

Progress with the African Standby Force

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INTRODUCTION¹

Having failed to reach agreement on the structure of an inter-African force for the military aspects of conflict management, the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) occasionally undertook or endorsed less complex ceasefire monitoring missions such as the Bamako Ceasefire Commission (1963). The Pan-African peacekeeping force that operated in Shaba Province of Congo (Kinshasa) in 1978–79 was the first OAU peace support undertaking; followed by the Chadian operation (1979–82), which was also the only OAU peacekeeping venture of a complex nature during this period.

In the immediate aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the OAU re-examined its security and peace agenda. It recognised the prevalence of destabilising conflicts that would seriously impede collective and individual efforts to realise the continent's political and socioeconomic objectives. The outcome of the 1990 summit was the "Declaration of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity on the Political and Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and the Fundamental Changes Taking Place in the World", according to which leaders agreed to work together towards the peaceful and rapid resolution of all conflicts on the continent. To this end, African Heads of State adopted the Cairo Declaration of 1993 establishing the OAU's Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, which marked the beginning of the organisation's second-generation peace and security agenda.

The OAU Mechanism was instrumental in enabling the organisation, through the Central Organ, the Secretary General and the Conflict Management Centre (CMC), to react more promptly and effectively to the numerous existing and new conflicts. It thus facilitated the intervention of the OAU in a number of conflicts (Angola, Burundi, the Central African

Republic (CAR), the Comoros, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda and Somalia), as well as the Ethiopia-Eritrea border dispute and conflict.² In the field of peacekeeping, the mechanism endowed the OAU with the capacity, though limited, to mount observer missions and small operations in five countries, namely Rwanda (NMOG I and NMOG II); Burundi (OMIB); the Comoros (OMIC I, II and III); DRC (JMC); and Ethiopia-Eritrea (OLMEE). The budgets for these very limited operations ranged from US\$105,000 to around US\$3 million.

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The rather unsatisfactory record of the *ad hoc* mechanisms for intervention called for a reappraisal in subsequent years. On the one hand, the UN Security Council's early commitment to Africa ran into problems in Somalia in 1993; and this factor contributed to its disgraceful inaction during the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. After Somalia and Rwanda, the UN showed less interest, responsibility and commitment to resolving conflicts in Africa than Asia, the Americas and Europe. It took several years and a new Secretary General before the UN returned to peacekeeping in Africa. On the other hand, regional organisations

in west and southern Africa, led by countries such as Nigeria, South Africa and Zimbabwe, began to show much greater willingness and capacity to launch peace operations when no action was forthcoming from the UN or the OAU.

The OAU was formally transformed into the African Union (AU) in Durban in 2002. Pursuant to Article 5(2) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union, the Protocol on the Peace and Security Council (PSC) was established as a collective security and early warning arrangement to facilitate timely and efficient response to conflict and crisis situations in Africa, replacing the OAU Mechanism.³ Within the framework of Article 13 of the PSC Protocol, the AU Commission is mandated to establish an African Standby Force (ASF).⁴



The PSC Protocol provides for the conversion of the existing situation room at the Commission into a fully fledged Continental Early Warning System to “facilitate the anticipation and prevention of conflicts”.⁵ It also provides for the creation of a Panel of the Wise, made up of African elder statesmen and women, to advise the council and the chairperson of the Commission and to undertake preventive action. Should prevention fail, or an emergency develop, the protocol makes provision for an African Standby Force that would be ready to undertake peacekeeping or intervention missions, while a Military Staff Committee would advise and assist the council in this and other matters. The Peace Fund, inherited from the OAU, is to be increased in size and used to “provide the necessary financial resources for peace support missions and other operational activities related to peace and security”.⁶

The purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of the progress that has been made towards the establishment of the African Standby Force (ASF) at continental and regional levels.⁷ The text necessarily draws heavily on a number of official documents that have been produced in the wake of a series of recent planning meetings at various levels across the continent.

The first section provides a review of the continental framework as it has evolved to date and been adopted by the AU. Subsequent sections deal with progress in three regions in Africa, namely the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The conclusion highlights the most salient challenges to be overcome if the ASF is to become a meaningful and effective conflict management tool in the hands of the PSC.

The Continental Policy Framework for the African Standby Force (ASF)⁸

Following two meetings of African Chiefs of Defence Staff in Addis Ababa (in May 2003 and January 2004), as well as a meeting of African Ministers of Defence on 20 January 2004, the policy framework of the ASF and the military staff committee was approved by African Heads of State in Addis Ababa in July 2004.⁹ The force is to consist of standby brigades in each of the five regions, and to incorporate a police and civilian expert capacity as well.¹⁰

Heads of State also approved a proposal by the Ministers of Defence and Security to establish a specialised technical committee comprising Ministers responsible for Defence and Security of the AU to work with the PSC to follow up on the establishment of the ASF.¹¹ The summit

also requested that the chairperson of the Commission conclude memoranda of understanding between the AU and the regions to guide relations between the various bodies on peace and security.

Whereas the original concept had called for substantive progress by mid-2004, delays in the approval of the policy framework, which had first been submitted to Heads of State in 2003, the absence of substantive follow-up consultations and exchange of information between the AU and the regions/regional economic communities (RECs), as well as the process of transformation within the Commission of the African Union, impeded progress at continental level. Regions such as ECOWAS and IGAD proceeded with their own arrangements, some of which are not in accordance with the guidelines approved at the continental level. Regions also developed other arrangements in the absence of substantive guidance.

Key planning assumptions

Whereas the concept presented to the OAU in 2003 proposed a single standby high readiness brigade (SHIRBRIG) type of arrangement at continental level and the subsequent development of standby brigades at sub-regional level, the final concept adopted by Heads of State provided for five standby brigades, one in each of Africa’s five regions, supported by civilian police (CivPol) and other capacities. In doing so, the concept for peacekeeping in Africa reverted to that agreed to by two earlier meetings of African Chiefs of Defence Staff in July 1996 and October 1997.

When fully established, the ASF will consist of standby multidisciplinary contingents, with civilian and military components located in their countries

of origin and ready for rapid deployment anywhere in Africa (or beyond) at appropriate notice. Effective command and control of the ASF will therefore require the installation of an appropriate Africa-wide, integrated and interoperable command, control, communication and information system (C³IS) infrastructure, linking deployed units with mission headquarters, as well as the AU, planning elements (PLANELMs) and regions. To elaborate on its strategic and operational requirements, the AU will host a technical workshop on C³IS in the latter half of 2005. Similarly, the ASF will require an integrated logistics system that will enable interoperability, a common doctrine, uniform training standards, a single integrated standby system and the like. All of these are to be ironed out in a series of high-level expert workshops during the remainder of 2005.

As stipulated in the policy framework, the standby brigades in each of the five regions will, as a guideline, be composed of:

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- a brigade (mission level) headquarter and support unit of up to 65 personnel and 16 vehicles;
- a headquarter company and support unit of up to 120 personnel;
- four light infantry battalions, each composed of up to 750 personnel and 70 vehicles;
- an engineer unit of up to 505 personnel;
- a light signals unit of up to 135 personnel;
- a reconnaissance company (wheeled) of up to 150 personnel;
- a helicopter unit of up to 80 personnel, ten vehicles and four helicopters;
- a military police unit of up to 48 personnel and 17 vehicles;
- a light multi-role logistical unit of up to 190 personnel and 40 vehicles;
- a level II medical unit of up to 35 personnel and ten vehicles;
- a military observer group of up to 120 officers;
- a civilian support group consisting of logistical, administrative and budget components.

The policy framework sets the following additional military, police and civilian standby list targets to be maintained centrally by the AU:

- 300–500 military observers (MilObs);
- 240 civilian police (CivPol); and
- an unspecified roster of civilian experts to fill the human rights, humanitarian, governance, demobilisation, disarmament, repatriation and reconstruction structure.

The AU has decided that the civilian roster of experts is not a Phase 1 priority because UN humanitarian, development and human rights elements, which do not require a UN Security Council mandate, could deploy in tandem with an ASF mission.

The ASF structure is informed by the following six missions and scenarios:

- *Scenario 1.* AU/regional military advice to a political mission. Deployment required within 30 days of an AU mandate resolution;
- *Scenario 2.* AU/regional observer mission co-deployed with a UN Mission. Deployment required within 30 days of an AU mandate resolution;
- *Scenario 3.* Stand-alone AU/regional observer mission. Deployment required within 30 days of an AU mandate resolution;
- *Scenario 4.* AU/regional peacekeeping force for Chapter VI and preventive deployment missions (and peace-building). Deployment required within 30 days of an AU mandate resolution;
- *Scenario 5.* AU peacekeeping force for complex multidimensional peacekeeping missions, including

those involving low-level spoilers. ASF completed deployment required within 90 days of an AU mandate resolution, with the military component being able to deploy in 30 days;

- *Scenario 6.* AU intervention, for example in genocide situations where the international community does not act promptly. Here it is envisaged that the AU would have the capability to deploy a robust military force in 14 days.

According to initial planning, the ASF would be established in two phases:

- *Phase 1* (up to 30 June 2005): The AU's objective would be to establish a PLANELM for the management of Scenario 1–2 missions, while the five regions would establish regional standby forces up to brigade size to achieve capabilities up to Scenario 4.
- *Phase 2* (1 July 2005 to 30 June 2010): It is envisaged that by 2010 the AU will have developed the capacity to manage complex peacekeeping operations, while the five regions will continue to develop the capacity to deploy a mission headquarters for Scenario 4, involving AU/regional peacekeeping forces.

These dates have proven ambitious, and while substantive progress has been made in three of the five regions will not be met.

Planning elements and brigade headquarters

To provide for multidimensional strategic-level management capability, the ASF policy framework requires the establishment of a 15-person PLANELM at the level of the Commission of the African Union and an initial nucleus

of five officers within the PLANELM at each of the regional headquarters to be responsible for pre-deployment management of the ASF and its regional standby brigades during Phase 1.¹²

The core functions of the PLANELMs are planning, preparation and training, including the verification of brigade headquarters and standby elements. This is considered a full-time requirement, implying that the PLANELMS should be staffed on a permanent basis, while the brigade headquarters could be staffed on a part-time basis – although the planners recognised that readiness levels of 30 days and less will require full-time brigade headquarters. Where possible, the regional PLANELMs should be co-located with the regional brigade headquarters for ease of command, control and communications. This is not the case everywhere, as we will note with the Eastern African Standby Brigade (EASBRIG), and inevitably depends on the nature of the standby brigade headquarters.

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To establish the AU headquarters PLANELM, the AU Commission has requested the secondment of five experienced officers from African member states for an initial period of one year from 1 July 2005 to 30 June 2006 to be located in Addis Ababa and to constitute the AU PLANELM for Phase 1. They will work under the PLANELM chief of staff.

To achieve set targets for Phase 1 of the ASF, the AU PLANELM is expected to complete the following tasks before 30 June 2006:

- Convene a series of workshops with participation by the regions and major donor partners, to provide a costed continental logistic system, continental C³IS and continental training concept and the initiation of key recommendations in this regard;
- Develop standard tables of organisation and equipment (TOE), in conjunction with regions;
- Develop and implement a continental standby system, and link it to the United Nations Standby Arrangement System (UNSSA);
- Initiate and coordinate the drafting of memoranda of understanding and letters of exchange;
- Draft standard operating procedures (SOPs) for the ASF;
- Elaborate/draft doctrine for the ASF;
- Elaborate/develop standardised training modules, as well as command post exercises (CPX).

The ASF concept requires the establishment of a mission headquarters-level management capability in the form of a brigade headquarters within each region. During Phase 1 it was agreed that a nucleus of three to five officers augmented by non-permanent brigade headquarters staff on standby should be formed in the regions. The AU noted that some regions may decide to combine their PLANELMs with this nucleus, while others may wish to base the standby brigade headquarters on an existing brigade headquarters in a member state. Other regions may decide in favour of a skeleton brigade headquarters based on an existing brigade in a member state.

Against this background, it has been agreed that:

- Each region would confirm the location, concept and staffing of the brigade headquarters and its relation to the regional PLANELMs by 1 July 2005, and communicate its decisions to the AU.
- The regions will constitute a nucleus brigade headquarters capacity under a chief of staff of the rank of brigadier-general by 31 December 2005 and provide appropriate office space and associated facilities.

- The nucleus of the brigade headquarters will verify and report on the operational readiness of the brigade for Phase 1 requirements, in conjunction with the regional PLANELMs, to the AU PLANELM before 30 June 2006.
- The AU and regions will negotiate with donors for support to cover the costs of the establishment of brigade headquarters and regional PLANELMs.

In the case of the military and police capabilities required for Phase 1, each category of ASF mission component is to consist of observers, individuals and formed units, on standby in their countries of origin ready to be deployed, using a system of on-call lists. The AU PLANELMs will undertake the development of the ASF standby system.

It was thus also agreed that the following tasks would be completed before 31 October 2005:

- Member states should nominate the standby brigade headquarters staff, populate the standby database, and submit this data to the regions.
 - Member states should nominate standby units, including the completion of the standby database, and forward this data to the regions.
 - Member states should nominate and populate the CivPol standby database, and forward it to the regions.
 - Member states should nominate and populate the MilObs standby database, and forward it to the regions.
 - The regions will forward all databases collected from member states to the AU.

The deployment timelines outlined by the AU are ambitious by any standard, and this has far-reaching implications.

The routine selection, preparation and training of the ASF components would be a national responsibility.

Logistics

The ASF policy framework provides that missions deployed for Scenarios 1–3 should be self-sustainable for up to 30 days, while Scenarios 4–6 missions and operations should deploy with up to 90 days self-sustainability. Thereafter the AU or UN must take responsibility for the sustainment of the missions or, if lacking that capacity, the readiness and ability of the AU to start reimbursing troop-contributing countries (TCCs) so that these countries can continue to sustain their contingents.

The deployment timelines outlined by the AU are ambitious by any standard, and this has far-reaching implications. For example, in 2004 the Chiefs of Defence Staff noted that:

- Readiness to deploy within 14 days will require regular joint field exercises with all units, a standing fully staffed brigade headquarters and support. It will also require an established and fully stocked logistics system capable of sustaining the entire brigade. Such timelines could probably only be met by AU member states with relatively well-endowed military establishments.
- At 30 days readiness, collective training will at least have to involve regular command post exercises. At this level of readiness there is a clear requirement for at least a standing nucleus of a brigade headquarters with its attendant support as well as an established and fully stocked logistics system capable of sustaining the entire brigade. SHIRBRIG provides a good example of the structure. In its system, contingents deploy fully self-sustained for 60 days. This might not be the case with African contingents where the preference is for ASF-owned logistics bases in view of the lack of national capacities.
- At 90 days readiness, there may be time to conduct preparatory training to develop a level of coherence before deployment. There is also time to form headquarters and logistics stocks. This does require a small full-time staff to manage the standby system, and to standardise procedures and doctrine.

To be able to deploy within the timelines for the various conflict scenarios, the ASF will need mission-ready units and headquarters, with equipment, including vehicles and communications, ideally held in centralised regional logistical bases or provided by donors under clear terms of commitment. To launch the ASF elements into mission areas, these pre-deployment arrangements would have to be backed up by standing arrangements for strategic sea- and airlift.

The policy framework also proposed a system of AU military logistical depots (AMLD), consisting of the AU Military Logistical Depot in Addis Ababa and regional logistical bases, aiming at rapid deployment and mission sustainability.

Training and doctrine

A multifunctional peace operations capability for the ASF would require standardised doctrine and a clear concept of operations that is consistent with UN missions. The *UN Multifunctional Peacekeeping Handbook* provides valuable guidelines and may be complemented by documented African experiences and lessons. Agreement has been reached that the following actions must be taken in order to develop and implement an effective ASF training plan:

- The AU will organise workshops to develop a set of standardised SOPs based on its draft generic SOPs, as well as those existing within the regions.
- The AU will facilitate doctrinal coherence and dissemination of lessons learnt.
- The AU and regional PLANELMs will harmonise ASF training cycles with UN and external initiatives, as well as feed into these initiatives, to enhance and synergise ASF capacities.
- Regions are to adopt an appropriate training policy providing for cycles of national, regional and AU-wide training; this should be coordinated with major external initiatives. While ASF training is to be consistent with UN doctrine with a view to standardising doctrine, based on the standard generic training modules (SGTM), ASF training beyond this level would be regionally coordinated and enhanced through regional peacekeeping centres of excellence.
- Regions should streamline the establishment of centres of excellence/use of existing national training institutions within the various regions to optimise their regional profile and use.
 - Efforts of the PLANELMs should be deployed to develop all aspects of the ASF training policy, including the development of ASF SOPs, tables of equipment and other manuals.
 - The AU should seek appropriate advice for the production of doctrine for robust [humanitarian] intervention missions.
 - Where necessary, the UN Department of Peace Keeping Operations (DPKO) would be requested to assist with training-the-trainer and pre-deployment training for ASF brigades and units.

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One of the vehicles through which African institutions can extend lessons learnt, and share training experiences is the African Peace Support Trainers' Association (APSTA).¹³ The objectives of APSTA read as follows (from its articles of association):

"The African Peace Support Trainer's Association is a voluntary association of individuals, centres, and institutions working in Africa in peacekeeping capacity building, whose principal core activity or function delivers practical training. Its objectives are:

- to facilitate the ability of peace support training centres to dialogue with each other as a matter of routine;
- to facilitate meetings and the exchange of information and best practices;
- to facilitate efforts to harmonise the doctrine, training, etc, of the various members;
- to serve as a depository that offers advisory services to the AU (the Commission and the PSC) on peace support operations issues;

- to act as a sounding board for the AU Commission on peace support operations concerning donor relations.”

The Kenya Peace Support Training Centre was the original chair of the Association, a role that has now rotated to the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC).

Funding

Funding is important for the success of any mission. It is agreed that before 31 October 2005 the AU/regions will:

- assess the detailed cost of the structures of the ASF, including pre-deployment activities such as training, and the activities of the PLANELMs and regional brigade groups;
- assess the cost of the types of ASF mission, based on the relevant levels of forces, including mandate, with an average mission timeframe of between one and two years, a period which is long enough for the follow-on deployment of a UN mission or operation, and more limited operations in support of peace processes of between six months and one year only;
- encourage AU member states to contribute to the endowment of the AU Peace Fund;
- sustain negotiations with external partners (donors) for assistance.

Additionally, external partnerships will be developed further to provide assistance towards the establishment, stocking, maintenance, and strategic airlift of equipment and vehicles for ASF pre-deployment training and missions.

Collaboration and cooperation

The ASF will require that the AU’s traditional collaboration with its bilateral and multilateral partners be maintained and deepened. For the AU, the collaboration with the international community will aim at the following broad priority areas:

- establishment of the pre-deployment structures of the ASF, namely PLANELMs and regional brigade headquarters, including the relevant activities and running costs of these structures;
- establishment of African military logistics depots, including the AU and regional military logistics depots and, in default, mechanisms for the committal of donor-held equipment to ASF missions, including strategic air- and sealifts;
- ASF training of regional brigade groups, including support to regional centres of excellence for

training, planning and conduct of command post exercises as well as allocation of vacancies to ASF staff for external training;

- endowment of the Peace Fund/accessible financial support to support short-term ASF deployments and sustainment contingencies, as and when necessary, pending deployment of a UN force.

The establishment of the PLANELMs by the AU and the regions is fundamental to the realisation of all the remaining priorities and the execution of the key steps towards the operationalisation of the ASF. The AU, in collaboration with the regions, will carry out timely periodic review of the implementation of the ASF Roadmap – the base document upon which much of the preceding sections have been based.

ECOWAS in West Africa

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has been more frequently involved in peace operations than any other regional organisation in Africa, having authorised six missions since 1990.

The members of ECOWAS have also been very active UN peacekeepers (Ghana, Nigeria and Senegal have each participated in at least 25 UN missions). On the other hand, the UN has become increasingly supportive of ECOWAS, while there has been a sharp increase in the demand for both UN and regional peacekeepers in Africa. As of February 2005, seven UN missions were deployed in Africa, with a total authorised strength of 51,163,¹⁴ representing 76% of the global authorised total of UN peacekeepers. A total of 7,136 West African police, military observers and military personnel were committed to the three UN missions in West Africa,

a further 1,192 were committed to DRC, and 1,156 more to other UN missions. While West Africa provides nearly 15% of the world's peacekeepers, the three West African missions require 40% of the global total of UN peacekeepers.

Extant West African capacities to mount and sustain peace operations pale in comparison to this scale of deployment, and the capacities of ECOWAS member states to provide more troops and police are severely stretched. Ghana alone (with armed forces totalling under 10,000) needs to rotate around 7,000 troops annually for its existing commitments to UN operations.

Nevertheless, ECOWAS has a firm desire to design, build, and maintain its own peace support operations capability. The ECOWAS Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security, adopted in

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1999, provides the foundation and legal basis for this capability.

Implementation of the ECOWAS Mechanism has been delayed by the need for emergency responses to ongoing armed conflicts in Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire and, more recently, to the political crisis in Togo. The missions in Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia have highlighted an emerging trend towards 'hybrid operations' in Africa. As in Sierra Leone, Rwanda and Burundi, there was an initial regional emergency response, followed by the deployment of a multi-functional UN mission. ECOWAS now sees its role in peace support operations as an interim one, and expects to hand over the lead to the UN not more than six months after launching an operation. While this principle is espoused in the ASF Policy Framework, it has understandably influenced the ECOWAS approach to the development of standby forces.

The ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF)

When working outside the UN framework, the ECOWAS approach to peacekeeping operations has been essentially military, and few civilians have been involved in mission planning and implementation. In Article 28 of the Protocol on the Mechanism, ECOWAS member states have agreed to make available to ECOWAS all military, police and civilian resources for the accomplishment of multifunctional peace missions. The protocol also clearly defines the role of the Special Representative of the Executive Secretary (SRES) as head of all ECOWAS missions. Despite this acknowledgement of the primacy of civilian political leadership, the post-protocol missions in Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire were essentially military operations.¹⁵

By April 2004, both ECOMIL and ECOMICI had transitioned to UN operations and ECOWAS military planners were able to concentrate on developing a standby capability for peacekeeping operations. Guidance was provided by the Defence Staff Commission in the form of an ECOWAS military strategy,¹⁶ which states that:

- The ECOWAS military component (ESF) will comprise pre-determined regional standby formations that are highly trained, equipped and prepared to deploy as directed in response to a crisis or threat to peace and security.
- The ECOWAS Task Force will comprise 1,500 soldiers within pre-determined units and upon order be prepared to deploy within 30 days and be self-sustaining for 90 days.

- The ECOWAS Main Brigade will comprise 5,000 soldiers within pre-determined units and upon order be prepared to deploy within 90 days and be fully self-sustaining for 90 days.

The ESF is to consist of 6,500 troops,¹⁷ pledged by contributing nations, and coordinated through the Mission Planning and Management Cell (MPMC). The idea is for the Task Force to have the capacity to deploy rapidly to meet initial contingency requirements. If the military effort requires an expanded force, the main brigade will be deployed.

It is assumed that all forces committed to the ESF will meet the criteria and standards¹⁸ set out in an ECOWAS memorandum of understanding. A further planning assumption is that the ESF Task Force will have the capability to deploy for up to 90 days; after which one of the following options will be implemented:

- The Task Force elements will return to the troop-contributing nations.
 - The Task Force will remain deployed as an element of the ESF Main Brigade.
 - The Task Force will become an element of an AU or UN mission.
 - The Task Force will hand over to a UN or AU force.

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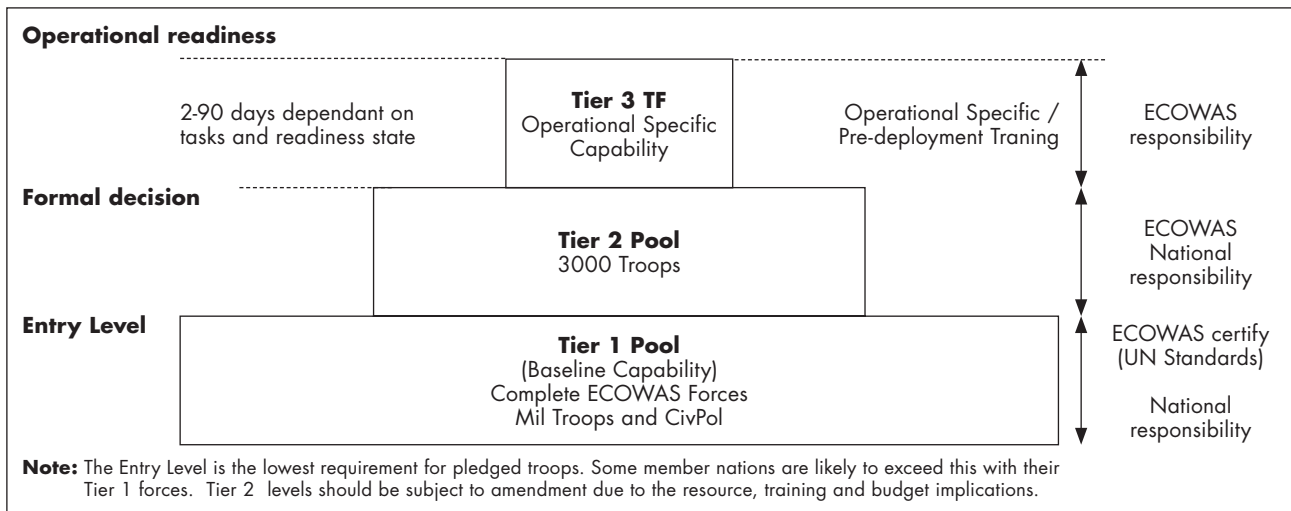
An operational framework for the ESF was developed by the ECOWAS Secretariat (specifically the Mission Planning and Management Cell, or MPMC¹⁹), in conjunction with military advisors from donor nations, in late January/early February 2005. The operational framework aims to specify all the activity strands and benchmarks for the

establishment of the ESF. The purpose of the document is to assist ECOWAS in the sequencing and coordination of activities, while providing a coordination tool for donors to identify and target assistance to support the early and efficient establishment of the ESF. The operational framework document focuses almost exclusively on the military component of the ESF but, according to the drafters, this "should not detract from the multi-functional nature of any PSO". Moreover, the document "is designed to evolve and be updated, so that its usefulness is sustained".²⁰

In terms of force generation, it is envisaged that ECOWAS will define and certify the entry level of capability for nations who pledge forces. The training, equipping and provision of logistic support up to the entry level of baseline capability will be a national responsibility. Designated forces will receive an additional level of training, equipment and logistic support to enter a higher readiness pool. This pool will



Figure 1: ESF Readiness Model



need to be broad enough to have flexibility in terms of nation, language and capability. The resources for training, equipping and sustaining Tier 2 forces will be provided by a mix of member nation and ECOWAS support, the nature of which will depend on the level of donor contributions.

Member states have so far pledged 6,200 troops for the ESF.²¹ These will be organised by ECOWAS planners to form a battle group or battalion group and a logistics battalion²² for the Task Force. While member states have pledged certain capabilities (such as an infantry company and/or an engineering squadron), specific units have not been named, so the pool of potential units that may one day deploy as part of the ESF is large. To focus limited resources for training, equipping and sustaining the ESF, the next step is for nations and the secretariat to identify and name specific units to be placed 'in role' and raised to high readiness. The secretariat will need to visit nations to identify these units, and the respective chiefs of defence staff will need to have an assessment made of their pledged units' operational readiness, their training and resource requirements. These units will then be allocated roles and must be able to meet the operational tasks within their given notice to move (NTM). The force generation process is based on a tiered system as depicted in figure 1.²³

Within the Tier 2 pool 3,000 troops will be ready on 30 days NTM. The remaining 3,500 troops will be within the Tier 1 pool on 90 days NTM, once they have achieved the entry level of certification. Within the ESF there will be a spectrum of capability and operational readiness, which may be summarised as follows:

- *Tier 1* represents the baseline capability of member states within ECOWAS and incorporates the military forces of member nations and other elements such as CivPol. Regional training exercises such as RECAMP and other training initiatives and

courses have done much to improve the overall readiness level of the wider pool. For member nation pledges from this pool to be acceptable to ECOWAS, they must be capable of achieving a baseline or an entry level of operational readiness. The MPMC will produce a detailed breakdown of capabilities and specify the required levels of readiness. Rotation to Tier 2 will be coordinated by the MPMC in consultation with member states.

- *Tier 2* will consist of a pool of 3,000 ESF soldiers, from which the Task Force of 1,500 will be constituted and trained on an 'in-case' basis, after strategic direction has been given. This approach provides the flexibility required to produce a mission-specific Task Force within the likely constraints of national will. The option of a readiness cycle based on a predefined Task Force was analysed, but was rejected because of practical and political considerations.²⁴ However, units that join the Tier 2 pool should be named units that are formed at company level or above, and kept 'in role'. This is to ensure that the Task Force is interoperable and sustainable at least at company level. As a guideline, rotation of units from Tier 1 to Tier 2 should be for a minimum period of two years to bring units up to standard. Funding by donors will be a major limitation to the level of capability and readiness that the Task Force can attain. Tier 2 units will be under the direct liaison authority of the ESF, but will remain under operational command of member nations as they will inevitably be engaged with national tasks while held in readiness for ESF deployment.
- *Tier 3*: The protocol states that the Task Force must be able to commence its mission within 30 days. Hence a permanent core Task Force headquarter will be established within Tier 3. Operational capability will be achieved after the Task Force has assembled for a specific mission, and it will be based on the operational requirements of that mission. The 30-day timeline is perhaps achievable for missions such as humanitarian

assistance. It is unlikely to be met for more demanding missions.²⁵

The current version of the ESF operational framework focuses on the deployable elements of the ESF, particularly the Task Force. Further iterations of the operational framework document will examine in more detail the requirements for the main brigade.²⁶ A great deal of work must be done on defining and meeting the training and logistic requirements of the ESF. The Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KA IPTC) is conducting a training needs analysis for the ESF. The process involves the development of an operational task statement, the specification of training objectives for each task, and ultimately a training policy that addresses individual, collective and multinational annual training needs for all the elements of the ESF. It is currently envisaged that the initial two phases of the project will be completed in 2005 with the subsequent design and conduct of training and evaluation taking place in 2006/7.²⁷

Next steps in West Africa

The Defence and Security Commission (DSC) has been requested to consider approving the next series of activities to be undertaken by the ECOWAS Secretariat and supported by donors, so that momentum is maintained. In particular, Defence Staff Commission endorsement is sought for the following key actions:

- *Appointment of a Task Force chief of staff:* The immediate appointment of a chief of staff with the rank of brigadier-general or colonel, and the establishment of a small but effective working group of three to four senior staff officers is considered essential for the early establishment of a core Task Force headquarter. The secretariat needs to approach the Chiefs of Defence Staff for a short list of suitable candidates that can be presented to the executive secretary for decision. Donors have already indicated their willingness to support this appointment and the proposed working group.
- *Establishment of core Task Force headquarter:* Another urgent priority is the creation of a permanently established core Task Force headquarter, which can conduct contingency planning, focus on force generation, and assist the MPMC with the mission planning process. It is envisaged that this core Task Force headquarter will comprise about 11 military officers, one senior police officer and ten other ranks (possibly from the host nation). It would be quickly expanded to produce a full-sized Task Force headquarter ready to deploy within 30 days.

A great deal of work must be done on defining and meeting the training and logistic requirements of the ESF.

The Task Force working group, once established, needs to pursue this requirement and report to the Defence Staff Commission on other key issues such as core Task Force headquarter location and infrastructure, training and logistic requirements.

- *Force generation:* Further to the pledges made at the 10th Defence Staff Commission in 2004, ECOWAS needs to assess both the operational capability and the shortfall in the agreed ESF force structure of 6,500. The secretariat should conduct early force generation visits to all the 'pledging' nations to identify specific pledged units, assess their operational capability, and allocate Task Force and main brigade roles as appropriate. The secretariat should conduct further discussions with pledging nations to fill any shortfall in the proposed ESF structure.
- *Concept development:* An ESF concept of operations, peacekeeping operations doctrine, and standing operating procedures (SOPs) will need to be produced for the ESF. The secretariat should approach donors for assistance with this requirement. Britain has already offered to support the necessary doctrinal development.
 - *Training needs analysis:* As mentioned above, the secretariat has tasked the KA IPTC to conduct a Training Needs Analysis with the assistance of key donors.
 - *Logistics:* The secretariat needs to approach key donors to request a joint review of the logistics requirement to support both the Task Force and the whole ESF. ECOWAS has already indicated its intention of basing logistics support at two depot locations, one on the coast and one in the central interior of the region.
 - *Communications and information technology (J6):* The secretariat needs to initiate J6 staffing for the ESF communications and information technology requirements. Donor assistance should be sought for expert advice and resourcing as required by the secretariat.
- *Analysis of policing functions:* The secretariat should approach donors to request assistance with the initial analysis of the ESF policing requirements, which will identify further detailed work needed to establish this component of ESF capability. A civilian police focal point within the secretariat will be needed and consideration should be given to appointing a principal project officer in the near future.

The operational framework document was presented at the 12th DSC meeting in Niamey on 21 April 2005, and approved by the Chiefs of Defence Staff. However, major factors regarding the availability of appropriately trained and equipped personnel for the ESF will be national capacity and political will.



Improving the numbers and quality of resources for peacekeeping operations is most effectively achieved by supporting national capacity-building programmes. Of course, these need to be tied to a regional approach at operational level to prepare capacities to command, control and direct those national contributions to a mission, but this is possibly a lesser task.

Financing remains a challenge for all regions, and ECOWAS is no exception. According to Article 36 of the Protocol on the Mechanism, the Secretariat shall make provision in its annual budget for funds to finance the activities of the mechanism (including PSO). A percentage of the proposed community levy (0.5% of each member state's GDP) is to be earmarked for such activities. Other potential sources of funding have been noted as the UN and other international agencies, the AU, and voluntary contributions and grants from bilateral and multilateral sources.

By comparative standards the ECOWAS Peace Fund is quite healthy at the moment, thanks to a US\$5 million special allocation for Liberia, which has not been used, because the UN took over the mission. However, no automatic percentage has been levied on member states for contribution to the fund, and assessments are only made annually. To date, external donors have not been forthcoming with contributions to the Peace Fund.

Greater financial visibility is needed. ECOWAS has agreed that future missions should have one finance cell, which would include finance officers from ECOWAS as well as donor countries, to plan, coordinate, and manage financial matters associated with peace support operations.²⁸ During pre- and post-peacekeeping periods this cell can, among other duties, maintain a prioritised list of peace support operations-related personnel and materiel requirements for which funding is still being sought (an unfinanced requirements list). This will be of great help to partners seeking to assist ECOWAS. Additionally, the finance cell can be responsible for tracking the materiel and resources donated by partners to the ESF. Having a capable financial management team will significantly expedite partner support.

It has also been recommended that member states should contribute to the ECOWAS Peace Fund without further delay. All member countries, including Nigeria, are donor-dependent. In short, they are in no position to convene a donor conference on their own, or to contribute substantially to a country-specific post-conflict fund or the ECOWAS Peace Fund. However, the prospects of ECOWAS eliciting donor contributions to the Peace Fund will increase dramatically once member states are seen to be paying their dues.²⁹

EASBRIG and IGAD in East Africa

East Africa contributes to UN peacekeeping on a much smaller scale than West Africa, but the region currently hosts two ongoing and expanding missions: the UN Mission in [South] Sudan (with a mandated strength of up to 10,000); and the AU Mission in Sudan [Darfur] (with a mandated strength of up to 6,171 staff and a request to increase this to 12,300 by the first half of 2006). At the time of writing the AU had approved a mission in Somalia, to which Uganda and Sudan will contribute troops. It is thus not inconceivable that contributions to peacekeeping from this part of Africa are set to increase substantially in the foreseeable future. Currently Ethiopia is the largest contributor to UN peacekeeping with some 3,421 military and police staff deployed, followed by Kenya with 1,483. The only other contributors are Djibouti and Uganda with 24 and 22 military/police staff respectively.³⁰

In contrast with West Africa, East Africa has a plethora of overlapping regional organisations including the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the East African Community. Although the AU defines East Africa as a region composed of some 13 countries, it does not have an overarching and integrated conflict prevention, management and mitigation framework similar to West or Southern Africa. As a result, the AU mandated the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), on an interim basis, to coordinate the efforts of the region towards the establishment of an East African Standby Brigade (EASBRIG).³¹ Whereas IGAD itself is composed of seven countries, the discussions on EASBRIG initially included all 13 countries in the AU definition of the region, until the recent

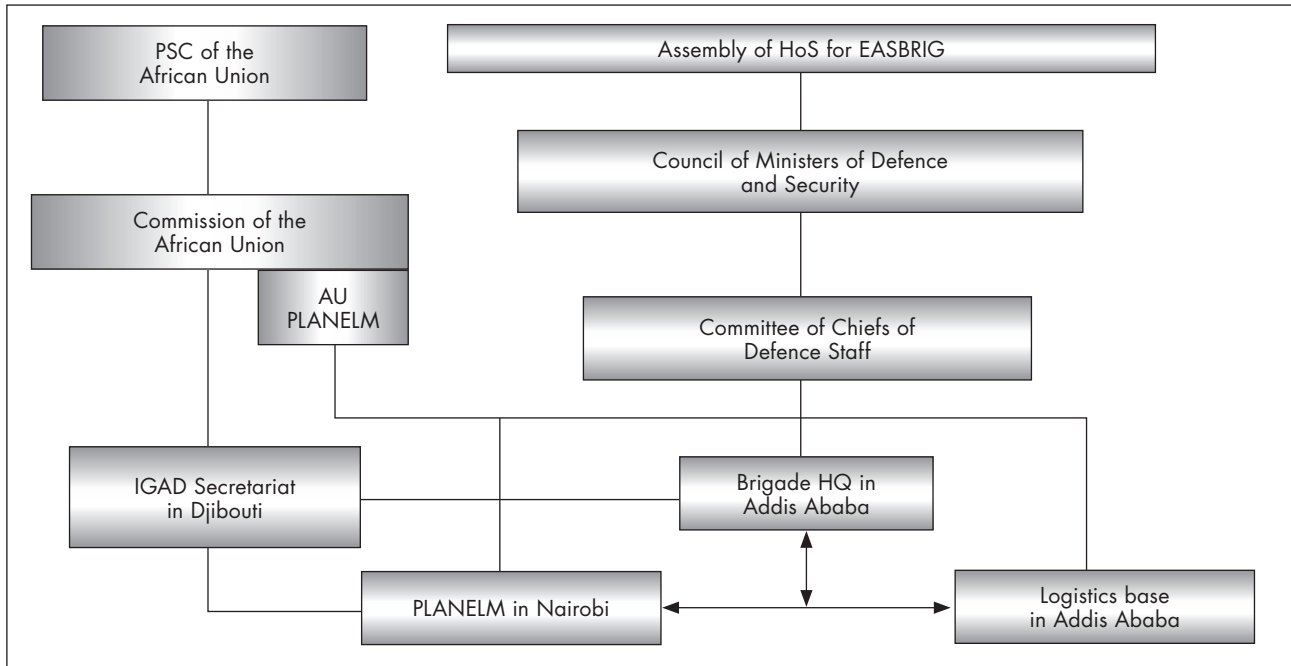
decision by Tanzania and Mauritius to contribute to the ASF as part of SADC. Since Somalia cannot currently contribute, EASBRIG will be composed of contributions from Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Rwanda, Uganda, Sudan, Eritrea and Seychelles – although the latter two countries did not attend any of the associated preparatory meetings.³²

In the absence of a legal framework for conflict management, EASBRIG is to operate on the basis of a memorandum of understanding that provides for an Assembly of Heads of State and Government for EASBRIG, a Council of Ministers of Defence and Security, a Committee of Chiefs of Defence Staff, a standby brigade headquarters, a planning element and logistic base.

EASBRIG has decided to separate the locations of the PLANELM and the brigade headquarters, with the brigade headquarters in Addis Ababa and the

EASBRIG will be composed of contributions from Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Rwanda, Uganda, Sudan, Eritrea and Seychelles.

Figure 2 Schematic representation of EASBRIG command and control structure



PLANELM in Nairobi. The decision to locate the logistic base in Ethiopia has the benefit of potentially co-locating with the AU logistic depot, but is possibly not an optimal choice in terms of the regional transport infrastructure or of benefiting from the region's extended coastline.

The assembly serves as the 'supreme authority' for EASBRIG and authorises deployment for missions mandated by the PSC.³³ Unlike the ECOWAS military component (ESF), EASBRIG, in terms of its memorandum of understanding, can only deploy with a mandate from the AU. On deployment, the brigade will come under the operational control of the AU or the UN, as applicable.³⁴

The Council of Ministers of Defence and Security is to manage all aspects relating to EASBRIG, and only "appoint the commander of EASBRIG upon recommendation of the Committee of East African Chiefs of Defence Staff (EACDS) for stand-alone missions within the East Africa region".³⁵ Where the AU mandates a deployment, the PSC will appoint the brigade commander.³⁶

The EASBRIG Headquarters in Addis Ababa will serve as a command headquarters for force preparation and operational command. It is also responsible for the provision of secretarial services to the Committee of EACDS and is to be composed of seconded officers from all EASBRIG member states.³⁷

In terms of capabilities, EASBRIG aims to optimise its structure towards participation in traditional peacekeeping tasks (that is, in accordance with Scenario 4 of the AU documents and Chapter VI of the UN Charter), although the planning framework

provides for sealift capabilities and additional fire-support capacity in Scenarios 5 and 6.

The functions of the Committee of East African Chiefs of Defence Staff are to serve as an advisory military committee for the Council of Ministers of Defence and Security and the assembly; and to oversee, direct and manage the PLANELM, EASBRIG headquarters and the logistics base.³⁸

The head of the PLANELM also serves as the chief of staff of EASBRIG and is located in Kenya.³⁹ The PLANELM will be composed of a regional military and civilian staff on secondment from all EASBRIG member states, and is being equipped at its location at Karen, outside Nairobi, close to the existing Peace Support Training Centre (KPSTC), with funding from Britain. The function of the PLANELM is to serve as multinational full-time planning headquarters for EASBRIG and it is empowered to enter into agreements with national and other training institutions.

The function of the logistics base, which is located in Ethiopia (with proposed outposts in member states as and when required), is to serve as the central regional base for maintenance, storage and management of the logistical infrastructure of EASBRIG. It also coordinates all activities involving logistics, "including but not limited to performing functions mandated by the African Union and/or the United Nations managing external assistance".⁴⁰

Through the EASBRIG fund, IGAD is able to collect contributions from all member states assessed in accordance with the AU mode of contributions, and grants, donations and contributions from member states and other sources. Funds may also be used for

general conflict prevention and conflict management apart from their use for peacekeeping.⁴¹

Hosting agreements for the brigade headquarters, PLANELM and logistics base have been drawn up for submission to the chiefs of defence staff of EASBRIG-contributing countries and until further notice IGAD will play its interim coordinating role, including the convening of meetings of the council and the assembly.⁴²

In February 2004 member states offered the following troop and equipment contributions to EASBRIG:⁴³

- Rwanda: two light infantry battalions with organic transport; one mechanised battalion (with ten armoured personnel carriers, and four infantry combat vehicles); one signal platoon; one provost company; one engineer squadron/company; one medical company; one special forces company; and public information and legal officers.
- Sudan: one light infantry battalion, including organic transport.
- Kenya: one light infantry battalion, including organic transport; one medical company; and one squadron of engineers.
- Djibouti: one light infantry battalion (consisting of three sub-units) with organic transport composed of 330–350 personnel consisting of a support command company; two infantry companies; and one de-mining team
- Uganda: one light infantry battalion, including organic support.

In July 2004 the following additional pledges were made:⁴⁴

- Ethiopia: one light infantry battalion with organic transport; one company of engineers; one de-mining company; one signals platoon; and one level II medical unit.
- Madagascar: one light infantry battalion with a medical component as from 2006.

East Africa is also committed to the use of centres of excellence for peacekeeping training, replicating the approach adopted in West Africa, with the capacity to train the three levels of peace support operations: tactical, operational and strategic. Thus Kenya and Rwanda have offered the Peace Support Training Centre (KPSTC) at Karen and the Military Academy at Nyakinama as regional centres of excellence for all three levels. Uganda has offered its Senior Command and Staff College at Jinja for the operational level of training.⁴⁵

Different to West Africa, countries in the Horn appear to be making greater efforts at financial ownership. Hence the EASBRIG Summit of April 2005 approved

a US\$2,564 million budget to be contributed by member states as funding for EASBRIG, as follows:

• Brigade headquarters	US\$873,813
• Logistics base	US\$391,775
• PLANELM	US\$860,684
• Programme and coordination activities	US\$400,000
• Contingency	US\$37,894

The SADC Standby Force Brigade (SADCBRIG)

Southern Africa (defined in terms of SADC membership) currently hosts the UN Mission in the DRC (MONUC)⁴⁶ with an approved annual budget to 30 June 2005 of US\$746 million. South Africa is the largest UN troop contributor from this region with 2,316 military and police staff deployed, followed by Namibia (880), Mozambique (193), Zambia (132), Zimbabwe (86), Malawi (55) and Madagascar (1).

South Africa, the current chair of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation, has prioritised the establishment of a regional early warning system, the SADC Standby Force Brigade (SADCBRIG) and support to the peace process in the DRC for 2004/5.

Preparations for the establishment of a peacekeeping brigade in SADC pre-date the current initiative towards the ASF by several years.

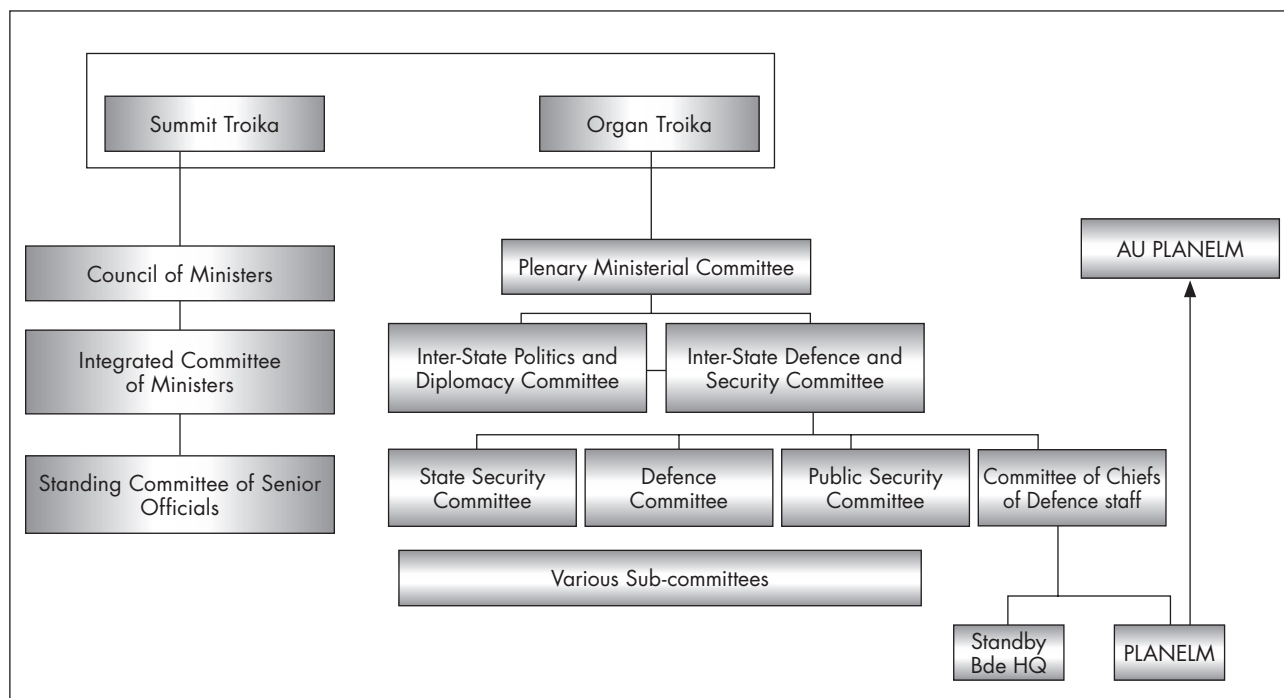
Following the various decisions by the AU on the establishment of the ASF, the SADC Inter-State Defence and Security Committee (ISDSC) met in Maseru, Lesotho, in 2004 to consider the establishment of SADCBRIG. Consequently, a Ministerial Defence Sub-Committee was mandated by the IDSC to set up a technical team to plan the establishment. Recent meetings of the technical team, composed of military planners, took place in April and May 2005, including the establishment of an interim PLANELM at the SADC Secretariat in Gaborone. Although the outcomes of these and subsequent meetings are being treated with a high degree of confidentiality, the region is known to be finalising the memorandum of understanding between member states that will regulate the establishment and maintenance of SADCBRIG. Member state troop contributions have been pledged, and a proposed management and PLANELM structure completed, as well as a structure for SADCBRIG. The planners aim to gain approval of their planning at the SADC Summit in August 2005.

Preparations for the establishment of a peacekeeping brigade in SADC pre-date the current initiative towards the ASF by several years, as does the development of a regional peacekeeping training centre of excellence.

The original momentum for a regional peacekeeping brigade came after the Second Meeting of African



Figure 3: SADC Strategic Management Structure for SADCBRIG



Chiefs of Defence Staff that was held in Harare in October 1997. That meeting built on a similar meeting in Addis Ababa the previous year, and in 2004 the Third Meeting of African Chiefs of Defence and Security took place, which kick-started current developments around the ASF. The Harare meeting made a host of substantive recommendations towards the establishment of an African peacekeeping capacity. Shortly afterwards, in May 1998, a SADC military delegation visited Denmark (the Danish Military and SHIRBRIG Headquarters) and Bosnia. Eventually, on 15 March 1999 the SADC Interstate Defence and Security Committee (ISDSC), consisting of Ministers of Defence and Security, approved a proposal on the way ahead for the establishment of a multinational SADC standby peacekeeping brigade. Oriented towards Chapter VI missions, the then-SADC brigade was conceived as consisting of a mobile headquarters, three infantry battalions, one reconnaissance company, an engineer squadron, a logistical support company, a military police company, a civilian police component, and an air and naval component. The brigade was to have been established over a period of five years. Unlike current thinking, which envisages a multinational standby brigade headquarters, the earlier concept called for a standing (ie full-time) multinational brigade headquarters that could be established on a non-rotational or rotational basis.

Subsequent years saw two regional military operations into Lesotho (including troops from South Africa and Botswana) and the DRC (including troops from Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia) that initially appeared to accentuate rather than reduce regional differences. In 1999 Thabo Mbeki succeeded Nelson

Mandela as president of South Africa and the launch of his African renaissance project, premised on solidarity among African countries, set the region on a new course of regional collaboration and integration.

Like ECOWAS, SADC has an integrated economic and security structure. The consolidation of these developments, however, is quite recent. Although SADC Heads of State agreed to the establishment of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation on 28 June 1996 in Gaborone, Botswana, the protocol was several years in the making before being signed by SADC leaders on 14 August 2001 in Blantyre, Malawi. Beyond sometimes bruising regional divisions, the finalisation of the Organ and its associated structures was delayed by the decision, in August 1999, to restructure all SADC institutions (since SADC had previously been restricted to a developmental mandate) including the Organ. This process was completed in 2001.⁴⁷

The Protocol on the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation includes the following specific objectives:

- To consider enforcement action in accordance with international law and as a matter of last resort where peaceful means have failed;
- To develop the peacekeeping capacity of national defence forces and co-ordinate the participation of state parties in international and regional peacekeeping operations.

At an extraordinary meeting in Blantyre, Malawi, in January 2001, the summit mandated the SADC Organ to prepare a strategic indicative plan for the

Organ (SIPO) that would provide guidelines for the implementation of the protocol for its first five years. The SIPO was eventually approved in August 2003 and provides further details on the establishment of a peacekeeping standby force. For example, as part of the objectives of the political sector the Organ will:

- “Develop peacekeeping capacity of national defence forces and co-ordinate the participation of state parties in international and regional peacekeeping operations strategies/activities;
- Co-ordinate the region’s involvement in international peace-keeping missions; and
- Mobilise resources and enhance regional capacity for peace support operations.”⁴⁸

According to the SIPO, a key challenge under the defence sector is “developing policies and capacities to ensure that the region maintains trained units ready to be deployed in peace support operations in the region or under the auspices of the African Union or the United Nations”. One of its objectives is a commitment “[t]o develop peacekeeping capacity of national defence forces and co-ordinate the participation of State Parties in International and Regional Peacekeeping Operations [through the following] Strategies/activities:

- Develop a regional peace support operational capability based upon the individual member state’s standby arrangements.
- Consolidate and develop the activities of the regional peacekeeping training centre.
- Finance the regional peacekeeping training centre (RPTC) according to the capacities of member states or through possible foreign partners.
- Design and establish a regional peace support operational structure with appropriate means.
- Promote the interoperability of military equipment to be used in peace support operations.
- Train regional forces for peace support operations.
- Conduct joint multinational exercises.⁴⁹

The region has also committed itself to developing the peacekeeping capacity of national police services and promoting the joint training of civil police for this purpose as well as establishing a regional database of trained personnel.

SADC expects that SADCBRIG or its components will typically be deployed under a UN or AU mandate. Planning and preparations, however, do cater for deployment under the mandating authority of SADC itself. In this case the applicable strategic management structures will consist of:⁵⁰

- The SADC Summit of Heads of State and Government – the mandating authority for SADCBRIG. All contributions to AU peace operations will be subject to the approval of the SADC Summit on the recommendation of the country that chairs the SADC Organ;⁵¹
- The chair of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation. This is currently South Africa with Namibia next in line;
- The Ministerial Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Defence, Public Security and State Security (plenary) from all SADC countries that have signed and ratified the Organ protocol.⁵² This committee will manage all aspects relating to SADCBRIG.
- The Inter-State Defence and Security Committee (ISDSC) consisting of all Ministers of Defence, Public Security and State Security.⁵³
- A newly established SADC Committee of Chiefs of Defence Staff.⁵⁴
- The SADCBRIG PLANELM located at the SADC Secretariat in Gaborone. Unlike EASBRIG, the SADC PLANELM will not be incorporated into SADCBRIG during actual missions and will be composed of regional military and civilian staff on secondment from member states for two years. It will manage the SADC standby system and assume responsibility for monitoring force preparation in troop-contributing countries (TCCs) up to the point that mission preparations commence.

The precise relationship between SADCBRIG, its PLANELM and standby brigade headquarters and the SADC Secretariat is not yet clear.

The precise relationship between SADCBRIG, its PLANELM and standby brigade headquarters and the SADC Secretariat is not yet clear. Within the SADC Secretariat, the newly established Department for Politics, Defence and Security, headed by a chief director reporting directly to the executive

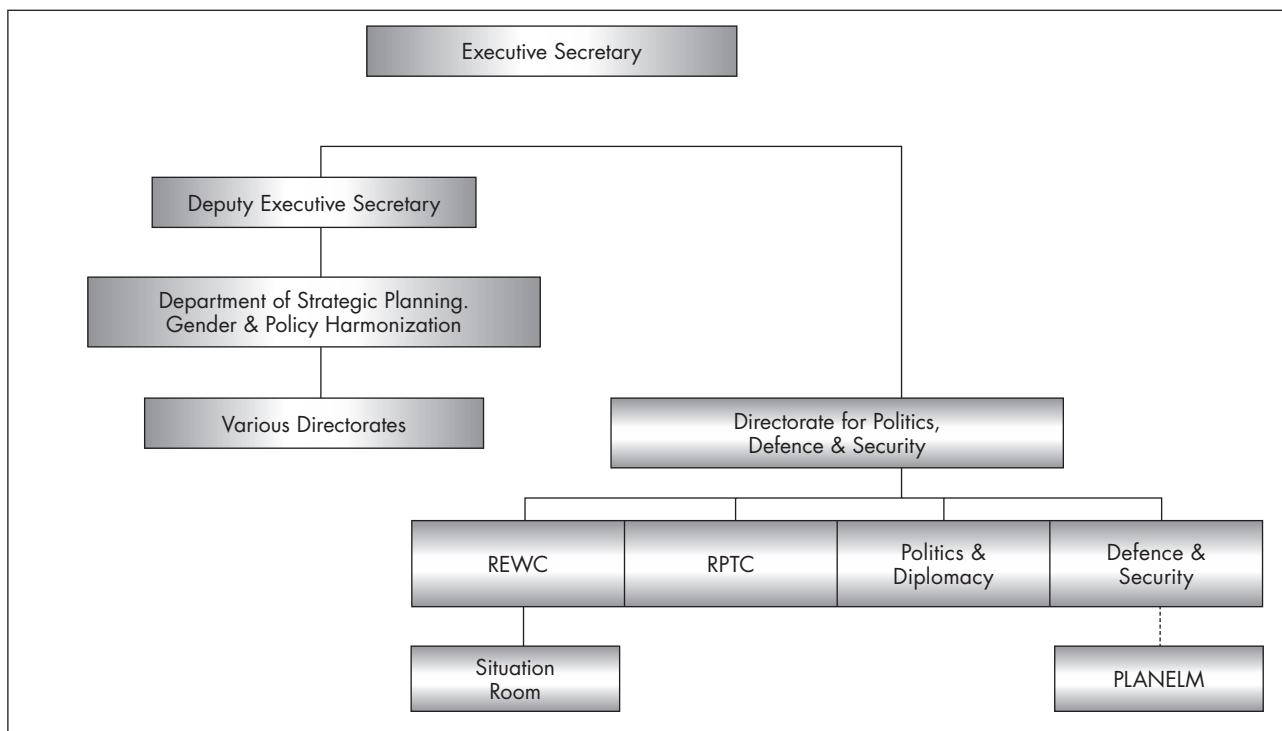
secretary, will be composed of three sub-divisions:

- a Directorate for Politics and Diplomacy that will work towards the Organ;
- a Directorate for Defence and Security; and
- a strategic analysis unit, also responsible for the early warning situation room.⁵⁵

The SADC Regional Peacekeeping Training Centre (RPTC) in Harare, Zimbabwe, will also fall under the department. Set up in October 1996, the RPTC is adjacent to the Zimbabwe Staff College. It gained substantive support from the government of Denmark between 1997 and 2002. For a number of years the RPTC nominally fell under the ISDSC, but was managed by the Zimbabwean Ministry of Defence. In 2001 its staff became multinational with personnel seconded from six SADC countries, but shortly afterwards the institution lost its support from Denmark and other partners, and effectively became moribund



Figure 4 Schematic Structure of the Organ Component of the SADC Secretariat



until a recent decision was made to reconfigure the centre. It now reports to the SADC Secretariat and will be funded by contributions from member states, although discussions with donors are continuing. The intention is also to resuscitate the concept of a SADC clearinghouse for peace support training activities at the RTPC.

Like IGAD, SADCBRIG will be a true multinational standby force, with contingents assigned for up to six months for any in-country assignment. Even the standby brigade headquarters will have a multinational structure and the commander and deputy/chief of staff may not necessarily be from the same country. The downside of such an arrangement is that the region will not be able to base the brigade on a reserve or active brigade structure in countries such as South Africa, Angola or Zimbabwe.

SADCBRIG guidelines stipulate that the force or member states should support/sustain the force for the first three to six months and that the force should be able to negotiate and conclude host-nation support agreements and contracts with civilian authorities and commercial companies for its initial requirements. The region has apparently not yet concluded its discussions on the location and composition of a military logistic depot.

Earmarked units will remain in their countries of origin on an on-call system and the region has adopted the response times defined by the AU – although smaller contingents of multinational rapid reaction/early entry forces should be available on a much higher 14 days state of readiness.

The SADC standby system is based on the concept of a pool arrangement whereby total troops earmarked in the various potential TCCs for peacekeeping will provide sufficient capacity to ensure the full availability of a brigade at any time. The SADCBRIG commander will then compose his/her force during mission planning from the standby pool. In this manner a deployment will not be held hostage by the decision by one or more TCCs not to contribute to a particular mission or inability to do so.⁵⁶

All SADC member states have pledged contributions to the SADCBRIG standby pool, with Angola also earmarking contributions to the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) standby brigade, given its dual membership of SADC and ECCAS.

Other Regions

The situation in the North African region and the planning for the creation of a standby force remain unknown to most African security analysts, as well as officials within the AU itself. The AMU (Arab Maghreb Union) should arguably be taking the lead, but the organisation overlaps with the Community of Sahelian-Saharan states. Three of these states would see their primary responsibility as contributing towards the ECOWAS Standby Force.

While some progress has been made towards the establishment of the Central Africa Regional Standby Brigade, this has understandably been much slower than in West Africa, the Horn and Southern Africa. From July 2003 to December 2004, ECCAS held six meetings at the levels of experts, chiefs of defence

staff and Ministers of the Peace and Security Council of ECCAS (COPAX). At these meetings, the following were adopted:

- the structure of regional headquarters of ECCAS PLANELM;
- the structure and tables of equipment for ECCAS standby brigade (including strength of the brigade of 2,177);
- an action plan for the establishment of the ECCAS PLANELM and ECCAS standby brigade; and
- the exercise paper for the multinational training exercise known as 'Exercise Bahl El Ghazel 2005'.

Conclusion

The AU, ECOWAS, IGAD and SADC have made significant progress towards establishing a viable regional peace support capability. However, the gap between aspiration and implementation remains extremely wide. Protocols and framework documents are in place, and institutional structures are being built, but operational capacity remains limited in the face of rising demands and expectations. Ultimately, Africa and its friends have to be realistic about what can be achieved in the short term by relatively young organisations that lack institutional expertise and capacity and comprise some of the world's poorest and least developed countries. Building effective peacekeeping operations capacity in Africa will take time, and it does not offer a quick exit strategy from engagement in Africa for the international community.

This having been said, the single biggest impediment to peacekeeping in Africa by Africans is funding – and there has been remarkable innovation and progress in this regard in recent years.

At its annual summit in Maputo, the AU requested the EU to establish a peace facility "to fund peace support and peacekeeping operations conducted under the authority of the AU". The facility should be "based on the principle of solidarity among African countries and should be financed from resources allocated to each African State under existing co-operation agreements with the EU".⁵⁷ The EU/ACP Council of Ministers subsequently decided on 11 December 2003 to allow €250 million⁵⁸ to be earmarked for the AU Peace Facility.⁵⁹

The first operation to be funded through the Peace Facility was the AU Mission in Sudan (AMIS) when the EDF Management Committee Meeting agreed to provide €12 million for operations in Darfur, as against a total budget for the operation amounting to €21 million.⁶⁰

More recently⁶¹ two additional financing proposals were approved: a three-year agreement for an amount of €6 million for capacity building of the Peace and Security Department of the AU;⁶² and €80 million for Darfur (for the expanded mission, AMIS II)⁶³.

Under the current arrangement, the EU could agree to the use of the Peace Facility for a peacekeeping operation by the AU or a regional organisation based on an indication of UN support – not necessarily through a resolution of the UN Security Council. This could for example take the form of a statement by the UN Secretary General. For peace enforcement, however, the EU requires a UNSC resolution if funds from the Peace Facility are to be made available.⁶⁴

In conjunction with generous assistance from individual countries such as the USA, the Peace Facility provides an important tool for meeting the operational costs of African peace missions as well as limited start-up funds for the ASF concept. The problem is that it does not guarantee ongoing support – hence the importance of moving to a system based on assessed contributions and the integration of peacekeeping in Africa with the UN system. Even the EU Peace Facility is inadequate to meet current demands and at the existing rate of commitment will shortly be exhausted – although there are plans in the EU to provide subsequent assistance under the Stability Instrument as from 2007.

Against this background there are probably seven options for meeting regional peacekeeping operational costs.⁶⁵

- Funding regional operations as part of the assessed scale of peacekeeping contributions as proposed by two recent UN reports.⁶⁶ By implication, missions funded in this way would have to be mandated by the UN Security Council. This arrangement would probably require the regional organisation to present and defend the budget for a particular mission to the UNSC working with and through the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), and to establish oversight and financial accountability structures to the satisfaction of key UN contributors such as the United States.
- Voluntary contributions from international organisations and/or bilaterally to a special trust fund. IGAD and SADC are both considering the establishment of a regional peace fund. The establishment of a trust fund for the African Mission in Burundi (AMIB) set a precedent for such an arrangement, and in West Africa the ECOWAS Peace Fund has already been established.

Ultimately, Africa and its friends have to be realistic about what can be achieved in the short term by relatively young organisations.

- Non-UN support from organisations such as the EU for the AU or regional organisations. An example of this type of support is the Peace Facility discussed earlier in this section.
- Bilateral arrangements between specific countries and regional organisations such as a contribution from the USA to the AU for AMIS II.
- Funding by member states from that regional organisation, for example the deployment, during Operation Artemis, of an EU battle group to Ituri in 2003. However, this is not viable for peacekeeping by the AU or regions in Africa for any but the most modest operation.
- Burden-sharing by individual countries. Such arrangements could range from the US provision of airlift to deploy Nigerian troops to Darfur, as happened recently, to the deployment of a coherent separate force to backstop a mission. Recent examples include Britain (in Sierra Leone), France (in Côte d'Ivoire) and South Africa during AMIB in Burundi.⁶⁷
- Various combinations of these, such as funding only one component of the peace mission from assessed scales and the rest through voluntary bilateral or multilateral contributions.

Beyond the critical issue of funding, a number of other significant challenges lie ahead.

A major impediment throughout the process of establishing the ASF has been the need for the AU to launch and manage major peace missions in Sudan and Burundi – something that has placed enormous demands on the organisation's still very limited mission planning and management capabilities. While the kind of donor assistance outlined above has made a massive difference, it cannot make up for the deficit in African planning and mission management capacity at headquarters level. Nor can it readily address the force generation challenges that are linked to limited national capacity in the individual AU troop-contributing countries.

AMIS was originally deployed to monitor the April 2004 ceasefire between the government and two rebel groups. As AMIS has documented since its deployment, this ceasefire has been routinely violated by all parties to the conflict. On 28 April 2005, the chairperson of the AU Commission, Alpha Oumar Konare, issued a report calling for an increase in AU forces in Darfur to 12,300 military, police and civilian personnel by spring 2006. At the time of writing, AMIS had 2,372 troops deployed across a region the size of France. This force is too small, and the projected rate of deployment of more troops too

slow, to protect civilians and halt ethnic cleansing in the Darfur region.

Importantly, the Sudanese government has not objected to the presence of troops from African countries, but rejects deployment of non-African troops. AMIS is therefore an essential part of the solution to the humanitarian crisis and the broader Sudanese peace process. The AU therefore richly deserves credit for taking the lead in efforts to restore security to Darfur in the face of UNSC paralysis and inaction, but these laudable efforts will inevitably cause ASF establishment timelines to slip as the Commission and the troop-contributing nations grapple with the demands for more rapid deployment and expanded mission management.

A further complicating issue is that the ASF architecture dictates that it will be entirely dependant on the regions for force generation and operational capability. The member states of these regions are already committed to providing troops and police to AMIS, as well as ongoing UN operations, and may also be contributing to their own regional operations when called upon to mobilise for future ASF operations. Moreover (as discussed earlier in this paper) the regions are developing their standby capacities at different rates and with different levels of linkage to the continental framework and standards.

Universal standards therefore need to be developed as a matter of urgency, taking into account that the ASF is likely to operate as a bridging force for UN deployments rather than a replacement. In other words, the exit strategy for the AU remains a UN operation since only the UN can provide a response to the types of complex emergency that characterise conflict in Africa. This was true of Burundi and of recent ECOWAS experiences.⁶⁸

Closing the capability gaps will require a hard-headed approach to the challenge, one that disregards outcomes that result from mere wishful thinking, particularly regarding mission support and sustainment, where the first need is for realistic joint assessment between the UN, the AU, African regions and donors to reach consensus on a viable approach to the future of the ASF in its various guises and regarding logistics in particular. This will not be easy.

For example, the soundness of present plans to establish continental and regional logistic support bases is open to challenge. Storing vehicles and equipment in harsh climates requires heavy investment in infrastructure and climate control if stores are to be operational when needed. All of the investment falls on the users,

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and maintenance is a challenge to in-house staff. On the other hand, most developed nations and many UN missions have moved to a much greater degree of reliance on the commercial sector to provide logistic solutions for peace operations. The US company Pacific Architects and Engineers (PAE) has provided substantial support to past ECOWAS operations, and commercial logistics contracting merits serious consideration. It places much of the investment and management load on the commercial sector rather than on overstretched regional organisations, and avoids the need for the recruitment and training of a large number of additional staff. Strategic lift requirements can be met in the same way. The cost of investing in a dedicated pool of heavy lift transport aircraft and shipping, accompanied by the challenges of maintaining them, is clearly disproportionate. The UN itself relies entirely on contracts not only for airlift, but also for all non-combat aviation support to its missions in Africa.

The aspiration of Africans to have control of key enablers is understandable, and a commercial solution will inevitably depend on developed world companies. Nigeria has already proposed that the AU develop a policy that would prioritise African companies in the provision of support to the AU.⁶⁹ On the other hand, Africa lacks experience of commercial logistics on the scale and in the areas that are essential for effective peace support operations. This needs to be developed, and it will be essential for regional organisations to acquire and retain personnel who are capable of managing and evaluating ongoing logistic contracts, and of activating the provisions of dormant contracts when required.

Peace operations capacity building is not cheap, and none of the envisaged capabilities are really affordable for Africa. However, all UN operations in Africa already involve a huge transfer of money from developed to developing countries – a trend particularly resented by the single largest financial contributor to UN peacekeeping, the United States. Moreover, there is an unambiguous need for both UN and regional peacekeeping operations in Africa. Over three quarters of all UN peacekeepers are serving in Africa, and it is difficult to see this massive effort being replaced by African organisations. Regional capacities should be for emergency or early action; and UN engagement for sustained multifunctional support to the entire peace-building process. Support for UN peacekeeping is, in effect, support for peacekeeping in Africa. Strategies aimed at enhancing regional capacities for peacekeeping operations that are potentially at the expense of UN peacekeeping capabilities should therefore be avoided.

It is clear from the operational framework being developed by all regions that the main element of the ASF, and hence future regional missions, will be the

military. The Special Representative of the Executive Secretary (SRES) in ECOWAS or his/her equivalent elsewhere will have a limited role, possibly addressing the start of a DDR process, and it is unlikely to extend into significant post-conflict reconstruction activities. Similarly, the police component is most likely to be configured for an advisory or limited and short-term executive role, rather than for implementing comprehensive reform of the law enforcement sector within the wider context of rule of law, justice sector and security sector reforms. For the foreseeable future, only the UN has the capacity to implement multifunctional mission mandates in Africa.

The biggest danger with any approach that seeks to simply devolve peacekeeping to African organisations is that this will strengthen the 'Band-Aid' solution. An end to widespread armed conflict is a prerequisite for development – but it is no more than that. Without an effort that replaces a conflict cycle with one that reinforces peace and development, African peacekeeping probably has less chance of success than UN peacekeeping and has great potential to approximate offensive military operations in the absence of sufficient resources.

Notes

- 1 Policy Framework for the Establishment of the African Standby Force (ASF) and the Military Staff Committee (MSC), Volume II: Annexes, Annex C.
- 2 In West Africa the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) similarly engaged in Liberia, Guinea-Bissau and Sierra Leone.
- 3 Article 2(1) of the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union as adopted by the 1st Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the African Union, Durban, 9 July 2002. Hereafter the PSC Protocol
- 4 Article 13(1) of the PSC Protocol reads as follows: "In order to enable the Peace and Security Council perform its responsibilities with respect to the deployment of peace support missions and intervention pursuant to article 4 (h) and (j) of the Constitutive Act, an African Standby Force shall be established. Such Force shall be composed of standby multidisciplinary contingents, with civilian and military components in their countries of origin and ready for rapid deployment at appropriate notice".
- 5 Ibid, Article 12(1).
- 6 Ibid, Article 21(1).
- 7 In this paper the term 'continental' is used to refer to the level of the African Union and the term 'regional' to refer to regions within Africa such as East or Southern Africa.
- 8 This section is based on the Roadmap for the Operationalisation of the African Standby Force, Experts' Meeting on the Relationship between the AU and the Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, Addis Ababa, 22–23



March 2005, EXP/AU-Recs/ASF/4(I). Much of that is based on a non-paper submitted to the AU by the ISS in March 2004.

- 9 EX.CL/Dec. 156 (V) Decision on the African Standby Force (ASF) and the Military Staff Committee (MSC) DOC. EX.CL/110 (V), 5th Ordinary Session of the Executive Council, 30 June-3 July 2004 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Assembly/AU/Dec. 35(III) Decision on the African Standby Force (ASF) and the Military Staff Committee (MSC) Doc. EX.CL/110 (V).
- 10 The erstwhile OAU recognised five main regions in Africa, and prioritised one corresponding regional economic community (REC) to advance the peace and security in each: The Inter-Governmental Developmental Authority (IGAD) in the east; the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in the west; the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) in the north; the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in the south; and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) in the Central African region.
- 11 Within the framework of Article 14.2 of the Constitutive Act of the AU.
- 12 The regional PLANELMs would also expand to 15 over time.
- 13 Current members include the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KA IPTC), the Zambakro Peacekeeping Training School, the Cairo School of Peacekeeping, the SADC Regional Peacekeeping Training Centre, the Kenya Peace Support Training Centre, the South African National War College, the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes and the Institute for Security Studies. The latter is also responsible for secretariat functions.
- 14 MINURSO 237, MONUC 16,270, ONUB 5,445, UNAMSIL 3,622, UNMEE 3,335, UNMIL 16,017, UNOCI 6,237. As of 28 February 2005, latest figures available at www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/. The UN Mission in Sudan has subsequently been authorised with a strength of around 10,000. The first troops are due in the mission area in June 2005.
- 15 There was not a single political adviser to the SRES in Liberia, while in Côte d'Ivoire, one military officer was appointed to the staff of the SRES.
- 16 As approved by the 9th Defence and Security Commission (DSC) in 2004.
- 17 This total comprises 1,500 for the Task Force, a further 3,500 to add to the Task Force to form a military brigade, and a further 1,500 to form the strategic reserve.
- 18 As defined by the ECOWAS Secretariat, but based on UN standards wherever appropriate.
- 19 While the AU and the other regions talk of PLANELMs, ECOWAS has set up the MPMC with a staff of ten military officers (with Canadian support) to deal with strategic and operational planning. The intention is for the MPMC to operate on a permanent basis. Its task will be to plan for mission deployments, and after that, to oversee their management from the perspective of the ECOWAS Secretariat.
- 20 ECOWAS Secretariat, ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF) Operational Framework, Draft Document, 10 April 2005, par. 12 f. Hereafter ESF Framework.
- 21 At the 10th DSC meeting. Troops are to be drawn from all arms of service in order to create a balanced force.
- 22 The ECOWAS structure defines this as a 'logistical unit', although it includes combat support elements such as engineers and signals.
- 23 ESF Framework, op cit, par 16.
- 24 The Task Force order of battle (ORBAT) will only be confirmed once the mission type is known.
- 25 ESF Framework, op cit, par 17.
- 26 Ibid, par 8.
- 27 The complexities of creating a training policy for the deployable forces and associated staff of the ESF should not be underestimated. The force will be composed of a number of national contingents that are trained according to different national doctrinal and performance standards.
- 28 The absence of this capability markedly slowed financial support from partners for the ECOMIL mission. It was rectified only when financial technical advisors from UN and EU peace support operations were dispatched to assist ECOWAS.
- 29 See Mark Malan, *Report of the ECOWAS Workshop on Lessons from ECOWAS Peacekeeping Operations: 1990-2004*, Accra, February 2005. www.kaiptc.org.
- 30 All figures for March 2005 are available at www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/.
- 31 The process to approve the EASBRIG structures and framework was as follows: a preparatory meeting of EASBRIG military experts and a subsequent meeting of Eastern Africa Chiefs of Defence Staff (EACDS) in Jinja, Uganda, from 13 to 17 February 2004. This was followed by a meeting of the Council of Ministers of Defence and Security of Eastern Africa on 16-17 July 2004, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. A second meeting of regional experts took place from 16 to 20 August 2004, in Jinja, Uganda, and next second meetings of the Chiefs of Defence Staff and then of the Council of Ministers of Defence and Security were held in Kigali, Rwanda, from 7 to 10 September 2004. The Summit Meeting of the Heads of States of EASBRIG in Addis Ababa on 11 April 2005 concluded the approval process. The latter meeting, in turn, affirmed the earlier AU decision regarding the role of IGAD as interim coordinator.
- 32 Djibouti, Somalia, Eritrea, Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya.
- 33 Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), Articles 3 and 5.
- 34 The policy framework does refer to 'stand-alone missions'. The first commander of EASBRIG, an Ethiopian brigadier-general, was appointed recently.
- 35 MoU, Article 7(5).
- 36 EASBRIG Policy Framework, Par 8g.
- 37 Article 9.
- 38 Article 8(2).
- 39 Headed by Kenyan Col R Kibochi.
- 40 Article 11.



- 41 The salaries of officers, professional civilians and non-commissioned officers (NCOs), who staff specific positions in the brigade headquarters, the PLANELM and the logistic base, will be paid by member states. EASBRIG will cover mission allowances. EASBRIG itself will cover costs of civilian support staff employed at the various structures.
- 42 The policy framework creates the impression that EASBRIG is entirely to be coordinated by IGAD.
- 43 At the meetings in Jinja, Uganda.
- 44 At the meetings in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- 45 Report of the First Meeting of Ministers of Defence and Security of the Eastern Africa Region on the Establishment of the Eastern Africa Standby Brigade, Addis Ababa, 15-16 July 2004, par 5.14.
- 46 Authorised maximum strength: military personnel: 16,700; civilian police personnel: 475. Civilian personnel include specialists in human rights, humanitarian affairs, public information, child protection, political affairs, medical and administrative support. Current strength: 16,270 total uniformed personnel, including 15,532 troops, 563 military observers, 175 civilian police supported by 734 international civilian personnel and 1,154 local civilian staff. Method of financing: assessments in respect of a special account.
- 47 The Extraordinary Summit of Heads of State and Government, in Windhoek, Namibia, on 9 March 2001 approved the Report on the Review of the Operations of the SADC institutions.
- 48 SIPO, political sector objective 6.
- 49 This would continue the practice established with earlier exercises, notably Blue Hungwe (1996), Blue Crane (1999), Tanzanite (2002) and Blue Angel (2003).
- 50 See Articles 3 to 8 of the Organ Protocol.
- 51 Unlike the AU and ECOWAS, SADC does not have a Peace and Security Council or committee with reduced membership that acts on behalf of member states. Instead, all countries are involved within its peace and security framework below heads of state level.
- 52 This is roughly equivalent to the ECOWAS meetings of the Mediation and Security Council at ministerial level. Note that the SADC Inter-State Politics and Diplomacy Committee (ISPDC) consisting of all Ministers for Foreign Affairs is not part of the SADC BRIG strategic management structure. The first meeting of the Interstate Political and Diplomatic Committee opened in Maputo on 17 May 2002, but the committee has not succeeded in meeting regularly.
- 53 The ISDC previously had three sub-committees: on defence; state security; and public security. The SADC Committee of Chiefs of Defence Staff is a fourth committee.
- 54 It will serve as an advisory committee to the Ministerial Committee of the Organ and, if necessary, the SADC Summit, oversee and manage the PLANELM, and be responsible for readiness levels, etc.
- 55 SIPO, par 8.3.1.
- 56 SADC has been careful to emphasise that member states have the final say in the participation of their earmarked forces in any particular mission.
- 57 See 'Decision on the Establishment by the European Union of a Peace Support Operation Facility for the African Union'.
- 58 Somewhat optimistically, the financing proposal anticipates that it would be able to finance a minimum of six operations from this amount. The Peace Facility may not be used to fund ammunition, arms and specific military equipment, spare parts for arms and military equipment, salaries for soldiers and military training for soldiers. The expectation was that funding would be focused on operational costs such as per diems, rations, medical consumables, transport, fuel and troop allowances (AIDCO/12/04-EN (Rev2) page 11). The total amount consists of €200 million for support to peacekeeping, €34 million for technical assistance, €2 million for monitoring and evaluation, €1 million for auditing and €12 million for contingencies.
- 59 Within the EU Commission the financial proposal was subsequently considered at length at the European Development Fund (EDF) Management Committee Meeting on 30 March 2004. After a long debate, the final compromise language reads as follows: "Each operation to be financed from the Peace Facility will have to be initiated by the African Union (AU) and/or the sub-regional organization. As a general rule, when a sub-regional organization takes an initiative, this initiative shall have the political approval of the AU. Peace support operations will be implemented by the AU and/or the relevant sub-regional organization" (Par 7.2.2 of the Financing Proposal AIDCO/12/04-EN (Rev 2) page 13). Furthermore: "Peace Support operations to be funded by the Peace Facility should be consistent with UN principles and objectives. In this respect, endorsement in the broadest sense should be sought from the UN system in accordance with the UN Charter, in particular chapter 7 and 8 of the Charter. ... Peace enforcement operations will require a UN mandate" (Ibid, Par 7.2.3).
- 60 On 9 June 2004.
- 61 On 20/21 October 2004.
- 62 AIDCO/36192-EN, EDF Committee Brief on Peace Facility Operations, Brussels, 15 October 2004. The largest part (80%) of the funds is for the recruitment of 25 additional staff members for the AU Commission.
- 63 The total budget foreseen by the AU for AMIS II at that point was €177 million and the request to the EU followed the decision by the Peace and Security Council of the African Union on 20 October 2004 to strengthen the mandate of AMIS. AIDCO/37171/04-EN, EDF Committee Brief on Peace Facility Operation Darfur Sudan AMIS II, Brussels, 21 October 2004.
- 64 Although neither AMIS nor AMIS II can be conceived as enforcement operations, there is strong UN endorsement, and even a Chapter VII element in Resolution 1556, with the Security Council determining that the situation in Sudan constitutes

a threat to international peace and security and to stability in the region, and: "Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations ... endorses the deployment of international monitors, including the protection force envisaged by the African Union, to the Darfur region of Sudan under the leadership of the African Union ..." Resolution 1564 goes a bit further, with Council again "Acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter", and welcoming and supporting ... "the intention of the African Union to enhance and augment its monitoring mission in the Darfur region of Sudan, and [encouraging] the undertaking of proactive monitoring" (UN Security Council, Resolution 1556 (2004), S/RES/1556(2004), 30 July 2004, par 2. UN Security Council, Resolution 1564 (2004), S/RES/1564(2004), 18 September 2004, par 2).

- 65 See Jakkie Cilliers, UN reform and funding peacekeeping in Africa, *African Security Review* 14(2), Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, May 2005.
- 66 United Nations General Assembly, *A more secure world: our shared responsibility: Report Of The High-Level Panel On Threats, Challenges And Change* (A/59/565, 02 December 2004) and *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All*. (United Nations General Assembly. Fifty-ninth session, A/59/2005, 21 March 2005. www.un.org/largerfreedom/report-largerfreedom.pdf)
- 67 And historically, Nigeria, in support of other ECOWAS troop contributors in Sierra Leone and Liberia.

- 68 The ECOWAS Mission in Liberia (ECOMIL) and the ECOWAS Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (ECOMICI) met the critical requirement to deploy something quickly, but sustainability issues inhibited their capability in the longer term. In both cases this problem was well known from the outset and a good deal of coordination took place between the two missions and the UN. ECOMIL's deployment was always seen as the first step towards the longer-term deployment of a UN mission. It received significant support from the UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), which was able to assist with the deployment of the Nigerian battalion that had been due to withdraw from UNAMSIL as part of that mission's downsizing process. With ECOMICI, the situation was somewhat different in that the ECOWAS mission operated alongside a smaller UN mission that deployed at much the same time and, while MINUCI was eventually expanded to a full peacekeeping mission, this was not a foregone conclusion at the time. Such trends suggest that the emerging peacekeeping capacity in Africa should develop along UN standards and that the AU and its various partners should cooperate with the UN as far as possible, especially in relation to mission planning and concepts to promote interoperability among the various components of the architecture.
- 69 At the Abuja Summit of the AU, in January 2005. Executive Council, Decision on the Development of an African Policy on the Supply of Items to Peacekeeping Operations in Africa, EX CL/Dec 189 (VI).

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About this paper

This paper provides an overview of the progress that has been made towards the establishment of the African Standby Force (ASF), at continental and regional levels. The first section provides a review of the continental framework as it has evolved to date and been adopted by the African Union. Subsequent sections deal with progress in three regions in Africa, namely the Economic Community for West Africa (ECOWAS), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The conclusion highlights the most salient challenges to be overcome if the ASF is to become a meaningful and effective conflict resolution tool in the hands of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union.

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