

Peace and Security Council Report

Issue 58,
May 2014



Current members of the Peace and Security Council: Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda, Algeria, Burundi, Chad, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, the Gambia, Guinea, Libya, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger and South Africa

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 May 2014

During May, inter-communal and religious conflict in the Central African Republic (CAR), continuing violence in Sudan's Darfur, ethnic violence in South Sudan and instability and unrest in Libya and Egypt, as well as ongoing violence in Somalia, the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and resurgent violence in Burundi, are likely to continue unabated. These and other crises, including the Ebola outbreak in West Africa, the possibility of drought in West and South-East Africa precipitated by the onset of the El Niño weather phenomenon, and the ever-present threats of terrorism presented by Boko Haram, Al-Shabaab, Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb, Ansar Dine and

their criminal allies, demand even greater vigilance and determination on the part of African and international leaders to help restore peace, human security and stability to Africa's most vulnerable states and regions.

IN THIS ISSUE

Early warning issues for
May 2014 1

Mission analysis: African
Union Mission for Mali
and the Sahel (MISAHEL) 2

Regional security
analysis: Lord's
Resistance Army (LRA) 5

Open page: Cape Town to
Cairo – a dream deferred? 8

Important dates to diarise 12

► Current PSC Chair

Bio data: H.E. Madame Naimi SH Aziz

Current posts: Tanzania'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.

Mission analysis

AFRICAN UNION MISSION FOR MALI AND THE SAHEL (MISAHEL)

Introduction

The last country analysis on Mali was published in the September 2013 issue of the *Peace and Security Council Report*. The current analysis focuses on the African Union Mission for Mali and the Sahel (MISAHEL) with its mandate to support Mali in the crisis recovery process and help the countries of the Sahel face security, governance and development challenges. These three components of its mandate are set out in the African Union (AU) Strategy for the Sahel region, whose implementation it manages.

Previous AU press statements and PSC recommendations

The Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the AU, at its 426th meeting held on 7 April 2014, 'welcomed the report of the African Union Commission on the human rights situation in Mali developed on the basis of information gathered by AU Human Rights Observers deployed in Mali, in the implementation of Communiqué PSC/AHG/COMM/2 (CCCLIII) of the Peace and Security Council adopted at its 353rd meeting held on 28 January 2013'. It also welcomed the 'commitment of Malian authorities to combat impunity and to consolidate peace and national reconciliation'.

In a MISAHEL press statement released on 25 March 2014, the head of MISAHEL, Pierre Buyoya, in a meeting with the president of the National Assembly, Issaka Sidibe, 'reaffirmed the commitment of the AU to support Mali in its reconstruction efforts in the face of numerous challenges common to the countries of the Sahel'.

On 20 March 2014, in the press release on the first meeting of defence attachés and security advisors of AU member states accredited to Mali in the framework of the Nouakchott Process, the head of MISAHEL stated: 'The assessment shows that the process is under way in the areas of information

exchange, cross-border cooperation, the fight against terrorism and other organised crime, as well as capacity building for countries and institutions responsible for these issues.' This meeting was an opportunity for the AU to reiterate its willingness to support the efforts of the countries of the Sahel in the fight against terrorism. It was therefore decided that 'a generic concept of operation for mixed units and joint patrols along the borders' would be developed.

At a press conference held on 4 March 2014 in Bamako, Buyoya 'reported on developments in the peace and reconciliation process, how the Nouakchott Process is progressing and the implementation of the AU Strategy for the Sahel'. He also 'welcomed the progress ... made in the peace and reconciliation process with the installation of the National Assembly and the Workshop on lessons learned from past agreements as well as another on the cantonment process'.

The MISAHEL press release of 28 February 2014 gave an account of Buyoya's reception by Algerian authorities. During his visit they discussed 'the peace process in Mali, the security situation in the Sahel, as well as the way forward for enhancing regional security cooperation between the countries of the Sahel-Saharan zone'.

In a press release issued on 23 January 2014, the head of the mission announced that in 2014, 'MISAHEL will give priority to security and development in the Sahel regions'. He also stated that 'all-inclusive talks will be held in Mali in the course of the year', and added that 'MISAHEL intends to bring in extensive African expertise to support Malian authorities in their efforts to meet the legitimate aspirations of justice, social cohesion and individual and collective development for all communities in Mali'. Lastly, it was stated that MISAHEL would endeavour to 'identify common issues for countries of the Sahel in order to offer solutions based on matters which have an impact on development, ranging from religious extremism to decentralisation'.

Crisis escalation potential

More than a year after Operation Serval and the deployment of the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in Mali (MINUSMA),

Mali is still facing the challenge of reconciliation, as well as a precarious security situation both in the north of the country and in the Sahel.

There are impediments to the implementation of the Ouagadougou Political Agreement, signed in June 2013 under the aegis of Blaise Compaoré, mediator for the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). These impediments relate in particular to the cantonment, disarmament and demobilisation of National Movement for the Liberation of the Azawad (MNLA) fighters. In addition, the actors have not yet agreed on conditions for the negotiation of a final comprehensive agreement. In the long term, this delay constitutes a risk to the political stability and security of Mali and its neighbouring countries.

From a security point of view, while the terrorist and Islamist groups (Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb [AQIM], the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa [MUJAO] and Ansar Dine) have dispersed, some of their fighters seem to be regrouping. In fact, elements of these groups are making a comeback, as seen in the sporadic attacks over the past few months, particularly in Timbuktu, Gao and Kidal. This resurgence of terrorism threatens the stability of the country.

Beyond the multidimensional crisis from which Mali is still struggling to emerge, the Sahel continues to face challenges related particularly to the regionalisation of the terrorist threat. Niger and Mauritania, due to the porous borders in this region, could provide refuge for the terrorist elements occupying northern Mali. Further to the west, Boko Haram's rise in power has led to its gradual expansion out of its traditional area of operation in northern Nigeria to neighbouring countries. Southern Niger, in particular, has been infiltrated by some of its members. The group's expansion is worrying for the stability of the Sahel as some of its members are reported to have links with AQIM.

Post-Gaddafi Libya is also a major concern for the Sahel. The weakness of state authority (or its absence, in some cases), conflict and tension between communities mean its southern region remains vulnerable. Moreover, this part of the country has been the scene of various forms of trafficking (weapons, drugs and humans), which strengthens the link between terrorism and

transnational organised crime. Southern Libya, where the terrorist elements who had occupied northern Mali now take refuge, is also suspected of harbouring training camps.

Lastly, the region's pre-election context is a significant additional risk factor. In 2014 and 2015, important elections are to be held in four countries included in the AU Strategy for the Sahel, namely Algeria, Burkina Faso, Mauritania and Nigeria.

Key issues and internal dynamics

MISAHEL, established by the AU Commission in August 2013, followed the transformation of the African-led International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA) into a UN mission in July 2013. It is a political mission, in keeping with the progressive involvement of the AU in the Sahel region, starting with the Libyan crisis in 2011. It is for this reason that Buyoya, the former president of Burundi, the High Representative of the AU for Mali and Sahel and head of AFISMA, became head of MISAHEL while retaining his position as High Representative.

While MISAHEL's headquarters are in Bamako, it plans to expand to the other major cities in the region: Algiers, N'Djamena, Niamey, Abuja, Ouagadougou and Nouakchott. Under the terms of the AU Strategy for the Sahel, MISAHEL will focus its efforts on Algeria, Burkina Faso, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Sudan and Chad. According to the AU, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Nigeria and Senegal also deserve special attention.

The establishment of MISAHEL is in keeping with the various legal instruments adopted by the AU to ensure good governance, security and development. Its Strategy for the Sahel is structured around four main areas of activity: political process; human and humanitarian rights; security; and development in the region. The first two areas underpin those of MISAHEL's activities specific to Mali.

While MISAHEL, as a political mission and particularly in light of its regional dimension, is a first for the AU, its actions and the implementation of its mandate will face three main challenges: security developments in the Sahel; the coordination of the initiatives of the various actors involved; and the financing of its activities.

One of the major challenges facing the countries of the Sahel in their efforts to address security issues is the difficulty of effective border control. This difficulty comes with the Sahel's distinct geographic characteristics and the limited human, material and financial resources of the countries concerned. The transnational nature of the threats facing these countries emphasises the need for regional security cooperation through information exchanges and joint surveillance measures. It is essential that MISAHEL mobilises states in the implementation of the Nouakchott Process, included in the security section of the AU Strategy.

Moreover, the AU claims a unique position in coordinating various activities in the Sahel, invoking its 'undeniable comparative advantage, linked to its continent-wide mandate, its experience in the field and its in-depth understanding of the issues'. While the trans-regional nature of the crisis in the Sahel justifies the primacy given to the AU, the tension between the AU and ECOWAS in the management of the Mali crisis is an indication that some regional economic communities (RECs) are reluctant to accept AU coordination.

Lastly, the security issues in the Sahel require a strong and consistent commitment from the international community. In applying the principle of national ownership, the implementation of the MISAHEL action plan is supposed to be supported primarily by financial contributions from African states. However, past experience, including in Mali, has shown that the mobilisation of local resources can be slow. The fact that the AU depends primarily on financial support from external partners in the implementation of its strategy raises the question of the real commitment of its member states, in light of the political views expressed.

Geopolitical dynamics

Africa and RECs

Within its mission framework, MISAHEL must not only take into account the traditional rivalry between Algeria and Morocco but must also deal with the risk of overlapping jurisdiction between different organisations in the Sahel.

King Mohammed VI's attendance at the inauguration of the president of Mali, Ibrahim Boubacar Keita, in September 2013 and his visit to Mali in February

2014 indicate Morocco's growing interest in the country. Visits to Algeria made by several Malian officials, notably President Keita (18–19 January 2014), the Minister of Defence, Soumeylou Boubeye Maiga (9 March 2014) and Zahabi Sidi Ould Mohamed, Minister of National Reconciliation (20 April 2014), seem to indicate that Malian authorities favour mediation conducted under the aegis of Algeria. The possible rivalry between Algeria and Morocco in the negotiations between the Malian government and armed groups is also reflected in the mediation proposal made by Algeria on 15 January 2014. It is supported by the Coalition for the People of Azawad (CPA), a breakaway faction of the MNLA, while the MNLA invited Morocco to become involved in the resolution of the crisis.

Regional initiatives with limited results, such as the Joint Military Staff Committee (CEMOC), or with ambitious goals, such as the Fusion and Liaison Unit (UFL), were created in April 2010 to address the terrorist threats affecting states in the region (particularly Mali, Niger, Mauritania, Libya and Algeria). Since the crises in Libya and Mali, other regional organisations, including several RECs, have become involved in order to address the structural factors underlying the Sahelian crises (drought, food insecurity, isolation, crime).

The question thus arises as to what role MISAHEL could play beyond setting regional demarcations to limit possible tension emerging from the distribution of tasks among different regional actors such as ECOWAS, the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD) and the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA).

Therefore, the proposed common strategy for ECOWAS, the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) and the Permanent Interstates Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel (CILSS), called the Consistency and Regional Action Programme in West Africa for the Stability and Development of the Sub-Saharan-Saharan Areas (PCAR), reiterates the need for MISAHEL to also act as a coordinator with states such as Algeria, Libya and Mauritania that are not members of ECOWAS.

The establishment of new cooperation frameworks such as the G5 (Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Mali, Niger and Chad) also illustrates the power relations

between member states in several organisations. This proliferation of institutions primarily indicates that MISAHEL must still make an effort to establish its leadership in the region in order to achieve results.

United Nations

In view of the implementation of its Integrated Strategy for the Sahel, developed in partnership with the AU and ECOWAS, the UN created a Steering Committee and three regional working groups covering the main axes of the strategy.

A coordination platform, responsible for monitoring the implementation of Sahelian strategies, was created on 5 November 2013 in Bamako under the chairmanship of Mali for the following two years. Furthermore, cooperation between the UN, more specifically the UN Office for West Africa (UNOWA), and MISAHEL was formalised on 21 February 2014 with the establishment of a Technical Secretariat. Chaired jointly by the AU and the UN, the Technical Secretariat is composed of ECOWAS, the African Development Bank (AfDB), the World Bank, the Islamic Development Bank (IDB), the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), the UMA, ECCAS and the CEN-SAD.

In accordance with the principles set out in resolutions 2056 (2012) and 2100 (2013) of the UN Security Council, the main challenge will be to increase cooperation efforts between the AU, the UN and the RECs in the field.

International community

The European Union (EU) was one of the first international actors to develop a Strategy for Security and Development in the Sahel. The strategy's implementation has been coordinated by a special representative, Michel Reveyrand de Menthon, since March 2013. This strategy, first implemented in March 2011, took on additional activities following the Mali crisis, in particular through various training programmes and by strengthening the Malian and Nigerien armed forces through three missions: the EU Training Mission in Mali (EUTM Mali), EUCAP Sahel Niger and, from 15 April 2014, EUCAP Sahel Mali.

France has invested in the Sahel both politically (supporting the African Peace and Security Architecture) and militarily (Operation Serval in 2013 and the

reorganisation of its military presence in the Sahel-Saharan band).

In addition to its surveillance system in place in some of the countries of the Sahel (Burkina Faso and Niger), the United States (US) continues capacity building in, and strengthening security cooperation among, the states of the Sahel in the fight against terrorism, particularly within the framework of the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP) and through the annual regional exercise, Flintlock.

The strengthening of regional and international cooperation in this region is also managed within the framework of the Sahel Region Capacity Building Working Group of the Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF). This framework, under the joint chairmanship of Turkey and the US, is presented as a discussion platform charged with identifying capacity shortfalls and suitable solutions in the areas of police and judicial cooperation, border security, the fight against extremism and the financing of terrorism.

Lastly, the action taken by other countries, such as Switzerland and the United Kingdom (UK), can be seen in their appointment of Special Envoys for the Sahel, in these cases Didier Berberat and Stephen O'Brien respectively.

Civil society

The AU Strategy makes provision for supporting civil society organisations, particularly in the section on 'consolidation of the rule of law and strengthening of democratic institutions'. It also makes provision for operational partnerships with these institutions in its actual implementation. MISAHEL could build on initiatives already in place at the regional level. The first forum bringing together 123 civil society representatives from the Sahel region was held in Algiers in June 2013 to try to offer solutions to the crisis in Mali, especially its human dimension.

Scenarios

Scenario 1

Due to its efforts to coordinate the various mediation initiatives in Mali, MISAHEL facilitates the resumption of a comprehensive and inclusive dialogue between the Malian government and armed groups and manages to further the process of national reconciliation. At the same time, it succeeds in

strengthening cooperation between intelligence services and the defence and security forces of the countries of the Sahel, as provided for in the Nouakchott Process. These forces, with the support of international partners, manage to reduce significantly the terrorist threat and transnational crime in the Sahel.

Scenario 2

Despite the support of MISAHEL in the dialogue and reconciliation process, the breakdown in trust between the Malian government and armed groups persists and the struggle for influence between the various mediators reduces the negotiations' prospects of success. The lack of financial, human and logistical resources and political will on the part of states delays the objectives of the Nouakchott Process.

Scenario 3

Due to persistent delays in the dialogue and reconciliation process, the security situation deteriorates following renewed hostilities between certain armed groups and the Malian army. Crises arise in other countries of the Sahel, in particular as a result of heightened tension, including increased tension in pre-election contexts, and there are recurrent attacks by terrorist groups and armed militias. As a result, MISAHEL does not reach its political objectives in Mali and is faced with the emergence of new crises.

Options

Option 1

The AU could entrust MISAHEL with a more active role in the coordination of mediation efforts, in order to ensure better coherence between the actors involved in the dialogue and the national reconciliation process. In order to avoid conflicts of interest, MISAHEL could define a new framework, incorporating all actors, so that negotiations could be resumed immediately.

Option 2

In an environment where there is a strong risk of various African actors' efforts overlapping in terms of peace and security issues, the challenge for MISAHEL is to ensure that organisations with experience in the region (ECOWAS) or with specific expertise (CILSS) are involved in implementing its plan of

action and that their strategies are taken into account in any developments within MISAHEL and its mandate.

Option 3

MISAHEL covers a vast geographic region where security challenges may arise in different ways locally in the same country. In light of the mission's current resources, the multitude of factors contributing to instability may be an obstacle to its effectiveness in the field. It should therefore ensure that it has sufficient funding and that it musters the resources to set up sub-offices, particularly in Algeria, Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria, Chad and Mauritania.

Documents

AU documents

- Press statement of the Peace and Security Council of the AU, 426th meeting, Addis Ababa, 7 April 2014
- MISAHEL press release, Addis Ababa, 20 March 2014
- Report of the Chairperson of the AU Commission on the situation in the

Sahel region (PSC/MIN/3 (CCCIV)), Bamako, 20 March 2012

- MISAHEL press release, Bamako, 4 March 2014
- MISAHEL press release, Bamako, 28 February 2014
- Reports of the Nouakchott Process ministerial meetings regarding strengthening cooperation in security matters and making the African Peace and Security Architecture in the Sahel-Saharan region operational: Nouakchott, 17 March 2013; Ndjamena, 13 September 2013; Niamey, 19 February 2014
- Reports on the meetings of Heads of Intelligence and Security Services for the Nouakchott Process, Bamako, 18 April 2013; Abidjan, 20–21 June 2013; N'Djamena, 11 September 2013; Niamey, 17 February 2014
- The AU Strategy for the Sahel region, Niamey, 19 February 2014

ECOWAS documents

- Community Development Plan, 'Regional Coherence and Action Programme for the Development of

Sahel-Saharan areas (PCAR)', ECOWAS, 2014

United Nations documents

- Resolution 2056 of the UN Security Council, 5 July 2012
- Resolution 2100 of the UN Security Council, 25 April 2013
- UN Integrated Strategy for the Sahel, 2013

International community

- EU Strategy for Security and Development in the Sahel, 2011

Regional security analysis

LORD'S RESISTANCE ARMY (LRA)

Previous AU/PSC communiqués and recommendations

In a press release dated 22 April 2014, the AU Commission (AUC) announced that the AU-led Regional Task Force (AU-RTF) troops in the Central African Republic (CAR) had captured a high-ranking Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) commander, Lt Charles Okello, three days earlier. The AUC commended the AU-RTF for its successive successes against the LRA, which led to a decrease in LRA attacks on civilians.

In its follow-up on the LRA issue, the PSC listened to the report of the AUC Chairperson on the 'Implementation of

the African Union-Led Regional Cooperation Initiative (RCI) for the Elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army' in its meeting on 17 June 2013. The Commissioner for Peace and Security also briefed the PSC and representatives of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), South Sudan and Uganda (as member countries of the RCI-LRA), Rwanda, the EU, the UN, the CAR and the Joint Coordination Mechanism (JCM). The JCM is chaired by the AU Commissioner for Peace and Security and comprises the Ministers of Defence of RCI-LRA members and the AU-RTF, which in turn is composed of units provided by the affected countries. The Chair of the JCM referred to the situation in the CAR as one of the most serious problems affecting efforts to hunt down the LRA. The report of the Chairperson on the LRA added: 'The evolution of the situation in the CAR since the resumption of hostilities by the Seleka rebel group in December 2012 has negatively impacted ... the implementation of the RCI-LRA.'

The Chairperson's report PSC/PR/2 (CCCLXXX) was prepared and presented after a request made by the Council through its communiqué PSC/PR/COMM (CCCXXI) following its 321st meeting held on 22 May 2012. The comprehensive report covered numerous developments and challenges concerning the operationalisation of the RCI-LRA, the operations of its various components, activities being undertaken by the AU Special Envoy for the LRA and interaction with the UN, as well as efforts to mobilise international support for the regional initiative to combat the LRA.

The report included updates on the activities of the RCI-LRA involving the communiqué PSC/PR/COMM.2 (CCCLXXX) on the implementation of the RCI-LRA. The PSC commended the operationalisation of the various components of the RCI-LRA and the contribution of troops to the AU-RTF, as well as 'the increasing military pressure being exerted on the group, which led to the capture of key commanders and the surrender of a number of its elements'.

The communiqué also highlighted the negative impact of the situation in the CAR on the operations of the RCI-LRA in the CAR and beyond.

Crisis escalation potential

A December 2012 report by the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) said that over 326 000 people remained displaced in areas that were threatened by the LRA in east-central Africa. Most of the displaced people were living as refugees in the CAR, the DRC and South Sudan.

In late March 2014 it was reported that the LRA had forged an alliance with the notorious Christian militia group, anti-balaka, to fight Muslims and foreign forces in the CAR. The UN also confirmed that the alliance was responsible for a spike in attacks on Muslims and peacekeepers in the CAR. At the end of March 2014 a clash between members of the African-led International Support Mission to the CAR (MISCA) and the LRA and anti-Balaka alliance resulted in 20 deaths in Bangui. The deteriorating security situation in the CAR has negatively affected the AU-led campaign against the LRA elements in that country and created a safe haven for the group.

According to the US-based civil society organisation The Resolve, LRA fighters have abducted more than 200 people in a 'quiet surge of violence' in isolated areas of the CAR since the 2013 coup. The LRA alliance with anti-balaka, which is blamed for numerous brutal killings and attacks on the MISCA, has made the latter's activities more complex. About a quarter of the country's 4.6 million people have been displaced since the start of the crisis and thousands have been killed.

The March 2013 coup in Bangui has allowed the LRA more space and freedom to commit its atrocities. In June alone, the LRA killed 19 civilians and abducted 68 in Haut Kotto in the CAR. The LRA Crisis Tracker records reflected 16 additional LRA attacks from January to June 2013 in the eastern CAR.

The LRA's ability to adapt to evolving political and security developments in difficult terrain is evidenced by its survival and expansion into the DRC and CAR. Given the fragile security arrangements in Central Africa, the LRA continues to present a grave threat to the wellbeing of civilians in the DRC, South Sudan and the CAR, as well as to

the ongoing peace and political processes in these countries. The LRA also continues to take advantage of the escalating security problem in the CAR. The security and political crisis in the CAR has made dealing with local rebel groups a priority, adversely affecting the campaign against the LRA. The possibility of the LRA forming opportunistic alliances with regional governments or other rebel groups and the alleged support from elements in the Sudanese army are also cause for concern. Moreover, ongoing instability in the eastern DRC and escalating fighting in South Sudan may also enable the LRA to rebound.

Key issues and internal dynamics

On 22 April Uganda announced it had captured one of the commanders of the LRA and freed ten hostages following a battle. According to the Ugandan army, which is leading the AU-coordinated and US-backed mission to capture LRA leaders, Charles Okello was captured in the south-east of the CAR.

Quoting defectors from the LRA in April 2014, the Ugandan state newspaper *New Vision* reported that members of the brutal group were tired and disillusioned and wanted to defect. The newspaper claimed that most LRA fighters did not want to fight anymore. According to the report, the rebels claimed that it had been a long time since they had communicated with their infamous leader, Joseph Kony.

Encouraging the defection of LRA fighters is a top priority for those fighting the LRA. A significant majority of the remaining LRA fighters may well be abductees. The AU-led mission has expanded efforts to promote defections from the LRA's ranks, using leaflet drops, radio broadcasts, aerial loudspeakers and the establishment of reporting sites where LRA fighters can safely surrender. Reports show that the campaign air-dropped more than 1 million leaflets encouraging defections at 17 locations in the LRA-affected areas of the CAR, the DRC and South Sudan. The leaflets, produced in several local languages by Invisible Children, promise fair treatment by the Ugandan government for those who leave the LRA. The effort is showing results. In December 2013, 19 individuals, including nine Ugandan males, defected from the LRA in the CAR, the largest defection since 2008.

Despite the huge geographic and logistical challenges faced by the AU-RTF, the campaign is succeeding in reducing the LRA's capacity to attack civilians. According to OCHA, between 2010 and 2013, some 50 per cent fewer people were abducted and 75 per cent fewer were killed by the LRA. 'Since 2012, the African Union-led forces have removed two of the LRA's top five commanders from the battlefield, and we have credible reporting that a third, Okot Odhiambo – who was the LRA's second-in-command and an International Criminal Court [ICC] indictee – was killed late last year.' The number of defections and releases from the LRA has also dramatically increased, further reducing the LRA's capacity.

According to the LRA Crisis Tracker, the group committed 90 attacks in the first half of 2013, a 54 per cent drop from the 194 attacks in the first half of 2012. In particular, the DRC experienced a significant drop, from 158 LRA attacks in the first half of 2012 to 66 in the first half of 2013. However, the report noted that despite the dramatic drop in attacks, LRA forces killed more civilians in the first half of 2013 (47) than during the first half of 2012 (32), a 47 per cent increase. Taking advantage of the political and security crisis in the CAR, the LRA committed its most notable attacks in the first half of 2013, in the eastern CAR's Haut Kotto prefecture.

Some of the RCI-LRA member countries experience persistent difficulties in providing logistical support to their contingents operating as part of the AU-RTF, included mobility (air and ground), medical support, rations and effective communications. Funding for the AU-RTF HQ and the JCM Secretariat also lacks the required level of predictability and sustainability.

The LRA is taking advantage of the current situation in the CAR and exploiting the instability in the DRC. The activities of the AU-RTF are seriously compromised by the changing security and political situation in the CAR, while the current operational limitations present a serious challenge to the continued effective implementation of the RCI-LRA in the CAR. Currently, the LRA is poaching and trading ivory from the Garamba National Park in the north-eastern DRC. The situation in the CAR has further destabilised the north-eastern region of the country

bordering Kafia Kingi and has made the enclave even more attractive to LRA commanders.

LRA leaders were the first individuals indicted by the ICC in 2005 for war crimes and crimes against humanity, including murder, rape and the forced recruitment of children.

Geo-political dynamics

Africa and RECs

On 19 July 2013, the PSC authorised the African-led International Support Mission in the CAR (AFISM-CAR), which incorporated elements of the existing Mission for the Consolidation of Peace in the CAR (MICOPAX). The mission was given several mandates, including the protection of civilians and restoring the authority of the central government. It operates alongside the AU-RTF, although no mechanism to coordinate activities and share information has yet been established.

A report by The Resolve has stated that elements of the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) in Kafia Kingi actively sheltered senior LRA commanders and provided them with limited material support. The Resolve said that 'according to LRA defectors and other sources, LRA leader Joseph Kony himself had first travelled to the Kafia Kingi enclave in 2010. He returned to Kafia Kingi in 2011 and was present there throughout parts of 2012'. The LRA's ability to operate in Kafia Kingi with Sudanese support poses a severe threat to regional efforts to eliminate the rebel group. If The Resolve's allegations are accurate, it will be a big blow to the regional operation against the group. It will also strain regional relations and possibly weaken cooperation to eliminate the group.

Sudan's support for the LRA dates back to 1994. In the absence of effective diplomacy, Sudanese government officials have refused to cooperate fully with regional counter-LRA initiatives and have denied allegations about the LRA's presence in Kafia Kingi. Michael Poffenberger, executive director of The Resolve LRA Crisis Initiative, said: 'As long as Kony is able to find a safe haven in Sudan, he can avoid pursuit by Ugandan forces by simply crossing the border whenever they get close'. Sudan has consistently denied the accusation.

United Nations

In his report to the UN Security Council on the LRA, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon requested partners to support

the AU-led campaign against the LRA. He said: 'Only by providing the necessary resources will we be able to ensure the success of continuing efforts by the national authorities, the African Union and other international partners in this regard.'

Efforts by the UN, AU and international partners to address the threat and impact of the LRA and Kony are becoming more coordinated. The UN Regional Office for Central Africa (UNOCA), a political mission established in 2011, is playing an important role in fostering a coordinated UN response.

International community

On 23 March, the US announced it would boost the counter-LRA mission by deploying at least four helicopters to help find Kony. The CV-22 Osprey helicopters now support the AU Regional Task Force. The high-speed, night-capable Ospreys will be vital for transporting AU troops operating in the CAR, South Sudan and the DRC. The Obama Administration also approved an additional 150 special operations forces and other air personnel to fly and maintain the aircraft. As detailed in the US War Powers Act notification, this will increase the total number of US forces in Uganda from 100 to around 300 troops.

The US is the most visible international partner supporting the fight against the LRA. The US government has designed a comprehensive, multi-year strategy to end the threat the LRA poses to civilians and regional stability. The strategy outlines four key objectives: increased protection of civilians; the apprehension or elimination of Kony and senior LRA commanders from the battlefield; promotion of defections and support for the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of remaining LRA fighters; and the provision of continued humanitarian relief to affected communities.

In March 2014 the EU announced that it would provide close to €2 million to support the fight to eliminate the LRA and support the RCI-LRA for a period of 17 months. The support is intended to cover staff allowances, communication equipment and operational costs.

Scenarios

Given the nature of the LRA and the state of security in the region, the following are potential scenarios:

Scenario 1

The addition of modern aircraft and extra soldiers by the US facilitates the successful hunt for LRA fighters and the protection of civilians.

Scenario 2

The possibility of a rift in the LRA leadership results in more high-level defections by captives. Such a scenario would help the regional force to gather vital information about the locations and operations of the group, thereby leading to further operational successes. The capture or killing of Kony with necessary external support restricts the LRA's sphere of activity and helps capture or kill other LRA leaders and fighters, thereby putting an end to two decades of LRA atrocities.

Scenario 3

The new crisis in South Sudan and ongoing instability in the CAR weakens the regional force and adds to the logistical and financial challenges faced by the task force, which creates fatigue and rifts between the different national armies that make up the mission.

Scenario 4

Kony's proven presence in Sudan escalates regional tension and continues the legacy of proxy conflict in the region. The merger of the LRA with other regional armed militias in South Sudan, Darfur, Rwanda or the DRC effectively multiplies the magnitude of the existing security threat.

Options

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

Option 1

The PSC could continue to request the involvement of partners and the UN to resolve the logistical and financial challenges faced by the regional task force by improving aerial surveillance and human intelligence in Central Africa. The PSC could design a specific hybrid plan with the UN Security Council to develop a joint response strategy based on a close partnership with UN missions in the war-affected countries and which would address defensive gaps in the eastern CAR as well as much of the northern DRC. Such mechanisms could help improve the safety of civilians in the region.

Option 2

The PSC, through the AU special envoy to the LRA, could try to include Khartoum in efforts to eliminate the LRA. The envoy could also initiate discussions between the DRC and Ugandan governments to improve intelligence sharing and cooperation.

Option 3

The PSC, in collaboration with members of civil society active in the area, could encourage countries affected by the LRA to take measures to address the trauma experienced by LRA victims through traditional and state conflict resolution and legal institutions. The PSC could also institute and support more defection initiatives.

Option 4

The AU could consider the possibility of convening a mini-summit of the RCI-LRA member states and other countries like Sudan at the level of heads of state on the sidelines of the next AU Summit, to thoroughly discuss the LRA issue and develop ways to effectively and permanently eliminate the group while ensuring greater protection for potential LRA victims.

Documentation

AU documents

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

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

(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)

PSC/PR/COMM.2 (CCCLXXX), Communiqué on the implementation of the Regional Cooperation Initiative for the Elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) (17 June 2013), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

PSC/PR/2 (CCCLXXX) Report of the Chairperson of the AU Commission on the

'Implementation of the African Union-Led Regional Cooperation Initiative (RCI) for the Elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army' (17 June 2013), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Press release: Democratic Republic of Congo hands over 500-strong contingent to the African Union-led Regional Task Force for the elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army (13 February 2013), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Press release: Important action-oriented decisions adopted by the 2nd Ministerial Meeting of the Joint Coordination

Mechanism of the Regional Cooperation Initiative for the Elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army (16 January 2013), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

(PSC/PR/COMM.1 (CCCXLI)) (13 November 2012), Communiqué on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism and Violent Extremism in Africa

Press Release on the 2nd Regional Ministerial Meeting on the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) (6–8 June 2011), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Assembly/AU/6(XIII) (1–3 July 2009), Report of the Peace and Security Council to the African Union on its Activities and the State of Peace and Security in Africa, 13th Ordinary Session, Sirte, Libya

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

PSC/MIN/Comm.2 (CLXIII) (22 December 2008), Communiqué on the situation in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

Open page

CAPE TOWN TO CAIRO – A DREAM DEFERRED?

In January 2014, at the AU Summit in Addis Ababa, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, Chair of the AU Commission, anticipated Africa's achievements by the year 2063. She highlighted many possibilities, including a high-speed rail network

linking the peoples and regions of an integrated and united Africa. Although not referenced in her speech, it is difficult to contemplate Africa four decades from now without the expectation of at least one reasonably fast, unbroken, heavy haul, north-south rail route, linking the southerly regions of Africa to North Africa and beyond.

Hampered by at least three different rail gauges, three broken links, inhospitable terrain and sporadic political turmoil, there is still no continuous north-south

continental railway line between South Africa and Egypt, as proposed more than a century ago by Cecil Rhodes.

Such a transportation link should logically be the 'spine' that joins north to south and intersects essential east-west rail links, traversing Northern, Central and Southern Africa, functioning as rail 'ribs' that reinforce and strengthen the economic capacity and capabilities of 21st century Africa. Yet, at a time when trains routinely criss-cross North America, Europe

and Asia, there is no train capable of travelling between Cape Town and Cairo and there are no functioning east-west transcontinental lines.

The absence of an African rail 'spine' is surprising in view of the number of rail conferences that have taken place in Africa, the impressive projects that have been planned, the reports that have been produced and the progress that has been made in some African regions to develop regional rail transportation networks, particularly in Northern, Eastern and Southern Africa.

At a meeting in Brazzaville in 2006, for example, the African Rail Union's report on *Rail Development in Africa* noted that 14 countries in Africa did not even have rail networks. It provided the following list of reasons for Africa's glacial approach toward the development of an intra-continental rail network:

- Lack of political goodwill to work out real transport policies
- Gradual abandonment of operational subsidies granted to the rail industry
- Extraordinary road transport development
- Investments reserved for roads due to procedures and policies applied by international institutions (the World Bank)
- (Report/ratio 26 per cent road against 13 per cent rail)
- Fall in railway investments (maintenance and renewal)
- Since the 1950s: doubling of investments intended for roads
- Since the 1980s: priority given to agriculture
- Since the 1990s: economic adjustments
- Priority given to human resource management in adjustment programmes of the transport sector (PAST)

Subsequently, in 2009, South Africa's NATMAP 2050 Master Plan recorded that, 'in 2007 the Africa

Union together with the Union of African Railways resolved that standard gauge should be adopted for the construction of new railway lines on the continent'.

The 2007 AU deliberations concluded that:

The conversion to standard gauge (1 435mm) for new railway lines should enable African railways to benefit further from the wide range of material and equipment at global level, and will contribute significantly to resolving the problem of interoperability in the future Pan-African railway network.

Although 60 per cent of the world's railway lines are standard gauge, 85 per cent of Africa's rail networks, totalling about 80 000 km, use narrow gauge (1 067 mm) tracks. Only a relatively short east-west trans-border railway in North Africa, potentially linking Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, uses 1 435 mm gauge tracks, which will also link up with 1 435 mm lines in Egypt when the Libyan section (delayed by the civil war) is completed. A few other African countries such as Guinea and South Africa also have isolated sections of standard gauge track.

Some key rail transportation countries, notably Russia, India and China, use 1 524 mm, 1 676 mm and 1 435 mm respectively. The difference between the standard gauge (1 435 mm) and the broad gauge measure used predominantly by Russian Railways (1 524 mm) is a mere 89 mm. Nonetheless, different track gauges, usually at border crossings, result in time-consuming and expensive logistical delays and disruptions in the flow of goods and passengers en route to various destinations. Africa's mix of 1 067 mm, 1 000 mm and 1 435 mm gauge track is therefore an impediment to smooth and cost-effective intra-continental and intercontinental rail travel.

As the NATMAP 2050 report also notes, a number of different techniques are currently in use to address the problem of breaks-in-gauge, 'all of (which) add to operational costs and origin to destination transit times'. These include trans-shipment (relocating

goods and/or passengers to a different train); bogie changing (fitting different wheel sets to trains); dual gauge tracks; and variable gauge wheel sets.

Dual gauge or mixed gauge tracks enable trains with different wheel gauges to share the same routes. Some countries in Western and Central Europe also employ a variable gauge system, which enables rolling stock with multiple wheel tracks or variable axles to quickly and easily adapt to using two or more track gauges. Opinions are divided over which system is best for Africa. Some experts have recommended the use of rolling stock with variable axles; others have proposed introducing a four-rail system to support a triple gauge mix of 1 435 mm, 1 067mm and 1 000 mm, thus allowing gauge unification in Africa.

Africa's east-west rail routes, the 'ribs' crossing Northern, Central and Southern Africa and connecting with the north-south Cape to Cairo route, could be standard gauge feeder links connecting important coastal centres and land-locked cities with a broad gauge 'spine' that connects with the rest of the world via Cairo by rail. Ideally, the 'spine' link should be a four-rail dual system that allows both standard gauge and broad gauge rolling stock to use the Cape Town–Cairo route to facilitate eventual connectivity with European and Asian systems.

The spin-off economic benefits for Africa of an extensive regional rail network are potentially enormous. Moving high volumes of goods and people in and out of Africa quickly and efficiently by rail can be expected to help stimulate Africa's economic growth, as occurred in India.

In the last few years, [India] has been experiencing a steady economic growth enabling the country to realise 9% growth in GDP and very soon we will be realising 10% or more. The growth is always associated with transportation and movement and railways have a major share in ensuring cost-effective movement for industry for freight and

passenger to maintain its competitive edge.

Of course, the development of an African intra-continental rail network would require a dedicated labour force, a competent pool of engineering expertise, adequate funding and effective leadership backed by political will.

Labour is readily available. There is surely no better time than now to turn swords into ploughshares, a goal of peace lovers everywhere that could be given new meaning within the African context by creating a workforce drawn from the ranks of the continent's 35 million unemployed and some of its estimated 2 million professional military personnel; a workforce that could build essential railway lines, roads, stations, tunnels, bridges and port facilities to sustain an intra-African and intercontinental rail network linking Africa to Europe and Asia.

A workforce of 3 500 would take 18 months to complete 250 km of track, using the latest Tubular Modular Track (TMT) technology. A much larger workforce might be expected to complete the entire project, including supportive infrastructure, in ten years. TMT was designed and perfected by a South African civil engineer, Peter Küsel, and has already been used successfully in the deserts of Saudi Arabia and Namibia. Apart from presenting an African solution to an African problem, the great advantage of using the TMT design to expand Africa's rail transportation network, in addition to the obvious initial cost savings, is its relatively light maintenance schedule and its suitability for harsh terrain, including desert conditions. This type of track is also virtually theft-proof when compared with traditional ballasted track, an important additional saving in terms of maintenance.

Financing a mega-infrastructure project such as a continental rail network would no doubt include a re-allocation of existing funding and effective cost-saving measures. In 2012, Africa devoted over \$39 billion to military expenditure, according to the Stockholm

International Peace Research Institute (SIPRA). Setting even half these funds aside every year for ten years should enable Africa to accumulate almost \$240 billion for the required rail network. Having already received \$1 trillion in developmental aid over a period of 60 years (the Marshall Plan required a paltry \$13 billion to rebuild war-torn Europe), Africa now receives about \$50 billion per year in aid from other countries. Twenty per cent of that amount over ten years, devoted solely to the development of rail transportation, would total \$100 billion, which could be added to the amount of \$240 billion. China has reportedly already allocated a similar amount to upgrade its rail system and India is spending \$280 billion to upgrade 64 000 km of tracks over a ten-year period.

The cost advantages of rail construction, in comparison with the development of long-distance highway systems, include traffic and freight volumes, speed and safety considerations, fuel efficiency, maintenance costs, weather considerations and the amount of land required for the construction of a single-lane highway per kilometre as opposed to the amount of land required for a kilometre of dual rail track. In terms of cost-effectiveness, railway construction is economically superior to road construction. Investment in rail infrastructure also has other important benefits for the continent as a whole in that fewer long-haul trucks would need to travel long distances by road, thereby saving funds normally required for highway, bridge and tunnel maintenance as a result of heavy road traffic. Highway use could therefore be reserved almost exclusively for private cars, emergency vehicles and smaller commercial vehicles.

In addition, there are mutual economic advantages in linking virtually every country and region in Africa to Europe, Asia and the Middle East by rail. Motor vehicles and heavy capital equipment, as well as spare parts, clothing, food, household appliances and medical equipment, could then be only days

away from the most remote African destinations. Conversely, African producers could transport their products to foreign consumers in a matter of days rather than months.

In her speech the AUC Chair referred specifically to 'an Africa (where) young people could tour on high-speed rail links similar to Europe's Inter-Rail system'. Although bullet trains transporting working commuters, tourists and students at 300 km/h would be impressive, initial planning should focus on creating economic opportunities to enable Africans to actually benefit from anticipated super-fast commuter trains in 2063.

An intra-regional rail network would enable job seekers to access job opportunities; students to access schools, colleges and universities; and tourists to access tourist sites more easily and safely. Africans would also have quicker and easier access to specialist medical facilities. A modern integrated African rail network is also essential for farmers, industrialists and small business entrepreneurs to be able to get their products to urban and foreign markets, either indirectly via road, air or sea or directly by rail.

A direct rail route between Cape Town and Cairo would extend for about 10 000 km, even longer than the Trans-Siberian railway. In theory, getting rail freight from one of these cities to the other in under 72 hours, including stops en route, would require an average speed of slightly more than 140 km/h.

As the NATMAP 2050 report noted, 'experience has shown broader gauges to be generally better than narrower [gauges], causing regret in regions where narrow gauges emerged as standards'. Two broad gauge (1 524 mm) tracks, one north-bound and one south-bound, from Cape Town to Cairo, would make it possible to transport containerised freight between any major African city and Europe or Asia a lot quicker than by sea; and in greater volumes than by air. Double-stacking of containers would double the freight load, but would also require the enlargement of some tunnels, the possible

redesign of some rail bridges and the raising of electricity lines where electrified trains are used.

The use of road-railers (hybrid trailers that can be used on both roads and rail tracks) would ensure the smooth transportation of freight between factories, farms, shippers, importers and consumers. The road-railer is essentially a heavy-load truck and trailer with an exceptional and innovative modification to the undercarriage that enables the trailer to be coupled to a freight train in a matter of minutes and hauled by rail to its destination. The truck driver, freed of his trailer, is then able to fetch another loaded trailer for the next freight train. Heavy-duty road-railers would spend most of their time on the road travelling between respective warehouses and the nearest freight train station, leaving highways relatively free for other lighter traffic.

Passenger and freight trains cannot be expected to wait idly for borders to open or for customs and immigration officials to spend hours checking freight and passenger documentation. Therefore, one anticipated consequence of a continental rail network would be the facilitation of open borders, with passenger and goods documentation cleared at both source and final destination. This approach would be cost effective, market friendly and beneficial to trade and investment in Africa. It would also encourage use of the continental rail transportation system, reduce the need for long-distance, intra-regional travel by road and keep rail costs down.

Clearly, Africa's future growth and unification, as well as its stability and pacification, depends on an effective transportation network. In addition, an efficient, cost-effective rail grid connecting every state and regional economic community, supported by viable road links and urban transit networks, would strengthen the continent's economy and generally raise African living standards. A modern transportation network underpinned by the relative safety,

reliability and cost-effectiveness of a continental rail system would also effectively shorten Africa's long-overdue journey towards political integration, social development, economic prosperity and peace.

Although Africa is at the geographical centre of the international trade system, it lies south of the world's dominant trade route; a golden commercial highway that stretches from Japan through continental Asia and Europe to North America, connecting major trading blocs such as the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA), the EU, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). The engineering capability already exists to begin building the kinds of bridges and tunnels needed to physically connect North Africa with Spain and the Horn of Africa to Yemen.

As the African Rail Union noted in April 2006:

Taking into account the fact that the railway in spite of its insufficiencies, had advantages in particular with regard to long-distance transportation, the African leadership should have taken the decision to confer to it the role of lynchpin of an integrated African system of transport by combining both complementary and competitive modes of transport.

The political factor thus appears to be the weak link in the delivery line. Given the demonstrated absence of realistic technological, financial and physical impediments to the creation of an intra-African rail network, the main reason why there is not a rail network linking north to south and east to west seems to be a lack of political will on the part of African leaders, an absence of vision and perhaps a lack of leadership itself.

As the report of the First African Union Rail Conference concluded in 2006,

Response to rail development in Africa is political and must come from highly placed Africans responsible for defining the new vision for Africa and ways and

means required for the implementation of the NEPAD [New Partnership for Africa's Development] action plan. Ministers of transport have to prepare and direct the decisions of highly placed officials in charge of the continent.

The AUC Chair's vision of Africa in 2063 should encourage the region's leaders to do what is necessary to transform the vision into reality. As a first step in the process of establishing a modern African transportation network that one day includes inter-city bullet trains and transcontinental heavy haul freight trains, the completion of the Cape to Cairo rail link, if pursued urgently with dedication and tenacity, need no longer languish as a dream deferred.

SOURCES:

NATMAP 2050, *National transport master plan 2050: rail working group report*, rail gauge study report, prepared for South Africa's Department of Transport, August 2009 (Note: the working group comprised Africon, SSI and Ingérop)

Dream deferred, poem by Langston Hughes

Rail development in Africa: stakes and prospects, objectives and missions of the African Rail Union (ARU), First African Union Conference of African Ministers Responsible for Railway Transport, 10–14 April 2006, Brazzaville, Republic of Congo, AU/EXP/RT/3(I)

APJ Kalam, *Connectivity leads to economic prosperity*, address at the Conference on Railways Vision 2030, New Delhi, 1 March 2008.

Stanley Mkoko, *African Railways–Vision 2025*, TransNet, power point presentation, 4 March 2009.

Interviews with Craig Tengstrom, Contracts Director, Tubular Track, www.tubulatrack.co.za and Jaap van der Merwe, Group CEO, Infradev, www.infradev.co.za

Important dates to diarise

3	May	World Press Freedom Day
7-9	May	World Economic Forum on Africa 2014, Abuja, Nigeria
4	June	International Day of Innocent Child Victims of Aggression
5	June	World Environment Day
12	June	World Day Against Child Labour
17	June	World Day to Combat Desertification and Drought
20	June	World Refugee Day
26	June	International day Against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking

Country	Election	Date *
South Africa	Presidential	7 May 2014
	National Assembly	7 May 2014
	Provincial	7 May 2014
Malawi	Presidential	20 May 2014
	National Assembly	20 May 2014
	Local	20 May 2014
Comoros	Presidential	26-27 May 2014
Egypt	Presidential	26-27 May 2014

**could change, dependent on circumstances*

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 Dakar

Dr Amandine Gnanguenon
Mr Paulin Maurice Toupane
Ms Tity Agbahey
Mr Esso-Wédeou Gnamke
Ms Fatimata Ouedraogo
Mr Ibrahim Maiga
Mr Ousmane Aly Diallo

Acknowledgements

Ms Antoinette Louw
Ms Iolandi Pool
Mr Jean-Guilhem Bargués

Contact

Dr Kasajja Phillip Apuuli
Programme Manager CPRA-Addis
Institute for Security Studies
PO Box 2329
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Tel: +251-11-515 6320/24/67/98
Fax: +251-11-515 6449
Emails: addisababa@issafrica.org
kapuuli@issafrica.org
Website: www.issafrica.org

Subscribe electronically to the PSC Report at
www.issafrica.org/subscribe.php

Donors

The publication of this report is made possible through the support of the Humanity United Foundation and the Hanns Seidel Stiftung. The ISS is also grateful for the support of the following key partners: the governments of Norway, Sweden, Australia and Denmark.

The ISS is a leading African policy research and training organisation. The vision of the ISS is a peaceful and prosperous Africa for all its people. The mission and overall goal of the ISS is to advance human security in Africa through evidence-based policy advice, technical support and capacity building.



About this report

This report is an independent publication of the ISS. It is also available on the ISS website in English and in French and can be viewed together with thematic reports on the work of the PSC at www.issafrica.org/publications/peace-and-security-council-report. The PSC Report can also be accessed in English and French at the ROP website at www.operationspaix.net.

© 2014, Institute for Security Studies

Copyright in the volume as a whole is vested in the Institute for Security Studies, and no part may be reproduced in whole or in part without the express permission, in writing, of the Institute. The opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the ISS, its trustees, members of the Advisory Council or donors.