and has not yet been independently verified.

and should take no more than 14 days to resolve their differences and sign a final agreement. Although the two parties did return to the negotiating table within the designated timeframe, they did not reach an agreement within the 14-day deadline.

SADC and the ICGLR held their first joint summit in South Africa on 4-5 November. The joint summit was seen by many as a watershed event as the two organisations had often been at odds over the best approach for resolving the crisis in the east, with SADC promoting a military solution and the ICGLR pushing a mediated settlement.

Signaling a future of closer cooperation between the two bodies, the joint summit charted a plan for their future collaboration, directing “the two Secretariats to harmonise and synergize the work of ICGLR and SADC in the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework, as well as to establish a mechanism for Ministers of Defence and Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation to meet every six months to review progress leading to a Joint SADC/ICGLR Annual Summit of Heads of State and Government.”

On key issues related to the immediate crisis between the M23 and the Congolese army, the joint summit urged member states to “handover negative forces to their countries of origin within the spirit of the UN Framework for Peace, Security and Cooperation for DRC and the Region.” The summit also noted that “all the 11 issues under discussion in the Kampala Dialogue had been agreed upon and that the parties would sign an agreement on condition that the M23 makes a public declaration renouncing rebellion, after which the Government would make a public declaration of acceptance. Five days after this is done, then a formal signing of the agreement would be done.”

The ICGLR and SADC also commended the DRC government for making progress in implementing the PSC Framework, and commended the FIB and the FARDC for recapturing M23 strongholds and establishing government control.

United Nations

The UN Security Council has continued to watch developments in the DRC closely over the past few months. In July, following months of intermittent fighting, including the shelling of

civilian areas in Goma and across the border into Rwanda, MONUSCO gave the M23 and all other armed elements within a 20km radius of Goma a 48 hour ultimatum to disarm. The aim of this measure was to put an end to the recurrent attacks on the city by the M23 and to attempt to create a buffer zone.

During the reporting period the UN Secretary-General issued a new report S/2013/481 on MONUSCO in which he said that important progress had been made on the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. However, S-G Ban Ki-Moon also stressed that the military standoff between the M23 and the FARDC continued to represent a threat to peace.

After the M23 were pushed out of their strongholds in late-October, the UN welcomed the FARDC’s military success against the M23. In a statement S/PRST/2013/17 by the President of the UNSC, the UN welcomed the end of the M23 rebellion and urged the parties to rapidly complete the process by signing an agreement in Kampala:

“The Security Council calls for the swift conclusion and implementation of a final, comprehensive and agreed outcome, in line with the Kampala talks, that provides for the disarmament and demobilization of the M23 and accountability for human rights abusers... The Security Council calls for the immediate and permanent disarmament and demobilization of the M23 combatants, with the assistance of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), in accordance with resolution 2098 (2013).”

In the same statement it expressed concern about the FDLR, whom the Congolese government has designated as the next target of the FIB, and about the presence of other armed groups in eastern DRC.

“The Security Council expresses deep concern regarding the sustained regional threat posed by the *Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda* (FDLR), a group under UN sanctions whose leaders and members include perpetrators of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and have continued to promote and commit ethnically-based and other killings in Rwanda and the DRC, and stresses the importance of permanently addressing this threat. The Security Council stresses the importance of neutralizing the FDLR and all armed groups, including the

ADF, the (Lord’s Resistance Army) LRA and various Mai Mai groups, in line with resolution 2098 (2013).”

At the same time, the UNSC emphasized that the Congolese government would have to play a key role in taking advantage of the window of opportunity created by the M23’s defeat order to start a long-term stabilization process in the east.

“The Security Council stresses that the Government of DRC bears primary responsibility for security, protection of civilians, national reconciliation, peace building and development in the country. It underlines that the recent achievements of the FARDC in defeating M23 on the ground must encourage the Government of DRC to sustain efforts to neutralize FDLR and other armed groups.”

The UN stressed that in this context the Congolese government needs to prioritise the establishment of a comprehensive disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) process, army reform, and the formation of a rapid reaction force to eventually take over the work of the FIB.

Mary Robinson, the UN Special Envoy to the Great Lakes region, as well as Russ Feingold, the US special envoy, Koen Verwaeke, Boubacar Diarra, the AU Special Envoy and MONUSCO SRSF, Martin Kobler, have been engaged in frantic shuttle diplomacy over the past three months, trying to get the M23 and the Congolese government to reach an agreement and also exerting pressure on Rwanda to desist from supporting the M23. Since the M23 military defeat there has been a new round of visits to regional capitals in an attempt to maintain the momentum of this new dynamic. The most urgent issue is the Congolese government’s refusal to sign an “agreement” rather than a “declaration”, and the tensions between the DRC and Uganda over allegations of bias made by Kinshasa against Uganda.

On 11 November, following the Congolese government’s refusal to sign, the envoys issued a joint statement expressing disappointment: “The Envoys note that the parties have expressed no differences on substantive points within the draft document. However, agreement on the format has not yet been reached. Despite a change in the military situation, it is important that there be a political conclusion to the dialogue.”

Scenarios

Given the above analysis, the following are the most likely scenarios:

Scenario 1

This is a best-case scenario in which international pressure leads the Congolese government and the M23 to sign a document laying out the terms of the disarmament, demobilisation and integration of M23 combatants not suspected of committing serious crimes. The Ugandan government hands over Sultani Makenga and the M23 combatants currently on Ugandan territory, restoring relations between Uganda and the DRC. The signing of the agreement acts as a disincentive for Rwanda to develop a pretext to rearm a new or old proxy. The political settlement allows the FIB and the FARDC to continue their military campaign, this time targeting the FDLR. The Congolese government pursues implementation of its commitments under the PSC Framework and the international community pushes for regional peace talks between the Congolese, Ugandan and Rwandan governments in order to reinforce internal stabilization in the DRC.

Scenario 2

The Congolese government and the M23 cannot reach an agreement. The Congolese government nonetheless tries to launch the DDR process of the M23. The Ugandan government refuses to hand over either Makenga or the M23 combatants, further raising tensions between the two countries. The FIB and the FARDC launch their operations against the FDLR in spite of the stalled political process with the

M23. Because of the different nature of the FDLR, the military operations are much slower in achieving success.

Scenario 3

The Congolese government and the M23 cannot reach an agreement. Rwanda grows frustrated with the Congolese government's refusal to make concessions and sign a final document, and accuses it of not being interested in peace in the east. The FIB-FARDC military operations against the FDLR are launched, but make slow progress. Rwanda accuses the DRC government of supporting the FDLR and not really pursuing their disbandment. Rwanda edges closer to intervening in eastern DRC again.

Options

The early response options that the PSC and other key role players could consider include the following:

Option 1

The UN, AU, SADC and the ICGLR must accompany the political and military processes with confidence-building measures aimed at keeping the three key countries, the DRC, Uganda and Rwanda, on track. These measures should include stimulating dialogue at a regional level and consistently enforcing the countries' commitments under the PSC Framework; in the DRC's case, focusing on the holding of transparent elections in 2014; and holding Rwanda and Uganda to their commitments not to interfere in the internal affairs of co-signatories. The international community must assist the DRC financially and logistically to implement a swift and comprehensive DDR process, not only with the M23, but also with other armed groups.

Uganda and Rwanda should be urged to consider engaging in dialogue with those armed groups hostile to their regimes, notably the ADF and the FDLR.

Option 2

The UN, AU, SADC and ICGLR must continue pressuring the Congolese government to maintain the momentum for peace created by the successful military campaign against the M23 and to proceed with reaching an agreement with the M23. They can inspire the political will to do so by emphasizing that further political and military advances in the east will buoy the DRC government's popularity. At the same time, these organisations, through their special envoys, should make it clear to Uganda that a disregard for its commitments under the PSC, notably its commitment not to harbor rebel leaders hostile to the governments of other signatory countries, will result in punitive sanctions.

Option 3

The AU, UN, ICGLR and SADC must focus on confidence-building measures between Rwanda and the DRC. These must include support for the Joint Verification Mission to patrol their joint borders in order to reassure Rwanda that opportunities for FDLR incursions onto its territory would be minimal. The imminent introduction of aerial surveillance measures will further assist in this regard. Equally important in maintaining confidence and momentum, and in diffusing the Rwandan government's accusations that the DRC is a security threat, is the prerequisite that the Congolese government breaks all links with the FDLR, however informal.

Country analysis

SOMALIA

Introduction

For the most recent analyses featuring Somalia, readers are invited to consult the January, June and October 2013 issues of the Peace and Security Council Report.

Previous PSC and AU Communiqués

The Special representative of the Chairperson to the AU mission in

Somalia briefed the 392nd meeting of the PSC held on 26 August 2013. Among other issues the role being played by the mission and the leadership of Somalia in reconciliation and security gains was acknowledged and duly commended by the Council.

Key actors behind reconciliation and security gains, including troop contributing countries to the AMISOM, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the European Union (EU) and various other actors, were commended by the Council for their contributions towards making and sustaining progress in Somalia.

The Council also noted the primary role of Somali stakeholders in the pursuit of peace and the sustainability of progress in the country. According to the Council, the importance of Somali stakeholders in the search for peace could not be overemphasised on the basis that irrespective of the extent of external efforts, real progress could only be made through the selfless commitments of Somalis. In this regard, the Council reiterated the fact that inclusive dialogue within the country was indispensable in attempts to find and sustain peace in the country.

The Council also duly acknowledged the operational limitations the AU

mission currently has and expressed concern over the deterioration of security gains in certain parts of the country as a result of terrorist attacks by Al-Shabaab. The Council further enjoined that assessment exercises be implemented so as to provide the basis for enhancing the capacity of AMISOM.

Crisis escalation potential

Since taking over the affairs of Somalia in September 2012, President Hassan Sheikh Mahamud has continued to oversee progress in certain crucial areas. Apart from the massive international visibility his leadership has brought to the country, commendable progress has been achieved on issues that proved challenging after the transition period. Key among these issues is the Kismayo crisis, which emerged following disagreements between the central government and the local administration in Kismayo over issues of representation and the constitutionality of the formation of Jubaland, a federal state made up of Lower Juba, Middle Juba and Gedo regions of south-central Somalia.

After a week of negotiations between the government and the local administration in Kismayo, facilitated by IGAD in Addis Ababa in the month of August 2013, an agreement was reached for the formation of an interim administration for the three regions for a period of not more than two years. However, the ultimate status of the regions is dependent on what the people of these regions determine through a future constitutional process. On the management of resources and infrastructure, it was agreed that Madobe's administration would hand over the management of the Kismayo Sea Port and Air Port to the federal government of Somalia (FGS) within six months from the date of the agreement to enable the government to establish a management team for those assets, in consultation with the Interim Jubaland Administration. In addition, the Ras Kamboni Brigade and other militias such as the Darwish would be integrated into the Somali National Army (SNA).

Prior to the agreement, rivalry over the leadership of the region had become the basis for renewed fighting in June 2013 between the Ras Kamboni brigade loyal to Sheikh Madobe and the militias of other presidential claimants such as Iftin Hassan Basto and Barre Hirale. Progress over the Kismayo issue represents a major achievement and a demonstration of

commitment to peace on the part of the central government as well as the regional leadership.

As part of meeting the provisions of the agreement emerging from the Addis Ababa process, the central government has since successfully implemented a reconciliation conference, which brought together 200 representatives from different clans and political groups in the Jubaland regions for discussions on reconciliation and the way forward.

While the agreement has since calmed tensions between Mogadishu and Kismayo, it remains to be seen how the implementation of the specific agreements will turn out. The provisions about the handing over of the sea port and airport, and the final status of the three regions in the Jubaland area could end up becoming very challenging, particularly if no clear guidelines and oversight are instituted in terms of the management of resources generated as well as the processes involved.

There are already clear signs that resolving the question of resource management in the relationship between the central government and the federal units will in future be difficult if no clear modalities are agreed upon. In August 2013, for instance, the Puntland government announced its decision to suspend cooperation and relations with the central government on the basis of sharing resources and foreign aid granted in the name of Somalia; neglect of national reconciliation efforts; and non-adherence to the constitution by the central government.

This situation has since affected the nature of relations between Puntland and the central government and provides a clear example of the difficulties the Jubaland regions are set to experience on the question of natural resource sharing with the central government. Since the announcement of Puntland's position and the rising tensions between the region and the central government, there have been efforts by the UN Special Representative, Nicholas Kay, to encourage the two parties to address emerging grievances through dialogue. On 6 August 2013, for instance, the Special Representative met the two leaders and urged both parties to engage in trying to resolve the impasse.

On governance in Somalia, the one-year-old government in Somalia

currently faces one of its major internal challenges, following the emergence of an internal dispute between the president and the prime minister. On 2 December, Prime Minister Abdi Farah Shirdon lost a no-confidence vote in the Parliament three weeks after President Mohamud asked for his resignation. Sources close to the two leaders trace the source of their tension to non-performance by the prime minister and the need for a cabinet reshuffle so as to bring vigour into the current crop of ministers. Parliamentarians who want the prime minister dismissed have argued that he is weak and ineffective and that the only way to achieve a strong government is for the president to dismiss him from office.

However, before the no-confidence vote, but in response to calls for his resignation, the prime minister had refused to resign, claiming that the president's demands were unconstitutional. The prime minister has since appealed to parliament to intervene in solving the issue. He is also reported to have met a section of MPs from his clan, in an effort to rally support against ongoing attempts to have him removed through a no confidence vote by parliamentarians.

The wrangling raises serious concerns not only because the prime minister has so far refused to resign, but also because there is the possibility that such internal disagreements can provide the basis for worsening existing clan divisions that have always been contentious in Somali politics. Throughout much of the transition period, internal rivalries between prime ministers and presidents perpetually weakened successive transition arrangements in Somalia. The emergence of the same in post-transition Somalia is, therefore, already stoking fears of the beginning of weaknesses in the current government.

Interestingly, even though the President appoints the Prime Minister, the executive powers of the Federal Government, as per Article 97 of the provisional constitution of Somalia, rests with the Council of Ministers, which is headed by the prime minister. Article 100 explicitly identifies the prime minister as the "...Head of the Federal Government;" which implies that if saddled with a crisis, his executive functions will be adversely impacted. Consequently, the current constitutional wrangling also has the tendency to undermine the executive functions of the government.

The growing rift also raises constitutional questions regarding the nature of entry and exit of the prime minister. Despite an explicit provision for the appointment of the prime minister by the president as per Article 90(d) of the constitution, provisions for the exit of the prime minister do not explicitly provide for dismissal by the president. The constitution states that, a "Vacancy in the office of the Prime Minister caused by the resignation, dismissal, failure to fulfil responsibility, or death of the Prime Minister shall lead to the dissolution of the Council of Ministers."

As a result of this lack of clarity about the role of the president in the removal of the prime minister, Prime Minister Abdi Shirdon has described the president's call for him to resign as a "constitutional dispute." In the run-up to the provisional adoption of the constitution in 2012 this was seen as one of several weaknesses in the constitution that were raised by Somali stakeholders. If the dispute drags on as a purely constitutional debate, the entire situation is set to test the robustness of the provisional constitution in a way that will help to identify gaps in the document. The constitutional dimension is therefore set to put the provisional constitution to the test.

Unless immediately resolved, the worsening of the rift between the two leaders will deflect their focus from important issues such as the fight against Al-Shabaab. If allowed to continue, the rift will also undermine the needed unity of purpose for the two leaders to be able to deliver on the government's mandate. The bad message that comes with such a rift will also directly fuel Al-Shabaab's propaganda campaign against the federal government, as the overall effect of a divided political leadership will also embolden Al-Shabaab in its operations against the government.

Key issues and internal dynamics

The 392nd meeting of the PSC rightly noted the need for making and sustaining progress in Somalia. This is particularly important because the failures of the current government will determine the future of Somalia and will also be a direct measure of the success of the increased international support for the country. Making and sustaining progress in post-transition Somalia is however anchored on three key factors and their associated dynamics.

The first key factor is the strength and capacity of President Mahamud's government to project strength; remain relevant to the daily lives of Somalis; and project political leadership for the country. These are effectively the factors needed for sustaining the hope of Somalis in the political future and stability of the country. Currently, however, while some progress is being made as was noted earlier, a number of issues continue to define the weaknesses of the current government.

One of these is the weak institutional base of the country, which came about as a result of more than two decades of insecurity in the country and the associated mass exodus of Somalia's rich human resources to other parts of the world. Consequently, the country's institutional base has been weakened by the absence of the requisite human resources to keep the government running effectively.

This situation has dire implications for the ability of Sheikh Hassan Mahamud's government to project capacity and strength in the implementation of current and future programmes. The resultant lack of strong regional administrative institutions implies that there is also a lack of a government presence beyond Mogadishu as well as an absence of robust institutional oversight of delivery and accountability. Coupled with rising perceptions of corruption in government, the current government faces increasing delays in the realisation of its six priority areas. The priorities are:

- establishing functioning institutions;
- spearheading economic recovery;
- promoting sustainable peace;
- providing services to citizens;
- undertaking robust international relations; and
- working towards reconciliation, political dialogue and national unity.

The second key determinant for making and sustaining progress in Somalia is the international presence represented by both AMISOM and the UN office in Mogadishu. AMISOM is particularly credited with having liberated areas hitherto held by Al-Shabaab. However, the force is currently overstretched and its agility against the Islamist group has been diminished substantially. In addition to major internal challenges and the lack of the requisite force enablers for

delivering its goals, the contribution of the force to the expansion of areas under government control is progressing at a much slower pace. A recent UN resolution subsequently authorised additional troops for the mission and if provided with the requisite force enablers might be a game changer in the fight against spoilers of peace in Somalia.

The third variable is Al-Shabaab. Despite finding itself on the back foot in relation to AMISOM, the Islamist group is rapidly adapting to the current situation. The adaptation has taken place on at least three key levels. Tactically, there has been a change to guerrilla warfare with a noticeable preference for the use of roadside bombs, improvised explosives, and hit-and-run operations. The group has effectively reduced its direct combat engagement with AU mission forces and is directly making use of guerrilla warfare. The shift in tactics has seen an increasing number of hit-and-run operations, fewer fighters used and fewer resources expended in terrorism operations across Somalia and in the wider region, including the Westgate attacks in Kenya.

Al-Shabaab has also resorted to minimal direct confrontation with AMISOM, the use of fewer fighters in operations and the use of fewer resources in search of maximum damage. The group has also elevated the use of the *amneyats*, a special operations division under the leadership of Amir Godane. In cases where the *amneyats* have been deployed in Mogadishu, their reconnaissance, kill and suicide units have cleverly coordinated their activities to wreak havoc against targets such as the courts and the UNDP compound in Mogadishu, often with deadly precision.

Overall, this has increased the spoiler capacity of the Islamist group and does appear that even if international efforts succeed in dismantling the fighting capability of this armed group, the chances are high that the cells under the leadership of Godane will continue operating. This implies then that the on-going military operation against Al-Shabaab might be set for a long fight as the group has effectively redefined its operational capabilities against the government and AU forces.

Against this backdrop, Al-Shabaab has evolved into a new phase of guerrilla warfare in which it does not need more than the current estimated force strength of 5000 to be able to sabotage peace efforts in the country

and beyond. Additionally, its actual strength should be assessed relative to the forces and stakeholders currently opposing its operations. In other words, Al-Shabaab may be weak in comparison with its past capacity as well as in relation to the increased agility of the AMISOM; but not weak in relation to the weak Somali government.

The importance of these three variables is such that as per the current state of affairs in the country, progress and maintenance of gains depend on efforts apportioned to these three key actors and/or sectors. Of these three, the importance of strengthening the government cannot be overemphasised. This is basically because the successes of the government are key to the legitimisation of the current international support and presence in the country. A weak government makes the support functions of the international community through the AU and AMISOM more difficult and challenging. By lacking a credible partner with whom to interface, ongoing international efforts and their future sustainability could be undermined in the medium to long-term.

Geo-political dynamics

Regional dynamics

The perceived geo-political interests of Ethiopia and Kenya in Somalia continue to remain a key challenge for the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). This is particularly the case following Kenya's closeness to Sheikh Madobe and their collaboration in the liberation of Kismayo. Due to the fact that Kenya's support for Sheikh Madobe is well known by all actors, sometimes any emerging tensions between the Sheikh and the Mogadishu political leadership ends up becoming a proxy source of tension between the government and Kenya. This was particularly exemplified during the tensions that surrounded the Jubaland formation process in which elements of the Somali government were unhappy with Kenya's perceived support for Sheikh Madobe.

Since the Westgate attacks in September, the government of Kenya has quickened existing plans to repatriate the estimated 500,000 Somali refugees living in the Dadaab refugee camp. According to the Kenyan government this has been necessary because the refugee camp is currently a major haven for extremists

targeting Kenya. Getting ride of Dabaab will therefore serve to reduce the security risk associated with it. Following a tripartite agreement between the governments of Kenya and Somalia and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the process of repatriation of Somali refugees is set to begin soon.

United Nations

The UNSC in its resolution 2124 (2013) acknowledged the serious possibility of security gains being reversed and the fact that AMISOM is now on the defensive. It further noted the urgent necessity to resume an AMISOM offensive against Al-Shabaab and the fact that such a move would require the provision of enhanced support to the Somali National Army and AMISOM. Consequently, the UNSC authorised the extension of AMISOM's mandate to 31 October 2014 and an expansion of its strength from 17,731 to 22,126 troops.

Against the backdrop of the need to resume the offensive against Al-Shabaab, the additional troops would help restore the ability of AMISOM to reclaim more areas from Al-Shabaab.

International community

The New Deal Compact launched at the 16 September 2013 conference in Brussels remains the major definition of commitment to making progress in Somalia (See previous PSC Report issue 51, October 2013, on the New Deal). However, the New Deal compact itself is not ground-breaking. In particular reference to Somalia, previous London conferences made similar financial commitments to the rebuilding of Somalia.

The only useful aspect of the New Deal is the technical component, which spells out specific goals for the country's future and firm commitments by the donor community to support their implementation.

The challenges the Brussels initiative will face are contained in four major areas. First, there is certainty that despite the relevant commitments, the overwhelming nature of the economic crisis in Europe will make it difficult for countries to honour their pledges. Secondly, even if the will exists to honour the various pledges, it is likely that many countries will follow the example of the European Union. The EU's pledges are directly connected to its on-going commitments in Somalia.

Even if all pledges are duly honoured, Somalia lacks the institutional capacity

to absorb and effectively utilise the total amount involved. Therefore, a substantial amount of funding could be wasted or lost in the country's weak institutional structures through corruption and lack of oversight. Consequently some Western countries have already started paying Somali government staff directly for fear of corruption and lack of oversight from the government. Nonetheless, the pledges made to date are far less than the actual amounts required to realistically move Somalia out of its current chronic condition of fragility.

Scenarios

Following the rift between the president and the prime minister, the character of the next prime minister will determine scenarios about the nature of relations between the principals and the entire government. With the exit of Prime Minister Abdi Shirdon, the president will be presented with the choice of either another weak prime minister or a strong one. Scenarios that address these choices are as follows:

Scenario 1

So far the President has also proven himself to be weak. He therefore needs a strong person as prime minister. Such a person would more likely achieve the creation of a strong Council of Ministers who would in turn deliver the functions of government. This would effectively strengthen the current government. A strong prime minister would however, overshadow the president. This scenario therefore depends on the readiness of the president not to interfere in the functions of the Council of Ministers.

Scenario 2

In the event that the president attempts to interfere in the functions of the Council of Ministers in the first scenario, Somalia would be likely to experience another internal rift, as a strong prime minister would be on a collision course with the president. The prime minister would be asked to resign and this would lead to another crisis. This development would amount to a perpetuation of the rift between the prime minister and the president, as was the case in most transition governments in Somalia.

Scenario 3

The president could also choose a weak prime minister with the aim of allowing himself direct control over the affairs of the Council of Ministers as

was envisaged during the appointment of Prime Minister Abdi Shirdon. This scenario would allow visibility for the president, but would also imply having a weak president and a weak prime minister. Such a scenario would also ultimately lead to the failure of the government and a quest for a new prime minister, as is the case now. This situation would also perpetuate a rift between the two principals.

Options

The PSC could consider the following policy responses:

Option 1

The PSC could enjoin the president and the prime minister to address the ongoing crisis amicably in the interest of peace. Apart from remaining seized of the matter, an AU fact-finding team could be deployed to study the situation so as to provide a clear context for supporting an amicable settlement.

Option 2

Based on the findings of the AU's fact-finding team, the AU could encourage the parliament to debate the situation with the aim of helping to refine ambiguous sections of the

constitution regarding the role of the president in the exit of the prime minister. This would not only help deal with the situation as it is now, but would also prevent the recurrence of such a situation in Somalia in future.

Documentation

PSC communiqué PSC/PR/BR.2 (CCCXCII), 26 August 2013

The Provisional Constitution of Somalia

Country analysis

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC (CAR)

Previous AU/PSC Communiqués

The situation in the CAR featured on the agenda of the PSC in its meeting held on 13 November 2013. The meeting listened to the briefing given by the Commissioner for Peace and Security and the Special Representative of the Chairperson of the Commission on the situation in the CAR, as well as the statements made by the representatives of the General Secretariat of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), member countries of the United Nations Security Council (France, Rwanda, United Kingdom and United States), the United Nations Secretariat and the European Union (EU). In a subsequent communiqué, the Council expressed its concern about the persistence of insecurity, continued abuses against the civilian population by elements of the ex-Seleka and the emergence of self-defense groups, as well as the precarious humanitarian situation. The meeting called upon the transitional authorities to ensure the protection of the civilian population, respect for human rights and the prosecution of all perpetrators of abuses against civilians and other acts of violence. The Council also warned that the communal and religious tensions and clashes pose a threat to the very existence of the Central African State,

as well as to regional security and stability.

The Peace and Security Council discussed the situation in the CAR in its meeting held on 23 September 2013. In a subsequent press release the Council expressed its deep concern over the grave situation in the CAR and the need for sustained support from the international community in order to address the situation and commended consultations between the AU and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) which resulted in an agreement on the modalities of the transition from the Mission for the Consolidation of Peace in the Central African Republic (MICOPAX) to the African Union-led International Support Mission in the Central African Republic (AFISM-CAR). In French the latter mission is known as the Mission internationale de soutien à la Centrafrique sous conduit Africaine (MISCA). The Council also met on the CAR on 19 July 2013 PSC/PR/COMM. 2(CCLXXXV) and authorized the deployment of AFISM-CAR for an initial period of six months.

Earlier on, the Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the African Union (AU), at its meeting held on 25 March 2013, received a briefing by the Peace and Security Commissioner of the Commission on developments in the Central African Republic (CAR). The PSC expressed concern about the deteriorating security in the CAR and strongly condemned violence against the civilian population. The Peace and Security Council labeled the seizure of the capital, Bangui, by the Seleka rebels, as an unconstitutional change of government, violating the AU Constitutive Act, the Lomé Declaration on Unconstitutional Changes of

Government and the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, as well as the decisions of the PSC and the Assembly of the African Union.

Subsequently the PSC decided to immediately suspend the participation of the CAR in all AU activities, as well as to impose sanctions, including a travel ban and asset freeze, on a list of leaders of the Seleka group, and urged member states of the AU and its partners to 'completely isolate' the perpetrators of the unconstitutional change in the CAR. The PSC further demanded the implementation of all provisions of the Libreville Agreements and the transitional arrangements and restoration of constitutional order. The PSC requested the AU Commission to initiate talks with ECCAS, the UN and other international stakeholders to facilitate an effective and coordinated international response to the situation in the CAR.

The situation in the CAR was also tabled on the agenda of the PSC on 23 March 2013. In a communiqué PSC/PR/COMM (CCLXII) that followed the meeting, the Peace and Security Council noted the rapidly deteriorating situation in the CAR, following the decision of the Seleka rebel group to break the cease-fire. The PSC, which rejected the use of armed rebellion as a means to securing further political claims, stressed the obligation of all parties engaged in the conflict to refrain from any acts of violence against civilians. The PSC also called on Member States to give support to ECCAS and the CAR Government in order to 'preserve peace, ensure safety of lives and protect civilians, and ensure respect for constitutional legality and the CAR institutions.'

Crisis escalation potential

With its long history of chaos and instability, the Central African Republic has been in turmoil since a coalition of rebel groups overthrew the president in March 2013. The country is heading into a state of near-anarchy. The interim head of state is unable to control the numerous armed groups across CAR who continue to commit atrocities, including killings, rapes and conscription of child soldiers and looting. The CAR 'population is enduring suffering beyond imagination'. Sexual violence is growing at an alarming rate while there are widespread reports of looting, illegal checkpoints, extortion, illegal arrests and detentions, torture and summary executions. Most of the reports associate the lawlessness with elements of the former Séléka rebels. However, there are emerging signs that other armed groups may precipitate a new rebellion. In past months the CAR has also become a safe haven for extremists and armed groups. A recent report by the UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon, stated that 'Harmony among communities has been replaced by horror'. The UN has also warned that religious affiliations are fuelling never-before-seen sectarian violence between Muslims and Christians. John Ging, director of the U.N. Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, warned that 'the "seeds of genocide" are possibly being sown in the Central African Republic.

The humanitarian crisis is reaching a new level. According to UN estimates, one out of three people in the CAR is in dire need of food, protection, health care, water sanitation and shelter, while access for people in need remains difficult due to insufficient funding. The expanding insecurity makes the delivery of humanitarian assistance even more difficult.

The CAR is descending into violent anarchy. Dialogue among political and social stakeholders seems scant and the CAR continues to face many political, security, socio-economic and humanitarian challenges. If this situation is left to fester, it may degenerate into a religious and ethnic conflict with longstanding consequences that could spill-over into neighboring countries.

Key issues and internal dynamics

The crisis in the Central African Republic is getting out of control. The amount and level of atrocities and crime committed by former elements of the

Seleka rebels and other armed groups in the country has displaced hundreds of thousands of victims and is leading the state into anarchy. The latest rising tensions between the Muslim and Christian sections of the population are increasing the possibility of a sectarian conflict with regional implications. Some members of the international community have described the situation in the CAR as 'a genocide in the making'.

One of the major developments in the past few months has been the creation and spread of self-defense armed groups that are hostile to the Seleka rebels. Reports show that such groups are attacking Seleka and Muslim civilians, thereby provoking tit-for-tat reprisals. There are about 400,000 internally displaced people, 64,000 refugees, and many burned villages, largely in the western part of the country.

Michel Djotodia, the leader of the Seleka, hails from the northeast and was the leader of the *Union des Forces Démocratiques pour le Rassemblement* (UFDR), one of a number of armed groups that have challenged the central government since 2007. He came into power on the promise of restoring the country to constitutional order. Following reports of crimes and atrocities, Djotodia, as interim president, officially dissolved the rebel group in September leading to the autonomy of the various groups with no central command. This development has increased banditry and impunity within the CAR. The rapid decline in security has been accompanied by the complete collapse of state institutions and the rise of religious tensions.

It is possible to say at the moment that the CAR has no central administration, clashes between youths and Seleka fighters occur daily in Bangui, relations between Christians and Muslims have turned violent and the transitional authorities are completely powerless. Recent violence in the western CAR between Seleka fighters and self-defense militias and between Christians and Muslims has escalated the sectarian tension and raised the possibility of further religious conflict. Muslims represent between 10 and 20 percent of the population. The recently imposed countrywide curfew from 10pm to 5am, instituted by presidential decree, has not changed the situation much.

The Seleka-led coup d'état is the latest in a series of seemingly never-ending unconstitutional changes of government in the Central African Republic. In addition to being one of the

poorest countries on the continent, the landlocked territory has experienced political instability throughout its history. The inability of successive governments to provide basic public goods and services has created a political culture that has prevented the emergence of a democratic polity. More worrisome, political actors consider power as something that is acquired, maintained and eventually relinquished through violent means. With the notable exceptions of the election years of 1993 and 1999, when Ange-Félix Patassé was elected, there have only been violent changes of government. The cycle of chronic insurgencies in the CAR is the aggregate result of geography, inept governance and external interference.

Geopolitical dynamics

Africa and RECs

The African Union is working with the Regional Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) to support regional efforts to address the situation in the CAR. In a press release dated 22 November 2013, the Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union (AU), Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, announced the appointment of Major General (Rtd) Jean Marie Michel Mokoko from Congo Brazzaville as Special Representative and Head of the African-led International Support Mission in the Central African Republic (AFISM-CAR). The decision followed consultations with the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS). Brigadier General Martin Tumenta Chomu from Cameroon has also been appointed as Force Commander of AFISM-CAR while Colonel of Gendarmerie, Patrice Ostangue Bengone, of the Republic of Gabon was made Head of the AFISM-CAR Police component.

The statement noted that the appointments were part of the joint AU and ECCAS efforts towards the effective operationalization of AFISM-CAR and to facilitate a successful transition of authority from the ECCAS Peace Consolidation Mission in the CAR (MICOPAX) to the AFISM-CAR which is scheduled for 19 December 2013. The Chairperson also called upon the United Nations to extend all necessary support to AFISM-CAR to enable it to effectively discharge its mandate and to create conditions conducive for enhanced international support to the long-term stabilization and reconstruction of the CAR.

ECCAS has played a leading role in attempting to resolve the security and political crisis in the CAR that began to

escalate in December 2012. Countries of the region, including Chad and the Congo, have also put a lot of effort into initiating talks between the government of the CAR and the relevant rebel groups. Their efforts resulted in the 11 January 2013 Libreville Agreements that produced the road map for transition and political settlement.

United Nations

Reports show that the U.N. Security Council is considering imposing an arms embargo on the Central African Republic and imposing a travel ban on people believed to be undermining the country's stability, fueling violence and abusing human rights. The relevant sanctions resolution is being drafted by France, which will be presiding over the 15-member UNSC in December. Despite strong calls for active UN involvement, it looks like the UNSC wants the African Union to deal with the problem through its peace keeping mission which will take over from ECCAS in the next three weeks. Through her Twitter account and account, the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Samantha Power, has said that it is 'long past (the) time for swift deployment of AU forces and imposing sanctions on perpetrators of violence.'

In his report in November 2013, Ban Ki-moon warned that the implications for the region of the growing insecurity in the Central African Republic should not be underestimated. He said that a failure to act decisively could make future intervention more costly and complex. The Secretary General also laid out a number of options for international support to the CAR, including bilateral and multilateral support; United Nations support funded through a trust fund; and the possible transformation of the African support mission into a U.N. peacekeeping operation.

In his latest report, Under Secretary-General Jan Eliasson urged the Security Council to deploy a U.N. peacekeeping mission in the CAR. He said the transformation of MISCA into a United Nations peacekeeping operation, with an estimated strength of 6,000 troops and 1,700 police personnel, would lay the foundation for transparent, accountable and resilient institutions governed by the rule of law.

International community

France, which already has 400 soldiers in the CAR, is considering sending more troops. Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius, who warned that the CAR was 'on the verge of genocide,' noted that the troop numbers in the CAR would be raised to

1,200. France also proposed a UN Security Council resolution that would authorise international troops. France's Defence Minister, Jean-Yves Le Drian, said that the additional troops would support this African mission with about an additional 1,000 soldiers.

The United States, which pledged \$40 million to the African Union security force in the CAR, did not support the idea of sending a UN peacekeeping mission to the CAR. Secretary of State John Kerry has made it clear that the US favors an African peacekeeping force.

Scenarios

The security, political and humanitarian crisis in CAR has reached a new level. The following is a list of the potential scenarios:

Scenario 1

Continuing anarchy and lawlessness and an inability to restore order will lead the country toward the full status of a failed state.

Scenario 2

The proper implementation of the scheduled AU intervention and a successful transition from the ECCAS Mission for the Consolidation of Peace in the CAR (MICOPAX) to the African-led International Support Mission in the Central African Republic (AFISM-CAR) could help reduce atrocities and eventually facilitate humanitarian assistance and the restoration of the CAR to constitutional order and stability.

Scenario 3

The rising sectarian tension and increasing spread of extremist forces in the CAR could result in religious conflict with regional implications. Such a scenario would seriously affect the possibility of resolving the conflict in a short time.

Options

Given the above scenarios the following options could be considered by the PSC to improve security and stability in the CAR:

Option 1

The AU PSC through the AU Liaison Office and its Special Representative in the CAR could work with ECCAS to oversee and supervise the proper transition from the ECCAS Mission for the Consolidation of Peace in the CAR (MICOPAX) to the African-led International Support Mission in the Central African Republic (AFISM-CAR).

Option 2

The PSC could collaborate with the UNSC and international actors to provide the African-led International Support Mission in the Central African Republic (AFISM-CAR) with the financial and logistical support it needs to successfully implement its mandate.

Option 3

The PSC could refer to the AU Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development (PCRD) Policy Framework and provide strategic advice and guidance to the CAR authorities in respect of DDR and SSR as well as employment and wealth creation initiatives to ensure sustainable development of the CAR in the short to medium-term.

Option 4

The PSC could adhere to the proper implementation of the sanctions imposed on the CAR and penalize any act against those sanctions.

Documentation

Relevant AU Documents

(PSC/PR/COMM.(CCCLXIII))(25 March 2013) Communiqué on situation in the Central African Republic (CAR)

Press Release (24 March 2013) Press Release on the situation in the Central African Republic (CAR), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

(PSC/PR/COMM(CCCLXII)) (23 March 2013) Communiqué on situation in the Central African Republic (CAR)

Press Release on situation in the Central African Republic (CAR) (4 January 2013)

(PSC/PR/2(CCCXLV)) (6 December 2012) Report of the Chairperson of the Commission on the situation in the CAR

(PSC/PR/COMM.1 (CCLV)) (6 December 2012) Communiqué on situation in the Central African Republic (CAR)

(PSC/PR/2(CCXV)) (8 January 2009) Report of the Chairperson of the AU Commission on the situation in the Central African Republic (CAR)

PSC/PR/Comm.(CCXV) (8 January 2009) Communiqué on situation in the Central African Republic (CAR)

Important dates to diarise

2	December	International Day for the Elimination of Slavery
9	December	International Anti-Corruption Day
10	December	Human Rights Day
18	December	International Migrants' Day
20	December	International Human Solidarity Day

Contributors to this Volume

Conflict Prevention and Risk Analysis Division, ISS Addis Ababa

Dr Duke Kent-Brown

Mr Hallelujah Lulie

Conflict Prevention and Risk Analysis Division, ISS Pretoria

Dr Stephanie Wolters

Dr Andrews Assamoah

Acknowledgements

Ms Antoinette Louw

Ms Iolandi Pool

Mr Jean-Guilhem Barques

Contact

Amb. Olusegun Akinsanya
Regional Director
Institute for Security Studies
P.O. Box 2329
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Tel: +251-11-515 6320/24/67/98
Fax: +251-11-515 6449
Emails: addisababa@issafrica.org
oakinsanya@issafrica.org
website: www.issafrica.org

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Country	Election	Date *
Mauritania	Senate, National Assembly, local	7 December 2013 (2 nd Round)
Tunisia	Presidential, Parliamentary, Local	17 December 2013
Madagascar	National Assembly	20 December 2013
Somalia (Puntland)	Presidential	January 2014

**could change, dependent on circumstances*

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