



International Peace Academy

Strengthening African Peacekeeping Capacity

African Military Perspectives

John L. Hirsch and Nancy Walker



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About the Organizers

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Executive Summary

At the request of the Strategic Affairs Directorate of the French Ministry of Defense, the International Peace Academy convened a workshop on April 17-19, 2005 in Bamako, Mali, bringing together seven prominent African military leaders with military representatives from two of Africa's major development partners, France and the United Kingdom for an in-depth discussion on the requirements for Strengthening African Peacekeeping Capacity. The meeting fulfilled its primary objective of providing an opportunity for a small group of highly experienced African military to discuss in an informal setting the shortfalls in current cooperative programs and also to offer several innovative recommendations for new directions.

The participants warmly welcomed this opportunity, highlighting the importance of meeting in this format as the African Union in consultation with the Regional Economic Organizations (RECs) is establishing the African Standby Force (ASF). Significant progress already has been achieved in establishing the "Road Map for the Operationalization of the ASF".¹ They supported the overall objective of achieving full African Union capacity to manage complex peacekeeping operations in conjunction with regional standby forces by 30 June 2010.

Participants congratulated the African Union for its peacekeeping and monitoring roles in Darfur, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo; praised the important role of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Cote d'Ivoire; and welcomed the major role of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in the achievement of the North/South peace agreement in the Sudan and the envisaged peacekeeping deployment to Somalia. At the same time, there was clear recognition that much more needs to be done in order to establish African peacekeeping capacity at the continental, regional and national level on a long term sustainable basis.

Major recommendations from the workshop can be clustered around three major themes:

A) Strengthening Partnerships:

The mindset for meaningful partnership needs to change. Both African leaders and their development partners must accept the necessity for tough decisions. The development partners cannot expect to impose preconceived plans; African leaders need to understand and accept the reality of resource constraints and competing political and budgetary requirements.

Military leaders and experts need to educate civilian political leaders regarding the consequences of their decisions in both the short and long term. Bridging the civilian-military conceptual and operational gap is essential.

Development partners and African civilian and military leaders need to accept the limitations of what is feasible in the short term without losing sight of the long term vision for the African Standby Force. Development partners must explain clearly what support is or is not possible to avoid future misunderstandings.

Development partners should regard their long term commitment to strengthening African peacekeeping capacity as an investment in the future of Africa, not simply the ad-hoc provision of resources in the short term for immediate African Union and sub regional objectives.

The United Nations, the African Union and the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) should strengthen their peacekeeping partnership, both in terms of technical support for initial deployment, and retaining the option of "re-hatting" African peace operations under United Nations Security Council mandate.

B) Key Role of the African Union:

The African Union's vision and objectives need to be the basis for ongoing and future initiatives. The African Union "Road Map for the Operationalization of the African Standby Force", being developed and coordinated in consultation with the regional organizations, is the focal point for this effort.

The African Union and the regional organizations need to ensure that their strategic vision for the African Standby Force is clear and practical. Ongoing consultations with the G-8 and the European Union should lead to early agreement on external resource requirements on a sustainable and timely basis.ⁱⁱ

Political will by African member states to establish the ASF is commendable but insufficient; there must be the political will to sustain peacekeeping missions for the long term – with clear recognition by civilian leaderships and parliaments of the implications of their commitments including the personnel and financial costs they entail.

Democratic participation in formulation of ASF mandates, including active involvement of parliaments and civil society organizations, is essential in order to assure that these mandates are popularly supported and sustainable.

C) Reconceiving Priorities:

There is a clear need for further improvement in coordination and integration of planning between the African Union and the Regional Economic Organizations, as well as between the African Union and its development partners.

National capacities must be recognized as the essential building blocks of sub-regional and continental capacities for civilian and military leaderships.

Key tasks include:

- Identification and integrated training of future civilian and military leaders, including diplomats, logisticians and financial experts – rather than focusing training only on the military;
- Harmonization by the United Nations and the African Union/RECs of standard operating procedures, and progress toward further interoperability of equipment;
- Higher priority should be accorded French/English language instruction in African military academies in order to overcome the Francophone/Anglophone divide.

Logistics and financing are key to sustainable peacekeeping capacity. These responsibilities must be shared on a broader basis between African governments and their development partners.

Following an African Union political decision on an ASF peace operation, the timeframe for initial deployment should be reconceptualized for 90 days, the current United Nations standard (rather than 30 days as presently envisaged).ⁱⁱⁱ

The African Union should conduct evaluation of progress on operationalization of the African Standby Force and review lessons learned from ongoing ASF peace operations on an annual basis, rather than deferring assessments until after the ASF is fully operational in 2010.

1. Introduction

At the request of the Strategic Affairs Directorate of the French Ministry of Defense, the International Peace Academy's Africa Program convened a workshop on April 17-19, 2005 in Bamako, Mali, bringing together seven prominent African military leaders with military representatives from two of Africa's major development partners, France and the United Kingdom for an in-depth discussion on the requirements for Strengthening African Peacekeeping Capacity. IPA Africa Program Director John Hirsch and Dr. Nancy Walker, former head of the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, served as facilitators. The Concept Paper, Agenda and a full list of participants for the meeting can be found at Annex A.

The workshop fulfilled its primary objective of bringing together a very small number of highly experienced African military leaders to discuss in an informal setting the requirements for African peacekeeping with a few senior Officers from Western Europe with experience in African peacekeeping. While there was no effort to forge an artificial consensus, the meeting produced a reciprocal understanding that African political and military leaders and their development partners in Western Europe, Asia and the United States need to develop a long term sustainable relationship with a shared agenda and common goals.

Participants recognized that building African peacekeeping capacity is inevitably a long term proposition, taking into account that the African Union is barely four years old, and that African Regional Economic Organizations have only assumed significant peacekeeping responsibilities since the end of the Cold War. Moreover African personnel and financial resources are severely constrained. Resource mobilization will only come within the framework of strengthened governance, improved revenue collection, and provision of resources for other pressing fundamental obligations such as health services and education. There is therefore no short cut or quick fix; serious engagement on developing African peacekeeping capacity will require reciprocal engagement over the next 10-20 years or longer. At the same time it was

recognized that this was in the mutual interest of African and western leaders and states, as unresolved or spreading conflicts on the African continent will continue if unchecked to have a deleterious impact globally.

It was similarly recognized that development partners must develop their strategies and support for African peacekeeping within the broader parameters of their own national interests and priorities, contending worldwide objectives (e.g. supporting the search for peace in the Middle East), and budgetary constraints.

This report follows the topics outlined in the Concept Paper and the Agenda, highlighting the major themes and observations on the various themes and issues discussed during the workshop.

2. Evaluation of Peace Operations Training Programs

While training programs such as RECAMP, ACRI and ACOTA to a limited extent have helped develop the capacity of some African national armies, this has generally been on an ad-hoc basis and with limited continental impact. It was agreed that development



Colonel Seydou Traoré, Chef d'Etat Major Général des Armées, République du Mali

partners and African military leaders need to coordinate and harmonize these training initiatives in a more coherent program. The starting point should be the requirements of the African Standby Force and African Union plans to develop five regional standby force brigades as laid out in the AU “Road Map”. Western training programs (as well as other activities – see below) should serve the purposes and programs determined by the African Union and the African Regional Economic Organizations (ECOWAS, SADC, IGAD etc.)

Key recommendations:

Training programs should be coordinated at national, regional and continental level; the core training should take place at national level.

To the maximum extent possible, training modules utilized by African peacekeeping institutes should be standardized with the ultimate objective of having the African Standby Force function under the same operational standards as United Nations peace operations.

Increased operational and strategic level training opportunities should be provided for senior military officers. Most training to date has been at the tactical level.

Of equal importance priority should be given to early identification and training of the next generation of junior military officers; many senior level officers will be retiring over the next 5-10 years.

Training opportunities should be provided over an entire military career, not just on a one-time only basis as is often the case. National level commitment assuring that officers receive encouragement and recognition for participation in training programs is essential.

Civilians need to be trained in key support functions - legal affairs, logistics, finance, accounting, maintenance and inventory control – as integral components of African peacekeeping capacity.



Ambassador John L. Hirsch, IPA, Colonel Seydou Traoré, Colonel Yaka Samaké, Sous-Chef d'Etat Major Général des Armées, République du Mali

3. Mandates and Responsibilities

Mandates from the African Union or Regional Economic Organizations for African peacekeeping deployments must be coherent, realistic and consistent with the capacity to deal effectively with the situation on the ground. Sustainability over the duration of the mandate must be taken into account at the outset. In order for this to happen, heads of state and other civilian leaders must establish a meaningful dialogue and relationship with their military counterparts. (This was illustrated by reference to the African Union’s political commitment to deploy an observer force to Darfur at a time when African peacekeeping forces have limited operational and logistical capacity).

Key recommendations:

The African Union and the Regional Economic Organizations need to assure that decision making mechanisms establish workable mandates for deployment of peacekeeping forces. This will require close civilian-military coordination, correlation of mandates to resources, and a realistic estimate of the requisite timeframe needed for successful completion of the assigned mission.

Rules of engagement need to be consistent with the mandate. (In United Nations parlance, this refers to the distinction between ROEs in Chapter VI peacekeeping and Chapter VII peace enforcement mandates).

The African Union and the Regional Economic Organizations need to take into account different national interpretations of rules of engagement. National armies will continue to have different capabilities.

Peacekeeping mandates therefore must take into account that national forces will deploy within their national rules and operational constraints.

Democratic participation in formulation of peacekeeping mandates, including active involvement of parliaments and civil society organizations, is essential in order to assure that these mandates are popularly supported and sustainable.

The United Nations should provide advance support in planning and preparation of African peacekeeping deployments. While the focus will be on immediate operational needs (stand-up headquarters; airlifts etc) the United Nations Secretariat should address requirements for sustainability of the African peacekeeping operation over its projected duration.

African peacekeeping forces will require continued support from one or more of their development partners for the foreseeable future.

4. Leadership, Management and Planning

A major weakness of both United Nations and African peacekeeping operations is the shortage of trained and capable civilian and military leadership. Often the same small pool of Special Representatives and Force Commanders moves from one peacekeeping operation to another. As noted above, training of senior officers and selected army units has been ad-hoc, insufficiently focused on the long term requirements for African peacekeeping. Additionally, political considerations



S.E. le Ministre Mamadou Cissouma, Ministre de la Défense, République du Mali

affect the identification of new leadership - e.g. selection of Zimbabwean officers for future African peacekeeping operations is apparently blocked until the political situation in Zimbabwe changes.

Key recommendations:

The United Nations, the African Union and the Regional Economic Organizations should work together to establish a broader pool of future Special Representatives and Force Commanders for UN and African peacekeeping operations.

Collaborative training exercises between the African Union and/or the Regional Economic Organizations with their development partners should be utilized to develop and identify candidates for future military and civilian leadership roles.

Development partners should establish a system of exchanges (perhaps for a year at a time) between officers at the brigade and division levels, to provide African officers with greater opportunities for interchange and professional experience with western military (e.g. assignments to NATO or to European Union military or police commands.)

African military structures need to strengthen their Personnel management systems in order to have a



Ms. Kapinga-Yvette Ngandu, IPA, Ms. Alexandra Novosseloff, Ministère Français de la Défense

more stable and predictable career path for advancement in the military services.

5. Logistics and Financing

Effective solutions for sustainable financing and logistics are key to the development of long term African peacekeeping capacity. Getting these right is essential. While African states will continue to operate under financial constraints, African ownership of peace operations should include significant financial contributions rather than continued reliance on external funding. A similar theme pertains to logistics, namely that African armies should be self-sustaining on basic fundamentals such as clothing and food, while realistically they will continue to require external support for airlifts of personnel and equipment to areas of operations, advanced communications technology and provision of heavy equipment – trucks, etc.

Key Recommendations:

All African Union member states should contribute to the Peace Fund without delay.

The African Union's financial management system needs urgently to be strengthened with external

technical assistance. This also applies to the financial management systems of the Regional Economic Organizations.

Assumption of African peace operations by the United Nations (e.g. rehatting of ECOMOG operations in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Cote d'Ivoire into United Nations peace operations) can play a significant role in easing the financial burdens borne by African militaries.

African states should own the process of establishing logistics depots for the regional standby forces, deciding on their location in conjunction with the ASF "Road Map". (Note: The issue is under active review. The African Union logistics study is considering whether depots in each of the five regions are either necessary or cost effective.)^{iv}

Consideration should be given to the establishment of industrial zones adjacent to these logistics depots in order to encourage local manufacturing of military equipment and supplies in lieu of indefinite importation of virtually all military equipment, maintenance and replacement inventories from depots located in Europe or elsewhere.

The contracting out of maintenance operations to private western companies (e.g. the U.S.-based Pacific Architects and Engineers) may be necessary for the immediate future but efforts should be undertaken to develop and utilize the capacity of the African private sector to provide maintenance for ASF military equipment and vehicles.

In cooperation with their development partners, the ASF should be based as far as possible on standardized, interoperable equipment. However, every nation should be responsible for the maintenance of its own basic equipment and resource requirements (uniforms, light vehicles, food, water etc).

Requirements for heavy equipment, airplanes, helicopters or advanced communications should be incorporated into bilateral security agreements with the development partners.

6. Concluding Observations

In summing up the participants again highlighted the significant progress that has already been achieved, especially by the African Union and ECOWAS, in establishing new continental and regional security mechanisms. There was also clear awareness that much more needs to be done to strengthen capacity over the next decade. Several key themes figured recurrently in the discussions.

Closer interaction between African civilian and military leaders and their development partners will be reciprocally beneficial provided both sides recognize and accept the fundamental principle of African ownership of the Standby Force concept.

African civilian/military leaders and their western partners have to show greater realism on what is possible. This also requires informed civilian understanding of the military consequences and implications of political decisions reached at heads of state level, whether in the African Union or the United Nations Security Council.

Major improvement in the relationship between civilian and military leaderships, each having better understanding of their respective requirements and constraints, will greatly facilitate the implementation of the African Standby Force in the years ahead.

Crisis prevention and crisis management needs to be improved, both conceptually and operationally. African research institutions and civil society organi-



Visit to L'Ecole de Maintien de la Paix de Koulikoro

zations can contribute significantly to the African Union and Regional Economic Organizations capacity for clearer analytical understanding of the roots of crisis, and closer relationships should be established.

Standardization of procedures for rapid decision making and deployments, organizational improvements including stronger financial controls, and coordinated training of civilian and military personnel, including in financial management, are essential prerequisites for an effective ASF.

The United Nations, the African Union and the regional organizations should continue their efforts to achieve more effective partnerships, whether through the provision of technical assistance and the mobilization of external resources or “rehatting “ of African forces into United Nations peace operations.

ⁱ See Communiqué and “Road Map for the Operationalization of the African Standby Force”, Experts Meeting on the Relationship Between the AU and the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in the Area of Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, Addis Ababa, 22-23 March 2005, EXP/AU-RECs/ASF/Comm. (I) and EXP/AU-RECs/ASF/ 4(I).

ⁱⁱ At the request of the African Union, the European Union has established a Peace Facility including resources for the reinforcement of the capacity of the African Union and the RECs. A contribution agreement on the most urgent needs has already been concluded. The African Union request on long term needs is still under development. See Communiqué, Addis Ababa March 23, 2005, Ibid.

ⁱⁱⁱ Road Map for the Operationalization of the African Standby Force, Ibid, Section IX, Para 21 – Logistical Sustainability and Logistical Infrastructure.

^{iv} Ibid, Section IX, Paras 22-24.

ANNEX I: Conference Agenda

Sunday, April 17

- 7:00pm - 8:00pm Informal Reception, Hôtel Kempinski El-Farouk
- 8:00pm - 8:30pm Welcome Remarks
Ambassador John Hirsch, Acting Director, IPA
Colonel Seydou Traoré, Chief of Defense Staff, Armed Forces of the Republic of Mali
- Presentation on Mali Armed Forces and Mali contributions to international peacekeeping efforts
Commandant Coulibaly
- 8:30pm Dinner, Hôtel Kempinski El-Farouk

Monday, April 18

- 8:30am - 9:00am Introduction of Workshop participants
- 9:00am - 10:30am Session One: Evaluation of Peace Operations Training Programs
- 10:30am - 11:00am Coffee Break
- 11:00am - 12:30pm Session Two: Mandates and Responsibilities
- 12:30pm - 2:00pm Lunch
- 2:00pm - 3:30pm Session Three: Leadership, Management and Planning
- 4:00pm - 4:25pm Courtesy call on H.E. Mamadou Cissouma, Minister of Defense, Mali
- 4:35pm - 5:00pm Visit to the Peacekeeping Documentation Center, Ministry of Defense
- 8:00pm Dinner hosted by Colonel Seydou Traoré
Chief of Defense Staff, Mali
Hôtel Nord-Sud

Tuesday, April 19

- 9:00am - 10:30am Session Four: Logistics, and Financing
- 10:30am - 11:00am Coffee Break

11:00am - 1:00pm	Conclusions and Recommendations
1:00pm - 2:00pm	Lunch
3:30pm - 5:00pm	Visit to <i>L'Ecole de Maintien de la Paix de Koulikoro</i>
7:30pm	Dinner



Conference participants

ANNEX II: List of Participants

1. **Brigadier Général Fernand Amoussou**
 Chef d'Etat-Major Général
 Ministère des Forces Armées
 Béninoises
 Bénin
 2. **Lieutenant General Daniel Opande (Ret.)**
 Kenya
 3. **Colonel Seydou Traoré**
 Chef d'Etat-Major Général
 Ministère de la Défense et des Anciens
 Combattants
 Forces Armées Maliennes
 Mali
 4. **Colonel Yaya Samaké**
 Sous-Chef d'Etat Major Général des Armées
 Chargé des Etudes Générales et des Relations
 Extérieures
 Ministère de la Défense et des Anciens
 Combattants
 Forces Armées Maliennes
 Mali
 5. **Brigadier General Paulino Macaringue**
 University of Witsersrand
 Centre for Defence and Security Management
 Mozambique
 6. **Lieutenant General Martin Agwai**
 Chief of Army Staff
 Nigerian Army
 Nigeria
 7. **Major General Abdoulaye Fall**
 Force Commander
 United Nations Office in Côte d'Ivoire
 8. **Brigadier General Yira Koroma**
 Joint Force Commander
 Republic of Sierra Leone
 Sierra Leone
 9. **Brigadier Général Maurice Lony**
 Général Adjoint
 Relations Internationales
 Ministère de la Défense
 France
 10. **Dr. Alexandra Novosseloff**
 Chargée de Mission ONU
 Bureau Gestion des Crises et Maintien de la Paix
 Délégation aux Affaires Stratégiques
 Ministère de la Défense
 France
 11. **M. Sébastien Bergeon**
 Chargé de Mission Afrique Occidentale
 Sous-direction Questions Régionales
 Délégation aux Affaires Stratégiques
 Ministère de la Défense
 France
 12. **Major General Andrew Stewart**
 Assistant Chief of Defence Staff (Policy)
 Ministry of Defence
 United Kingdom
- INTERNATIONAL PEACE ACADEMY
13. **Ambassador John L. Hirsch**
 Director, a.i., Africa Program
 14. **Ms. Kapinga-Yvette Ngandu**
 Program Officer, Africa Program
 15. **Dr. Nancy Walker**
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