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“ The PSC would have arrived in Bujumbura while campaigning was in full swing

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“ Nigeria, at least for now, is a permanent member of the PSC

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On the Agenda

The field mission that wasn't

In July, the Peace and Security Council (PSC) was scheduled to leave its Addis Ababa headquarters and get closer to one of its most urgent situations: Burundi. However, the trip has yet to take place, largely because of logistical problems and the fact that it could have been seen as an endorsement of President Pierre Nkurunziza's third-term bid. Presidential elections in Burundi went ahead on 21 July.

According to the first draft of the PSC programme for July, the PSC was to undertake a field mission to Burundi from 24–26 July, pending consultation between the AU Commission and Burundi. In a later version, these dates were altered to 18–20 July, as apparently confirmed by Burundi through a diplomatic note.

Field trip announced at Johannesburg summit

The provision for a field trip in July came as no surprise. At the 25th AU Summit in Johannesburg in June, the incoming PSC chairperson for July indicated he thought it was important for the PSC to engage more directly with the situations that fall under its remit; that PSC members need to see what is happening on the ground.

PSC field missions are not a new phenomenon, although they do not happen very often

According to sources, South Africa's ambassador to the AU, Ndumiso Ntshinga, said he wanted to use his chairpersonship to make that happen, and several options were discussed, including Burundi, the Central African Republic and the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo.

PSC field missions are not a new phenomenon, although they do not happen very often. The last field mission was a visit to Mali with the European Union Political and Security Committee in February this year. That mission met various government figures, including President Ibrahim Boubacar Keita, as well as representatives of key political parties, parliamentarians and civil society organisations. To their credit, participants travelled from the capital Bamako to the city of Gao, a focal point for violence and instability in northern Mali (although, for security reasons, they were not allowed out of the airport).

Burundi reluctant to confirm dates

However, the Burundi field mission did not take place as planned, due to a combination of factors. According to sources, the South African delegation was slow to process the diplomatic formalities associated with the trip, while Burundi was reluctant to confirm dates and a detailed itinerary. Complicating things further was the postponement by one week of Burundi's presidential elections, to 21 July, which would have meant that the PSC would have arrived in Bujumbura while campaigning was in full swing; and the involvement of a number of PSC delegates in the Third International Financing for Development Conference in Addis Ababa from 13–16 July.

PSC Chairperson

H.E. Ndumiso Ntshinga

Ambassador of South Africa to Ethiopia and the African Union

Current members of the PSC

Algeria, Burundi, Chad, Ethiopia, Equatorial Guinea, The Gambia, Guinea, Libya, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda

It is also important to note that Burundi is a member of the PSC and its former ambassador to the AU, Alain Nyamitwe, was appointed by Nkurunziza as the country's new minister of Foreign Affairs in May this year. The appointment came amid growing concern about the situation and street protests against the government in Bujumbura. Tanzania and Uganda, both important actors in the attempts to find a solution to the crisis in Burundi, are also members. Uganda took over from Tanzania as mediator in early July.

Complicating things further was the postponement by one week of Burundi's presidential elections, to 21 July

Taking all this into account, the PSC decided to postpone the field mission to an unspecified date. The decision came much to the relief of the AU Commission, which had been concerned about the expense associated with the proposed mission, and nervous that the PSC's visit could be perceived as an endorsement of Nkurunziza and the controversial electoral process.

Questions about the utility of field missions

These concerns reflect larger questions about the utility, or otherwise, of field missions. While in principle a good idea, it is often hard for diplomats – bound by tight security restrictions – to penetrate beyond the layers of protocol and propaganda. How much can a brief field mission really alter one's understanding of a country's complex political dynamics? And what impact would it have on the PSC's decisions?

To answer these questions and others, the PSC Report turned to Joanna Weschler, Deputy Executive Director and Director of Research at the Security Council Report. The United Nations (UN) Security Council goes on regular field missions, and has been doing so for decades (Coincidentally, the UN Security Council's most recent field trip was to Burundi in March; this was the final leg of a trip that also took in the CAR and Ethiopia).

The UN Security Council's experiences, and lessons learned, are directly applicable to the PSC. In fact, the UN Security Council's field missions may have inspired the PSC to do the same. 'The UNSC does regularly visit countries that are identified as flashpoints ... What we are urging for is adherence to cooperation between the African Union Peace and Security Council and the United Nations Security Council as we have had two [UN] resolutions under the chairmanship of South Africa that emphasised the importance of this,' commented Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, South Africa's Minister for

International Relations and Cooperation, at a press briefing in Pretoria on 15 July when asked about the PSC field trip to Burundi.

UN Security Council field trips large and unwieldy

The UN Security Council's field missions have evolved over the years, and not necessarily for the better. In the past, any member could propose a trip, and the chair could delegate who would go – it was not necessary for the whole council to participate. Trips could also be organised quickly, at a few weeks' notice, allowing the council to respond to developing and emergency situations. Now, the full council is required to participate, making field missions large and unwieldy, and the permanent members tend to dictate the agenda.

'Security Council field missions have gone through a range of mutations. Nowadays they are not extremely useful; it is essentially high-level tourism. They are still useful for people who have never been to a continent they are dealing with. It helps to get a better perspective on the levels of misery and the impact of those resolutions they adopt. But it is essentially very passive right now and usually extremely delayed in terms of when it can make a difference,' explained Wechsler.

The UN Security Council's most recent field trip was to Burundi in March

For Wechsler, a good field mission is characterised by timeliness and a clear strategy. One example is the September 1999 mission to East Timor, in the midst of post-referendum violence, where the UN Security Council played an important role in mediating between belligerents and contributed to a reduction in violence – saving lives in the process. 'This is an example of a useful mission, because it's a crisis, it's an urgent situation. What really makes sense is when the council can interact with key actors and send very strong messages. It's done face to face but it is also done through being seen in the media and in being present in the place in question. These things actually do help,' she said.

This advice is something that the PSC should bear in mind – especially when it comes to fast-moving situations such as Burundi. When the council does eventually arrive in Bujumbura, it might be too late to be useful.



Situation Analysis

Huge losses threaten Somalia's Vision 2016

The PSC has expressed its concern over the situation in Somalia. A series of attacks against soldiers of the African Union Mission for Somalia (AMISOM) at the end of June has come as a blow to the mission – the AU flagship peacekeeping mission on the continent. The renewed attacks by al-Shabaab could jeopardise Somalia's plans for the future.

In a recent statement, Somalia's Prime Minister Omar Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke predicted that the Islamist terror group al-Shabaab could be militarily defeated by the end of 2015. However, the past month has seen a series of high-level attacks targeting AMISOM and various government departments in Somalia. There have also been targeted assassinations of Somali officials and politicians. These attacks have killed scores of peacekeeping troops, government employees and officials, destroyed property and spread terror across the country.

It was thought that the militant group was reduced to ambushes and suicide bombings

The biggest impact of the attacks has arguably been on the past year's assumption that al-Shabaab was becoming weaker and isolated, and that it was now unable to wage a coordinated offensive against government troops or AMISOM. It was thought that the militant group was reduced to ambushes and suicide bombings.

Biggest attack so far on AMISOM peacekeepers

The attack on Burundian peacekeepers at Leego, in southern Somalia, took place on 26 June following a spate of other attacks and coming just a day after a raid that killed eight police officers in the town of Afgoi. It is still not certain how many peacekeepers were killed in Leego, but estimates range from 50 to 80 – the most peacekeeping casualties in AMISOM's and Somalia's history. The fact that the base was overrun and controlled, at least for some time, by the radical group, which also flew its flag over the base, was also symbolic.

While al-Shabaab is known to increase its activities and attacks during the Islamic holy month of Ramadan, the 26 June attack on AMISOM's Leego base was unexpected at many levels.

Al-Shabaab claims responsibility

The attack began with a car bomb being detonated at the entrance to the base, which forms part of AMISOM's strategic logistics supply chain. It is reported that the fight between the militants and the 100 AMISOM troops manning the base lasted for several hours. Al-Shabaab spokesperson Ali Mohamoud Raghe confirmed that the group was behind the offensive and said they killed as many as 50 AU soldiers and confiscated military equipment. The group later announced that it had taken the bodies of 60 Burundian soldiers back to its base. According to the commander of

60

PEACEKEEPERS KILLED ON 26 JUNE,
ACCORDING TO AL-SHABAAB

Al-Shabaab, Mohamed Abu-Yahya, the group's black flag flew over the base after the raid.

The PSC, which met to discuss the situation three days after the attack, confirmed the incident but did not give details of the number of casualties.

The attack raises several questions over the capacity, mandate and future of the AMISOM mission, especially the role of Burundi, a troop-contributing country with 5 432 troops in Somalia. The incident comes amid a political deadlock in Burundi over President Pierre Nkurunziza's third-term bid.

Slow progress towards Vision 2016

The government in Mogadishu has been working towards the creation of a strong, representative, democratic and decentralised Somali state, something the country has lacked for more than two decades. There have been repeated references to 2015 being the most critical year in the realisation of the above strategy, dubbed Vision 2016. Broadly speaking, Vision 2016 consists of three elements. First, the constitution must be drafted. Second, the borders between the various regions, which will be the building blocks of the envisioned federal state, must be demarcated. Third, the democratisation process must continue, along with electoral reform, which is aimed at the holding of free and fair elections scheduled for August 2016.

Some progress has been made in the drafting of the new constitution and setting up regional administrations. However, the country is still far behind in creating institutions that can oversee the transition, can conduct and oversee processes and events like the election, and can run the federal state. The establishment and operationalisation of the National Independent Electoral Commission is still huge challenge.

The democratisation process must continue, along with electoral reform

As noted by the PSC Report earlier this year, political infighting within the government and Parliament is one of the biggest challenges faced by the Somali state, and poses a serious threat to the realisation of a national vision. 'The government and Vision 2016 continue to suffer from inter-clan differences, regional competition and divisions between politicians and technocrats.'

There is increasing impatience from partners and the international community with the Transitional Federal Government (TFG). Recent developments show that these partners want to control and follow up on the activities of the TFG. This is evident in the opening of a European Union (EU) office in Somalia in May 2015, following the signing of an Establishment Agreement between Somalia's President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud and the EU Head

of Delegation in Somalia, Michele Cervone d'Urso. The agreement formalised the presence of the EU, which already has three field offices in Somalia overseeing the implementation and monitoring of EU-funded projects.

An 'African success story'

AMISOM is the AU's flagship peacekeeping project. At the Africa Day celebrations held in Mogadishu in May 2015, the Special Representative of the AU Commission Chairperson for Somalia and Head of AMISOM, Ambassador Maman Sidikou, emphasised that Somalia's and AMISOM's success are intertwined with that of the continent. Mohamud also said that Somalia 'became an experiment lab and a successful experiment', while the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Somalia, Nicholas Kay, described AMISOM as an African success. The latest attacks, however, raise serious questions over the success and future of the mission.

AMISOM's mandate and capacity was at the top of the discussion agenda in Johannesburg

AMISOM's mandate and capacity was at the top of the discussion agenda when Mohamud met the heads of state of the troop-contributing countries in Johannesburg, South Africa on the sidelines of the AU summit last month. It is reported that the meeting agreed to accelerate AMISOM's liberation of areas held by Al-Shabaab. This is aimed at helping to realise the establishment of the regional governments and ultimately the effective functioning of the federal state, within the framework of Vision 2016. The meeting also discussed AMISOM's contribution in making the newly liberated areas accessible to humanitarian organisations, the government, civil society and the international community.

However, the latest attack showed the huge gaps in protecting liberated areas. AMISOM's plan to free more areas from al-Shabaab could receive a serious blow, as the latest developments may dictate instead the consolidation of security and the political process in those areas already under the control of the Somali government and AMISOM.

PSC calls for more UN support

On 28 June 2015 the chairperson of the AU Commission also condemned al-Shabaab's attacks on the Somali National Army (SNA) and AMISOM. The statement expressed the AU's solidarity with Burundi, which had suffered huge losses in the attack. The chairperson called on the United Nations (UN) and partners to sustain and enhance support for AMISOM and the SNA.

While briefing the Military Operations Coordination Committee (MOCC) on 29 June 2015 at the AU headquarters in Addis Ababa, the force commander of AMISOM, Lt. Gen. Jonathan Rono, stressed that great progress had been made towards the total liberation of Somalia, despite the Leego attack. He added that the Leego incident would not affect AMISOM's mission of liberating Somalia. The meeting, which was chaired by AU Peace and Security Commissioner Smaïl Chergui, considered the recommendations forwarded by the recent joint AU–UN benchmarking exercise for AMISOM.

The PSC recognised the threat al-Shabaab posed to Somalia and the rest of the region

In light of the developments, the PSC also met on 30 June 2015 to discuss the situation in Somalia. The council, which was briefed by AMISOM's head, commended the political and security gains made thus far and called for greater effort towards the realisation of Vision 2016. The PSC recognised the threat al-Shabaab posed to Somalia and the rest of the region. It called for the increased involvement of the UN Support Office for AMISOM (UNSOA) in providing more effective and flexible

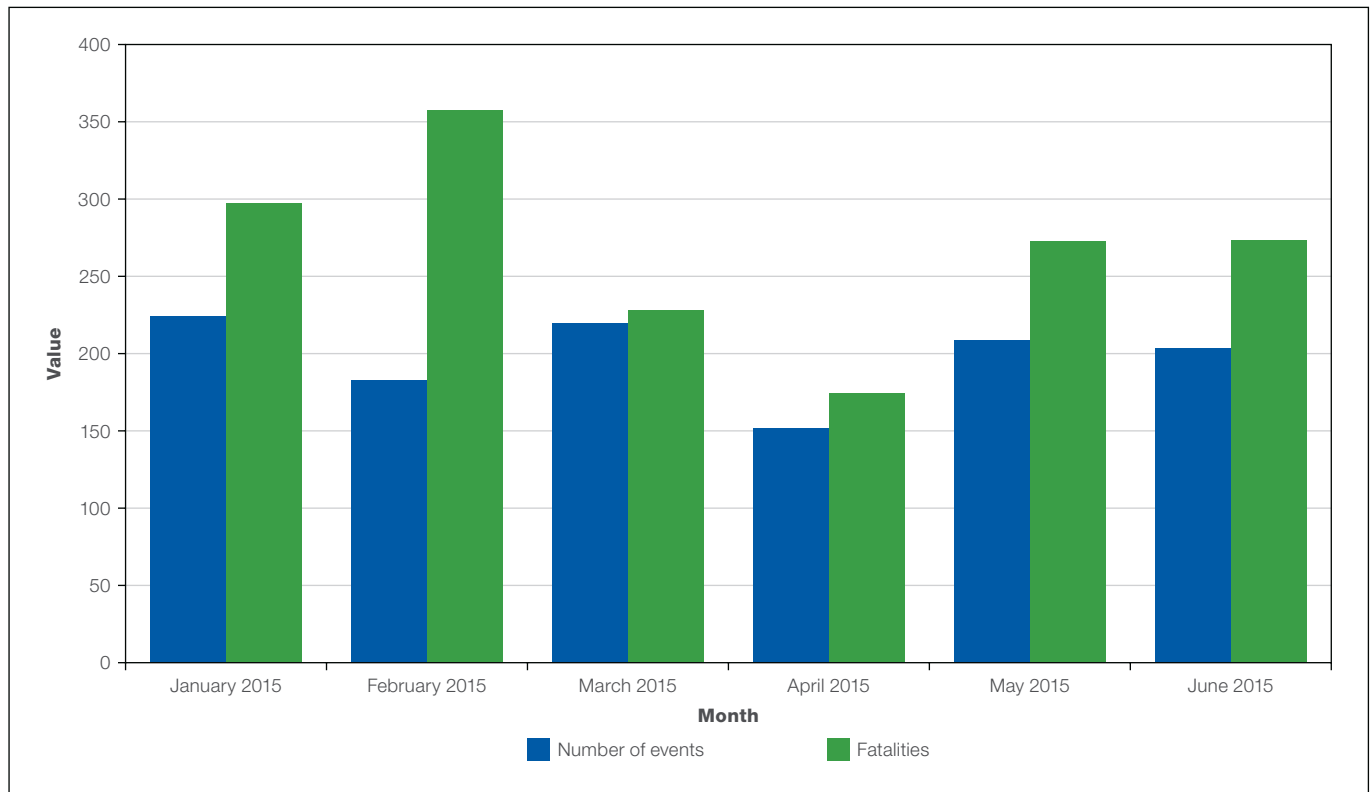
logistical support, and asked the commission to follow up on the implementation of the findings of the AU–UN Joint Mission in Somalia.

AMISOM troops 'reorganised'

In a press release following the Leego attack, Sidikou denied reports that AMISOM's forces were leaving areas that had been recovered from Al-Shabaab. According to the statement, AMISOM troops are not being withdrawn from any town or location; instead, 'AMISOM and the SNA are currently re-adjusting and re-organizing troop deployments in order to revitalize an already effective strategy that has enabled the recovery, consolidation, expansion and control of over eighty percent of South Central Somalia by the Federal Government'. The statement tries to assure Somalis that AMISOM remains committed and ready to bring peace and stability to Somalia.

The second meeting of the heads of intelligence and security services of the East African region, scheduled to be held in Kampala, Uganda on 14 and 15 July 2015, is expected to discuss enhancing regional security cooperation in fighting al-Shabaab. As four of the five troop-contributing countries of AMISOM are in the region, the meeting will also discuss the mandate, capacity and challenges of the mission.

Fatalities in the fight against al-Shabaab in Somalia remain high, despite hope that the situation in the country could normalise in the foreseeable future



Source: Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project

Addis Insight

PSC stands with Rwanda on universal jurisdiction



A meeting of the PSC on 26 June 2015 and its subsequent communiqué on universal jurisdiction have sparked controversy over the legal interpretation of the case against Rwandan intelligence chief Lieutenant-General Karenzi Karake. The PSC strongly condemned the arrest of Karake in London last month and called it ‘an attack on Africa as a whole’.

Just days after the arrest of Karake – the director of Rwanda’s national intelligence services who was in London to meet his British counterpart – the PSC held an emergency meeting in Addis Ababa to discuss the issue.

The meeting was called at the behest of Rwanda, and arranged with unprecedented speed. ‘Africa is unanimous on this issue, that’s why the PSC was able to convene so quickly,’ Phillip Karenzi, charge d’affaires at the Rwandan Embassy in Ethiopia, told the PSC Report.

An extraordinary meeting

This PSC meeting was unusual in several respects. First, Kenyan Attorney-General Githu Muigai was allowed to participate in the meeting as a friend of Rwanda. Kenya is not currently a PSC member state. This is significant because of Kenya’s recent history of involvement in issues pertaining to international justice. Symbolically, at least, Muigai’s participation provided a link between Rwanda’s issues with universal jurisdiction and Kenya’s issues with the International Criminal Court.

The PSC turned it into a continental issue, throwing the full weight of the AU behind Rwanda in the process

Second, members of the media were invited to listen to Rwandan Foreign Minister Louise Mushikiwabo’s opening address to the PSC (the foreign ministers of Ethiopia and Uganda were also present). This was a break with tradition and the subject of some debate prior to the start of the meeting. But as one delegate observed: ‘This is an extraordinary meeting, requiring extraordinary measures.’

The third unusual factor was that the issue was even up for discussion at the PSC level at all. On the surface, the problem appeared to be a strictly bilateral issue between Rwanda on the one hand, and Britain and Spain (as the author of the arrest warrant) on the other. However, in discussing the matter, the PSC turned it into a continental issue, throwing the full weight of the AU behind Rwanda in the process. At the same time, the PSC heeded Mushikiwabo’s insistence that this was a political rather than a judicial question (it is unclear whether the PSC sought advice beforehand from the AU’s legal department).

‘Trust me, there is nothing judicial about these sham indictments on Rwandan officials by individual judges from France, Spain or from any other country, particularly in Europe. These are political manoeuvres and they can’t be called any other name,’ said Mushikiwabo in her opening address.

PSC calls for Karake's release

After a little over an hour of discussion, the PSC wrapped up its deliberations and issued its conclusions in a communiqué that called for the immediate release of Karake; condemned his arrest as an abuse of the principle of universal jurisdiction; and reiterated the AU's concerns regarding the application of universal jurisdiction in general. The Commissioner for Peace and Security Smail Chergui was tasked with delivering the communiqué to various stakeholders, including the governments of Britain and Spain (as yet there has been no official response).

'We've had a very successful session with the PSC just now,' Mushikiwabo told journalists at the conclusion of the meeting.

The communiqué was clearly designed to send the strongest possible message to Britain and Spain

Given the tone of the meeting and the evident support for the Rwandan position, the PSC's conclusions did not come as a surprise. More surprising was the stern language used in the communiqué, which was clearly designed to send the strongest possible message to both Britain and Spain. The PSC 'considers [Karake's arrest] as not only an attack on a Rwandan national, but on Africa as a whole', it said; and '[e]xpresses concern at the continued support by certain quarters of the international community to groups that perpetrated genocide and continue to vehicle its toxic ideology, as well as [the] attempt to absolve those who committed genocide in Rwanda and, in this respect, stresses that extremist groups should in no way be sanitized'.

Strongly worded communiqué shocks diplomats

The communiqué also called into question the validity of the arrest warrant itself, echoing Rwanda's claim that it had been overturned by another Spanish court earlier this year. Notably, at no point in the communiqué did the PSC comment on the innocence or otherwise of Karake in terms of the specific charges.

The strongly worded communiqué shocked Western diplomats in Addis Ababa, who worry that it is premised on two fundamental misunderstandings.

The first apparent misunderstanding is that the issue has anything to do with universal jurisdiction at all. According to the International Justice Resource Centre, 'the term "universal jurisdiction" refers to the idea that a national court may prosecute individuals for any serious crime against international law – such as crimes against humanity, war crimes, genocide,

and torture – based on the principle that such crimes harm the international community or international order itself, which individual states may act to protect.'

Do the charges against Karake, which stem from the killing of three Spanish medics in the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide, fit this definition? The involvement of Spanish nationals may give its courts direct jurisdiction over the crime without needing to invoke the doctrine of universal jurisdiction. In other words, it is not about accountability to the international order, but justice for Spanish nationals. Thus the PSC's position on the abuse of universal jurisdiction – and the invocation of the AU's position on the same – may not apply in the first place.

'A country can assert its jurisdiction over anyone if the victims are citizens of that country. So if Spain is looking specifically into the Spanish victims, [it does] not need to invoke universal jurisdiction,' said Ottilia Maunganidze, a senior researcher at the Institute for Security Studies.

The second alleged misunderstanding is that either the British or the Spanish government is in any position to circumvent the judicial process and release Karake. To do so would be political suicide for any European leader, and no number of demands – no matter how harshly worded – can change this. (Instructive in this context is the vehement public reaction South Africa's government faced in the wake of its failure to obey a court order preventing Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir from leaving the country after the June AU Summit in Johannesburg.)

In other words: Even if Karake's arrest was politically motivated, as Rwanda claims, now that Karake is in the European judicial system, his defence will have to be legal rather than political.

Karake's hearing postponed

The result of all of this is something of a stalemate, which will likely last until the hearing on whether Karake should be extradited to Spain. Following a request by his lawyers for more time to prepare his defence, this will only be on 29 October (Karake is out on bail until then, but not permitted to leave the United Kingdom). The real test of the PSC's position will come if the British judge does rule that Karake must be extradited. In such a case, what actions can the PSC take to reinforce its hard line?

So far, both the PSC and the Rwandans have remained tight-lipped on what might come next. However, when the PSC Report put this question to Mushikiwabo, she offered a hint: 'Should Africans in the area of justice, African judiciaries, consider an African warrant for Western leaders who are guilty – because that's important, you don't go after people who aren't guilty – and my response is, why not?'

Addis Insight

Transforming the AU a momentous task



Restructuring the African Union Commission (AUC) to make it a more efficient organisation has been on the cards for a very long time. Last year, AUC Chairperson Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma appointed an expert from the private sector to head the AU's new human resources plan. A new organisational structure and operational model for the AU will be presented at the next AU summit on 30–31 January 2016.

Chadian recruitment and management expert Amine Idriss Adoum likes challenges. That is why, he said, he took up the job to streamline the African Union (AU) in Addis Ababa almost a year ago. 'I believe, like [Barack] Obama said, Africa needs strong institutions. We need to make the AU stronger,' Adoum, director for Administration and Human Resources at the AU, told the PSC Report on the margins of the 25th AU Summit in Johannesburg last month. Adoum had worked as head of Talent and Organisation at the banking group Ecobank in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, until his move to the AU.

Streamlining the AU is first about restructuring, putting in place new operating models

'Streamlining the AU is first about restructuring, putting in place new operating models that bring not only more efficiency and accountability but also clarification of roles and responsibilities,' he said. Currently the AU has around 1 500 staff members, but this could increase to 2 000 depending on projects and programmes.

The current operational budget for the AU is around US\$100 million, of which around 70% is for salaries, said Adoum. At the summit, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government approved a total budget for the AU of US\$417 million for 2016. Of this, just over US\$150 million is meant for operations and US\$267 million for programmes.

In terms of its new self-financing plans, 100% of the operational budget and 75% of the programmes budget will in future be financed by AU member states. Currently, international partners fund almost all programmes.

Recruiting and retaining qualified staff is one of the organisation's biggest challenges, admitted Adoum, given that the average age of staff members in Addis Ababa is around 50 years old. 'Young people don't really know us, so it's difficult to attract young people. We appear like an old-fashioned institution,' he said.

Plans are in place to remedy the weaknesses in the AU's recruitment approach through a new website that will be launched in September this year and by introducing headhunting for key positions. Employing staff, however, is more complicated at the AU than elsewhere due to the system of country- and regional quotas. The AU has 54 member states that all need to be represented in the institution.

The AU is also a multilingual organisation, but those not proficient in English are put off by the fact that the recruitment website is in English. 'People believe if they don't speak English they cannot come to work at the AU, which is wrong.'

\$417
million

THE TOTAL AU BUDGET FOR 2016

Asked whether working conditions in Addis Ababa are part of the problem in filling vacancies, Adoum said a recruiting firm has been asked to help analyse this. Motivation and career development are crucial in this regard, he said.

In January next year, the Peace and Security Department will inaugurate its new building, which is nearing completion, adjoining the old administrative bloc and the new headquarters inaugurated in 2012. Yet the AU does not lack space. The commission has over 42 000 m² of office space available in Addis Ababa, but not all of it is utilised optimally.

The AU has 54 member states that all need to be represented in the institution

One of the complaints from outsiders is that AU officials tend to travel constantly to conferences across the continent. Would it not be possible to conduct some of the meetings electronically? Adoum said the AU has purchased 30 video-conferencing systems, but the quality of phone signal in Addis Ababa remains a problem. The organisation is, however, continuing to acquire new technology to streamline its meetings. At the next summit in Addis Ababa, at the end of January next year, some of the new technology will be on display. The AU hopes to provide most of its documents electronically to do away with the reams of paper consumed at each summit.

Addis Insight

Call to AU members to ratify the Arms Trade Treaty



On 25–26 June 2015 the AU Commission’s Peace and Security Department hosted a senior government officials meeting on the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT). The meeting was typical of the vital behind-the-scenes work done by the AU Commission for which it rarely receives credit, and its purpose was simple: to persuade African countries to sign and ratify the ATT, which entered into force on 24 December 2014.

‘The recent entry into force of the Arms Trade Treaty laid the foundations for a global framework of arms transfer controls, including for small arms and light weapons and ammunition,’ said United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon in a statement. ‘A universal ATT, adequately implemented, is critical to removing the tools for armed conflict.’

The widespread availability of small arms, light weapons and ammunition is a global problem, particularly in Africa. The ATT is designed to slow the illicit trade in these weapons; and, as such, its implementation is a pressing peace and security issue for the continent.

So far, 37 African countries have signed the ATT, but only 10 have ratified it. The AU Commission was hoping to improve these numbers by helping member states to understand the envisioned role of the ATT in regulating the international trade in conventional arms; explaining the relationship between the ATT and existing international policy; and outlining exactly what costs and obligations member states would incur as a result of ratification. It also wanted to prepare member states for the upcoming First Conference of States Parties, to be held this August in Cancun, Mexico, and provided attendees with detailed lists of costs and procedures.

The widespread availability of small arms, light weapons and ammunition is a global problem

Key states absent

In his opening address, the head of the Peace and Security Secretariat, Admore Kambudzi, welcomed attendees. ‘The illicit arms trade has devastating consequences, especially here in Africa. Your presence here today is further evidence of your support and commitment to this mechanism,’ he said.

Although the ever-diplomatic Kambudzi is unlikely to have intended them as such, his words served as an admonishment to the large number of absentees, among them several states for whom this should be a pressing issue, such as Algeria, Egypt, Niger and South Sudan. This illustrates a fundamental difficulty for the AU Commission, whose effectiveness often depends on the at-times unpredictable participation of member states.

Nonetheless, according to the Peace and Security Department, the meeting was a success. ‘Regarding ratification by AU member states, a number of those participating

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THE NUMBER OF AFRICAN
COUNTRIES WHO HAVE RATIFIED
THE ARMS TRADE TREATY

in the meeting have confirmed that there are steps being undertaken at the national level towards ratifying or acceding to the ATT. The AU Commission also commends the important work being done by regional economic communities to sensitize and mobilize their member states towards this end,' said the department in response to questions from the *PSC Report*.

A framework for responsible arms trade decisions

The department is not blind to the difficulties of implementation, however. 'There are likely to be a range of challenges. First there is the political challenge. Some states may be unwilling to implement the treaty, because they may believe it infringes on their sovereign right to conduct legal trade in conventional arms. Other states might be simply unable to implement the ATT due to poor implementation and oversight mechanism at the national level that could lead to the diversion of weapons.

'In any case, however, the ATT provides an ideal framework for dealing with these challenges. The continued scrutiny of international conventional arms trade activities within the framework of the ATT will certainly have an important and positive impact on the development of norms and responsible arms trade decisions.'

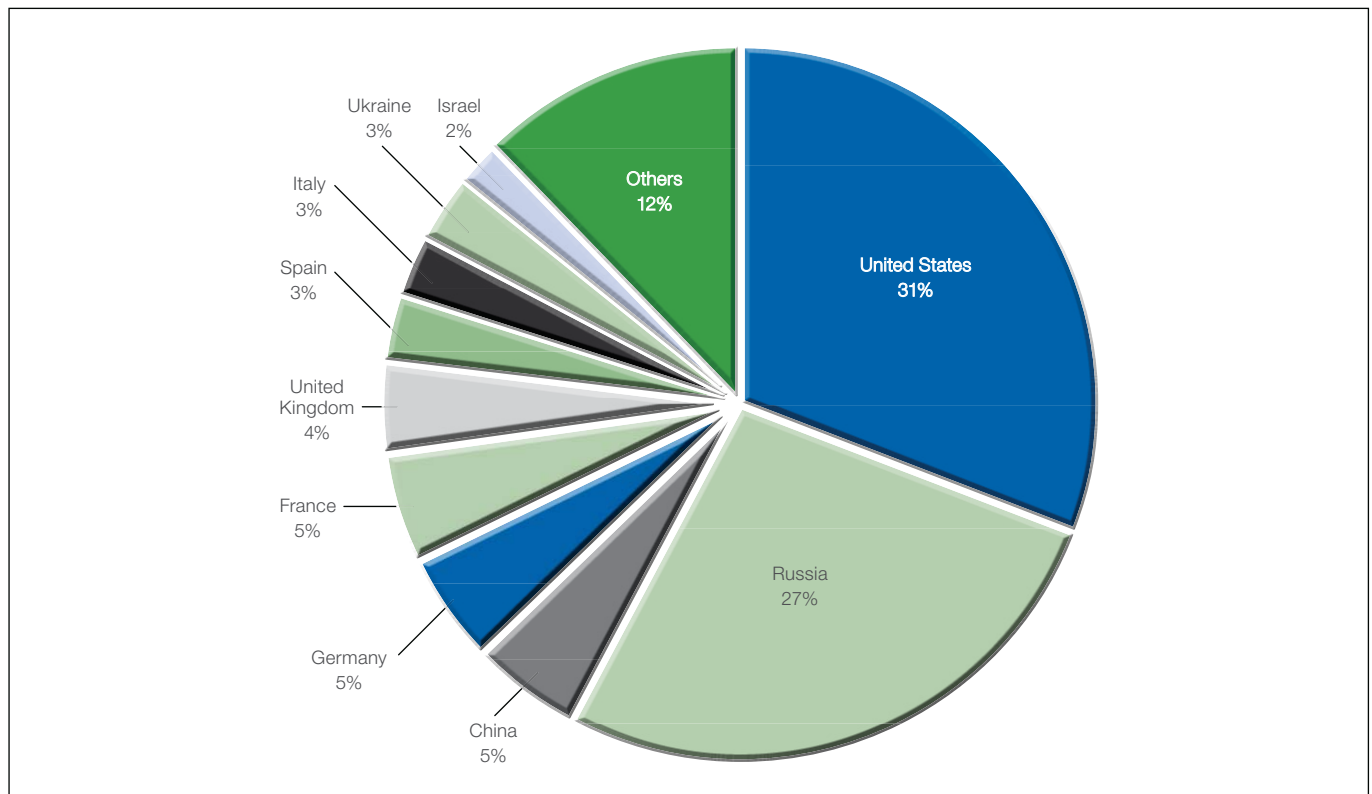
The meeting on the ATT is part of a raft of measures undertaken by the AU Commission to help member states understand and implement various international obligations and commitments. This is an important service on a continent where member states do not always have the capacity to engage effectively on these issues by themselves.

'Peace and security, and particularly arms control, can only be addressed effectively through continuous dialogue and deliberation that takes into account new developments and realities,' said the Peace and Security Department.

'The AU Commission recognizes that it has an important role in fostering enhanced understanding of these instruments, how they contribute to regional and international peace and security to enable member states make informed decisions. Through such meetings the AU Commission also aims to provide a platform for mobilizing support and assistance to member states' efforts by engaging international donors and partners.

'For example, the AU Commission continues to be engaged on the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention, and other weapons of mass destruction related treaties, such as the Treaty of Pelindaba, the Chemical Weapons Convention and UN Security Council Resolution 1540 (2004). This is in addition to the regional and international instruments on counter-terrorism.'

Global arms exporters



Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/transfers/measuring/copy_of_at-images/top-10-arms-exporters_2010-14/image

PSC Interview

Nigeria honoured to serve 'permanently' on the PSC



HE Ambassador Usman Baraya, Ambassador of Nigeria to Ethiopia and Permanent Representative to the AU, is still relatively new to Addis Ababa. It has been a busy five months, however. He speaks to the *PSC Report* about Nigeria's month as chair of the PSC in June, the key issues facing the council, and Nigeria's de facto 'permanent representative' status.

Ambassador Baraya, congratulations on Nigeria's tenure as chair of the PSC in June. What do you think were the most significant decisions reached by the PSC during that time?

The most important decisions taken at the PSC summit [in Johannesburg] were in respect of two situations, the situation in Burundi and that in South Sudan. But the overarching issue was terrorism on the continent and across the globe, and in particular as it affected us as Africa, and as the chair of the PSC.

On that occasion both the president of Nigeria and that of Chad gave very important renditions of the situation and the activities of the Multinational Joint Task Force, which was set up between Nigeria, Niger, Chad, Cameroon plus Benin. Discussions were held about the operationalisation of the task force, commitments that were being made to it and the monies that were put in place from donors and international partners. Nigeria's new president pledged US\$100 million for the new secretariat of the Multinational Joint Task Force.

Apart from those at the Johannesburg summit, what other decisions were made by the PSC in June?

We took very important decisions through our collaborative efforts between the PSC and the United Nations (UN) Security Council. The mandate of the UN-AU Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) was extended by another 12 months because the situation in Darfur, based on the reports reaching us, is still not normal. Of course there were concerns from the Sudanese government, and the Sudanese authorities want us to abandon the mission, but in view of the obvious concerns and the evidence before the council under our chairpersonship, we made sure there was a further extension of the mandate of UNAMID so that at the end of it all we get the desired results.

The Sudanese authorities want us to abandon the mission, but we made sure there was a further extension of the mandate of UNAMID

Toward the end of the month, the case of universal jurisdiction also came up?

We had an extraordinary session on universal jurisdiction that was not part of the agenda, after the arrest in London of the Rwandan security chief, Lieutenant General Karenzi Karake. The PSC met and received very important statements and reports

from the minister of Foreign Affairs of Rwanda, who was accompanied to the meeting by ministers from Kenya and Uganda, all in solidarity with what was happening.

Of course the council considered all the reports and finally issued a communiqué in support of Rwanda, especially taking into consideration that even the Western world had been singing the praises of Rwanda ... so why the sudden twist? This gentleman [Karake] had been going back and forth [between Rwanda and Britain]. We were especially concerned given the timing. It was at the same time that Burundi was brewing, so any of these things were serious distractions.

How can you keep momentum on these issues once your chairpersonship is over?

We plan to organise a three-day retreat in Nigeria's capital city Abuja in the run-up to the UN General Assembly [which begins on 15 September 2015]. The idea is that what we could not comprehensibly address, as well as what is coming out of the South African chairpersonship [July], we will try to [take further in collaboration with] regional economic communities. We want to engage them in Abuja to hear what they have to tell us and what efforts they are making regarding peace and security generally in the sub-regions.

It's not always easy to implement PSC decisions. For example, at the June summit the PSC resolved to send military observers to Burundi, but as yet they have not received permission to depart. How can the PSC implement its decisions more effectively?

We can no longer fold our arms and see situations deteriorate under the guise of sovereignty

As members of the AU, Africans can no longer fold our arms and see situations deteriorate under the guise of sovereignty, as we might have done as part of the Organization of African Unity. If situations are definitely out of hand, out of control, the AU and in this case the PSC will get involved. Regarding the situation in Burundi, the East African Community (EAC) keeps telling us as the PSC that they are on top of the situation. They send us different signals to those we see on the pages of newspapers and from the electoral committee.

Finally, at the last minute, a special facilitator was nominated by the region in the person of President [Yoweri] Museveni of Uganda, and it was agreed that he was already doing a good job because he had visited the country in the run-up to the election. We are receiving reports on the outcomes of his

efforts through his mission in Addis. Because of all this we have to exercise some constraint.

But it's no longer business as usual [for leaders seeking to stay in office]. We are convinced this is a clear case of a search for a third mandate, a third-term project, which many of us, even in my own native Nigeria, have experienced in the past. The commission had sent the correct signals to the president of Burundi and he refused to listen.

Notwithstanding the principled position of the AU Commission, which is to distance ourselves from the elections [and not to send election observers], we, as the PSC, agreed to send an observer team to give us a comprehensive report. We are waiting only for the outcome [of the election] to decide what to do. We are also waiting to see what the facilitator will come up with.

Nigeria has had a seat on the PSC since the council's inception, but its term – along with many others – expires in 2016. Will we see Nigeria back on the council?

For Nigeria it is a regional arrangement. It preceded my coming here, but I was told it was in appreciation of Nigeria's efforts in and beyond the region. The West African sub-region decided for some reason it's a quote unquote 'permanent representation' arrangement. Nigeria, at least for now, is a permanent member of the PSC. And we are privileged and honoured to have that special status because we are the only ones so far to have enjoyed it ... With every sense of moderation, we have paid our dues in peacekeeping, everywhere from the Congo crisis in the early 60s to most parts of the world.

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The *PSC Report* accomplishes these objectives through the publication of regular reports on issues that are either on the PSC's agenda or that deserve its attention. Through its webpage dedicated exclusively to the ISS' work on the PSC, the *PSC Report* also offers regular updates on current and emerging agenda items of the PSC.

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