

# ANNUAL REVIEW

## THE PEACE AND SECURITY COUNCIL IN 2018: THE YEAR IN REVIEW

**AMANI AFRICA**

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# THE PEACE AND SECURITY IN 2018: THE YAER IN REVIEW

## HIGHLIGHTS

During January to December 2018, the PSC held some 80 sessions. Convening an average of 6.5 meetings per month, the number of sessions for 2018 is less than the 96 sessions the PSC held in 2017. While more than 1/3 of the sessions of the PSC relate to country or region specific situations, the rest of the sessions relate to thematic issues, developments relating to the APSA and peace support operations. The dominance of thematic issues on the agenda of the PSC has been a feature of many of the monthly programs of work of the PSC. Out of the 6.5 sessions that are held on average per month, more than half related to thematic issues.

In terms of the types of outcome documents, it is interesting to note that from the sessions for which an outcome document is available the PSC adopted more communiqués than statements.

Unlike 2017 during which the PSC held no session at the level of heads of state and government, in 2018 the PSC held two sessions at the level of heads of state and government; one in January 2018 and another one in June 2018. Similarly, there were two ministerial level meetings of the PSC held in June and September 2018.

## EAST AND HORN OF AFRICA

As the table below shows, in terms of regional distribution of PSC sessions, East and Horn of Africa region continues to dominate the agenda of the PSC. With some 13 of the nearly 30 sessions of the PSC on country/regional situations, this region attracted the largest number of sessions. It is interesting to note that the large number of sessions attributed to East Africa principally concern the situations in Somalia and the Sudans.

Table: Regional distribution of the total country/region focused sessions held from January 2018 to December 2018

Northern Africa	East and Horn of Africa	Central Africa	West Africa and the Sahel	Southern Africa
1 session	13 sessions	6 (half Burundi) sessions	7 sessions	3 sessions

The PSC held five meetings on Somalia focusing on the transitional process and exit process of AMISOM. In the first of such meetings held on 15 February, the PSC underscored the importance of making progress in the constitutional review, the regular convening of the National Security Council, the consolidation of the Somali National Security Forces (including through incorporation of the regional forces), and the progress in and timely completion of the development of the Somalia Transitional Plan. In terms of

## **SOUTH SUDAN: MISSED OPPORTUNITY FOR DEVELOPING A SANCTIONS REGIME**

AMISOM and its exit strategy, the PSC emphasized ‘the importance of an AMISOM transition plan that is based on a realistic timeframe and the attainment of the key security conditions suggested by the AU-UN Joint review’ and the need for capacity of Somali administrative institutions to enable them take over responsibility for AMISOM liberated areas. At its 769th session held on 30 April, the PSC considered and adopted the Somalia Transitional Plan (STP), noting that the plan ‘be a living document that should be regularly monitored and reviewed, and upon need, adjusted in light of emerging circumstances and prevailing security and political situations on the ground’.

At its 782nd session held at ministerial level during which it renewed the mandate of AMISOM until 27 May 2019, the PSC while underscoring ‘the need for a comprehensive review of AMISOM multidimensional capacities and capabilities to support the implementation of the STP and to provide the baseline for an AMISOM reconfiguration, including any troop reductions,’ called for the development of a new AMISOM Concept of Operations (CONOPs) aligned to support the implementation of the STP and concurrent activities. At its 817 sessions held on 11 December which adopted its field mission report, the PSC expressed concern over ‘the continued political tension between the FGS and some of the FMS, particularly, in view that the situation has the potential to negatively impact on the hard-won political, security and socio-economic gains made so far in Somalia.’

The situation that attracted the most attention from this region is South Sudan. With the security and humanitarian situation deteriorating and regional and international frustrations over breaches of cessation of hostilities, the need to hold violators of the peace agreement accountable was one of the issues on the agenda of the PSC. During its 751st meeting held on 8 February, the PSC tasked ‘the AU Commission to develop and submit possible punitive measures which could be applied against all those who continue to obstruct efforts towards the restoration of peace and security in South Sudan, at its next meeting on South Sudan’. Again, following the referral by the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) of the situation in South Sudan to the PSC for adopting sanctions, the PSC at its 768th session reiterated its request for the AU Commission to submit proposals on the punitive measures to be applied.’

However, the opportunity that this presented for developing a sanctions regime in relation to conflict situations has not been seized. This is not totally surprising given the discomfort towards sanctions.

One notes in this respect the decision of the PSC reiterated in the press statement of its 758th session that ‘to impose sanctions on personalities in the DRC would not provide the environment conducive for the resolution of the crisis in the DRC.’ Yet, as the experience of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) highlighted below with respect to the situation in Guinea Bissau shows, sanction remains one of the important tools for

conflict management and resolution and it is worthwhile for the PSC to develop and adopt a sanctions regime along with the activation of its sub-committee on sanctions.

## **HORN OF AFRICA REGIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY**

The most interesting development that attracted most attention for this region and the continent relate to the events in the Horn of Africa. Two of these developments attracted the most attention during 2018. The first is the rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea. At its 810th session, the PSC welcomed the end of the 20 year-long political stalemate between Ethiopia and Eritrea and the Joint Declaration on Comprehensive Cooperation between Ethiopia, Somalia and Eritrea signed in Asmara, on 5 September 2018. The PSC underscored ‘the need for stakeholders to have a common understanding of the regional dynamics and develop a joint, well-coordinated and inclusivity approach on how best regional and international actors could support the ongoing peace and normalization efforts between the countries of the Horn of Africa’ and decided to hold quarterly briefing on regional developments in the Horn of Africa.

The other development relates to the impact of the situation in the Gulf countries. At its 811th session, the PSC considered the need for ‘a holistic approach to the linked strategic issues of peace, security and development in the Horn of Africa’, and tasked the AU High-Level Panel for Sudan and South Sudan and Horn of Africa ‘to promote and sustain multilateral partnerships between the AU, IGAD, UN and the inter- state organizations of the Arabian Peninsula’.

The PSC also renewed the mandate of the AUHIP for a further period of 12 months from 31 December 2018.

## **WEST AFRICA AND THE SAHEL**

As the table on the regional distribution of the sessions of the PSC show, this is the other region that received the most attention in the work of the PSC during 2018. The focus of the PSC sessions for West Africa and the Sahel concern the situations in Guinea Bissau, those relating to the Lake Chad basin region and Mali and Sahel.

The PSC held three sessions on Guinea Bissau, two times more than it did in 2017. On the situation on this country, the PSC has followed the lead of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Accordingly, at its 752nd session, the PSC endorsed the decision of ECOWAS imposing sanctions on those hampering the process of ending the crisis in the country and urged the international community to extend full cooperation with ECOWAS and requested the UN Security Council to endorse the PSC communiqué endorsing the ECOWAS decision on the sanction measures. Emphasizing the importance of the ECOWAS Mission in Guinea-Bissau (ECOMIB)’s continued presence in Guinea-Bissau, until the necessary capacitation of the national security forces of Guinea Bissau is completed, the PSC at its 760 sessions held on 29 March, appealed ‘to all Member States and the larger international community to provide the requisite financial support towards the renewal and operation of the (ECOMIB), whose mandate was expiring on 31 March. While adopting its field mission report at its 800th session held on 10 October, the PSC welcomed the ECOWAS

decision of lifting of the sanctions on Guinea Bissau and the extension of the mandate of ECOMOG until 31 December.

On Mali and the Sahel, the PSC held some three sessions, which highlighted the lack of progress in the peace and security situation of Mali and the Sahel. At its 569th session held on 23 March, the PSC expressed its concern over the deterioration of the security situation in the region reaffirming the urgent need for the accelerated implementation of the Agreement for Peace and Reconciliation in Mali from the Algiers process. While extending the deployment of the G5 Sahel Joint Force for an additional period of twelve (12) months, effective from 12 April 2018, the PSC urged for pursuing in consultation with African members of the Security Council the mobilization of predictable and sustainable funding of the G5 Sahel Joint Force.

At its 782nd session held at the level of ministers, the PSC emphasized the need to further strengthen the coordination of the security efforts in the region, including G5 Sahel Joint Force and the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF), within the framework of the APSA. To this end, it called on the AU Commission ‘to take the necessary steps to reactivate the Nouakchott Process, an appropriate framework for the promotion of peace and security in the Sahelo-Saharan Region’. Following an open session on the same theme of coordination and ownership of regional and international initiatives in the Sahel, the PSC in a press statement of its 818th session held on 17 December, the PSC ‘welcomed the coordination role of the AU within the framework of the Nouakchott Process, which is an appropriate inclusive framework for enhancing security cooperation in the

Region.’ It also urged the AU Commission ‘to undertake as a matter of priority to finalise the review of the AU Sahel Strategy pursuant to previous relevant decisions of Peace and Security Council and to inform the Council no later than April 2019.’

## CENTRAL AFRICA

There were three country situations with respect of which the PSC held some six sessions. These were the situations in Burundi, the Central African Republic (CAR) and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Half of the country specific sessions in this region dealt with Burundi. At its 794th session, the PSC while noting relative peace and stability in Burundi, it reaffirmed the commitment of the AU to the scrupulous respect of the letter and spirit of the August 2000 Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement, which constitutes the cornerstone for peace, security and stability in Burundi. It is also interesting that while commending the AU the Human Rights Observers and the Military Experts and calling for signing the Memorandum of Understanding for their deployment, the PSC decided to reduce the number of Human Rights Observers and Military Experts and to extend their mandate until further notice. At its 808th session held on, the PSC expressed the plan ‘to maintain until further notice the Human Rights Observers and Military Experts in Burundi, in order for them to support the Government and people in Burundi in their quest for peace and stability, particularly as they prepare for the 2020 elections.’ The PSC also took formal notice of and welcomed ‘the decision by H.E. President Pierre Nkurunziza to comply with the Constitution of his

country, by not standing for a new term during the election scheduled to take place in 2020 and underscored the need for a peaceful and constitutional transition'. The PSC repeated its earlier call on the European Union for the lifting of sanctions imposed on Burundi.

The DRC also attracted the attention of the PSC. Much of the focus of the PSC engagement on the DRC has been directed towards the efforts for convening the much-anticipated national elections, which have been postponed since 2016. It is interesting to note that the PSC, as highlighted in the press statement of its 758th session held on 14 March 2018, anchored its engagement on the Political Agreement of 31 December 2016. Accordingly, it urged 'the political stakeholders to comply strictly with the provisions of the Agreement, the only consensual and inclusive framework that would enable the DRC to organise peaceful, free and fair and credible elections.' Hinting at the various regional interests at play, the PSC also 'called upon the Commission to take the necessary steps to coordinate the multifarious support that AU member states could provide for the organisation of elections in the DRC.' In the communiqué of its 808th session held on 19 November, to fend off any further postponement of the planned elections, the PSC stated 'the imperative need to organise elections in the DRC on 23 December 2018, in accordance with the electoral calendar announced on 5 November 2017, within the framework of the implementation of the Political Agreement of 31 December 2016'.

While there have been different engagements on the situation in the CAR, there was only one session dedicated specifically to the CAR. The PSC, in a

statement of its 794th session held on 19 September, expressed its grave concern at the continuing deterioration of the security situation in the CAR. The PSC appreciated the 'extensive consultations' held with 14-armed groups in the CAR by the Facilitation Panel under the African Initiative for Peace and Reconciliation in CAR and the submission of their list of grievances and demands to President Faustin-Archange Touadera of CAR. The PSC took note of the "Draft Agreement for the Peace and Reconciliation in CAR", proposed by the Government in response to the claims made by the armed groups. The PSC requested the 'provision of the AU's additional contribution to the budget foreseen for the funding of the pending activities of the (African) Initiative and the holding of the national dialogue'.

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

The PSC held some three sessions in relation to situations in Southern Africa. These concern the two situations in Lesotho and Madagascar.

It held two sessions on Lesotho. In the first session held on 24 January, the PSC at its 748th session welcomed the deployment of the SADC Preventive Mission in the Kingdom of Lesotho (SAPMIL), 'a multidimensional force comprising of a total of 258 personnel, as follows 207 Military, 24 Police, 15 Intelligence and 12 Civilian Experts for an initial period of six months, with effect from 20 November 2017, within the framework of the African Standby Force (ASF).' In doing this, the PSC noted that the 'SAPMIL has been established in line with the United Nations (UN) Charter, Chapter VI, the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the AU'. In the second session

held on 10 October following the PSC field mission to Lesotho, the PSC expressed concern over the delays in the implementation of the reforms process. Against the background of the history of interference of the security forces in politics, the PSC encouraged ‘the defence and security services to remain professional, apolitical, respect the country’s constitution and to submit to civilian authority’.

While the AU maintained sustained engagement in Madagascar through the AU High Representative for Silencing the Guns in Africa, Ramtane Lamamra for creating the conditions for the convening of free and peaceful elections, the PSC held only one session on Madagascar. In the communiqué it adopted at its 809th session, the PSC urged the presidential candidate and their supporters ‘to continue to show scrupulous respect for the institutions, laws and regulatory frameworks applicable at country, within the framework of the relevant provisions of the AU instruments, including the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance.’

## NORTH AFRICA

The only country situation of concern for the PSC during 2018 has been Libya. The PSC held its only session on the situation in Libya on 17 October 2018 during its 802nd meeting. The expressed deep concern over ‘the prevailing volatile security situation in Libya and condemned the activities of the various militia, terrorist groups, as well as foreign fighters’ and ‘external interferences in the internal affairs of Libya’. While welcoming efforts at re-unifying the Libyan national defense and security forces, the PSC, seeking to elevate the role of the AU, ‘requested the Commission to expedite the organization of an all-

inclusive national reconciliation conference, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, under the auspices of the African Union, taking into account the need to create conducive conditions for dialogue.’

## THEMATIC ISSUES

As noted above, much of the agenda of the PSC during 2018 concern wide range of thematic issues and peace support operations. The PSC also undertook more field missions during 2018 than in any of the previous years since it began undertaking field missions in 2010.

Thematic issues	Peace support operations	Field visits
There were over 30 sessions of the PSC focusing on thematic issues	Some 12 sessions of the PSC concerned the ASF, ACIRC and PSOs AMISOM (one exclusive session plus four together with the situation in Somalia) – review of AMISOM	Six field missions – CAR (March), South Sudan (April), Darfur Sudan, Guinea (May), Bissau (July), Lesotho (August) and Somalia (November)

In terms of thematic issues, the PSC sessions covered a wide range of themes including: public health threats to peace and security; the Principles of

Protection of Civilians in Conflict Areas in Africa; illicit flow and financing of arms in Africa: source of conflicts and impediments to silencing the guns in Africa; Progress of the African Union Border Programme 2017-2018; Refugee protection, migration and Human Rights in Africa; Africa's Peace and Security Landscape by the Year 2023 (End of First Ten-Year Implementation Plan of Agenda 2063): A Prospective Analysis of Peace and Security Challenges; African Migrants Crisis: Imperative for Expediting Free Movement of Policy in Africa; Continental Results Framework for Monitoring and Reporting on the Implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in Africa; the role of Africa in the Harmonization of Initiatives and operationalization of APSA in the Sahel; and Security and Migration in Africa; Addressing the Impact of Terrorism and Armed conflicts on Africa's Social Fabric; Nexus between corruption and conflict resolution and its implications for peace and security in Africa; Country reports of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM); elections; the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance; continental framework for structural conflict prevention; and women and peace and security in Africa.

While some of these speak to the prevailing peace and security demands of the continent, others remain general and hence of limited value for the immediate peace and security needs of the continent. Still others such as the one on ending child marriage are marginally related to peace and security concerns. One notes that there were some new themes in respect of which the PSC adopted concrete measures. Accordingly, on public health threats to peace and

security considered at its 742nd session, the PSC stressed the need for the AU to mainstream Africa's public health security within the overall framework of the African Union Peace and Security Architecture. The PSC requested the Chairperson of the AU Commission to appoint a Special Representative for Public Health, Peace and Security and decided 'to have regular briefings by the Africa CDC on public health threats to peace and security in Africa, at least once every year'. Following its 762nd session held on 9 April, the PSC envisaged the operationalization of the AU Humanitarian Agency by January 2019. At its 771st meeting held on 11 May 2018, on the African Migrants Crisis: Imperative for Expediting Free Movement Policy in Africa, the PSC endorsed the establishment of the African Migration Observatory proposed by Morocco.

On elections, the PSC held sessions only two times, although this is a standing agenda to be dealt with on quarterly. Similarly, the PSC held two sessions on terrorism. There were some three sessions dealing with women and peace and security. In the context of its session on the prevention of ideology of hate, genocide and hate crimes in Africa at its 761st session held on 5 April, the PSC decided that the correct nomenclature of the genocide in Rwanda shall be: "The 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi in Rwanda" and 'to designate 7th April of each year as the African Union Day of Commemoration of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda.' At its 775th session on principles on protection of civilians, the PSC 'requested the Commission to expeditiously update the Draft Guidelines for the Protection of Civilians and harmonize them with all other relevant documents on the protection of civilians, including

the Kigali Principles on the Protection of Civilians, for their urgent consideration and adoption.’

## **PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS**

In terms of peace support operations, PSC sessions registered some notable developments. The first of these developments involve endorsement of new missions. As noted above, it was at its 748th session that the PSC the endorsed by the PSC of the SADC deployment to Lesotho. At its 820th session the PSC expressed its support to ‘review both, the composition and the mandate of the RPF for South Sudan ... bearing in mind the recent positive developments on the ground, following the signing of the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS), in September 2018, and the need to create conducive conditions for the effective implementation of the Agreement.’

It is to be noted that the sessions on UNAMID and AMISOM highlighted the beginning of the phasing out of the two missions. While UNAMID is expected to complete withdrawal in 2020, AMISOM’s timeline is 2021. The most significant development was the decision in respect of the de jure end of the anti-LRA regional mission, the Regional Cooperation Initiative for the Elimination of the Lord’s Resistance Army (RCI- LRA). At its 795 sessions held on 20 September, the PSC called for an exit strategy, with realistic timelines, for the liquidation of the RCI-LRA, including concrete alternatives to the RCI-LRA through, among others, ‘alternative security arrangements, within the framework of the African Standby Force, to be led by the ECCAS with a view to accomplishing the fight against the LRA’.

## **FIELD MISSIONS**

In 2018, the PSC conducted six field missions, the highest since it began the use of field missions in 2010. The experience in these field missions indicate the institutionalization of field missions as useful tools forming part of the working methods of the PSC, although the details that could guide field visits, including the choice and timing of the places for field visits, the drafting and consideration of the reports including their publication and the mechanism for their follow up are yet to be properly clarified.

It is interesting to note that the six missions have taken the PSC to all regions of the continent except North Africa. While the PSC visited one conflict situation each in the three regions of West Africa, Central Africa and Southern Africa, its field missions in East and Horn of Africa took the PSC to all the three conflict situations – Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan.

## **DEVELOPMENTS RELATING TO THE APSA**

Some of the notable developments relating to the APSA relate to the operationalization of the Peace Fund and the role of PSC sub-committees.

## **OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE PEACE FUND**

At its 770th session, the PSC requested the Chairperson of the AU Commission to accelerate the operationalization of the governance and management arrangements of the Peace Fund, including the appointment of the Board of Trustees by mid-June

2018. This process was finalized on 16 November when the Commission's Chairperson appointed the five members of the Board of Trustees representing the five regions of the continent. In addition to the five African members, the European Union and the United Nations are also to be represented in the Board. Following this milestone, the Peace Fund was officially launched during the extraordinary summit of the AU on 17 November 2018.

In terms of the full operationalization of the Peace Fund, the PSC communiqué of its 770th session additionally envisaged that measures are taken for the operationalization of the remaining components namely:

- i. Development of Peace Fund financial and procurement rules and regulations, bearing in mind the need for rapid action, flexibility and effective response to crises on the continent, while at the same time ensuring that proper accountability, oversight and fiduciary standards are fully met,
- ii. Development of standard operating procedures and manuals,
- iii. Establishment of the Executive Management Committee,
- iv. Open and transparent recruitment of the staff for the Peace Fund Secretariat staff,
- v. Establishment of the Independent Evaluation Panel, and
- vi. Putting in place terms of reference for the Peace Fund Manager.

It is to be noted that a Peace Fund Instrument codifying the enhanced governance and management arrangements was developed and reviewed by AU Legal Counsel in August 2017 and has since been adopted in the January 2018 AU summit decision Assembly/AU/ Dec.9(XXX). Another important development relates to the contribution to the Peace Fund. While it was envisaged that member states would contribute \$100 million by end of 2018, in November 2018 the amount collected reached 60.5 million with 43 countries meeting their contribution and contributions from 12 other countries remaining outstanding.

### **THE ROLE OF PSC SUB-COMMITTEES**

The two sub-committees of the PSC, namely the Committee of Experts (CoE) and the Military Staff Committee (MSC) have been able to convene their meetings more regularly. The CoE engaged in the revision of working documents of the PSC and considering ways of operationalizing the PSC Sub-Committee on Sanctions. On its part, the MSC has been engaged in developing recommendations, including timelines and a roadmap, to guide the PSC on how to fully implement Assembly Decisions [Assembly/AU/Dec.679(XXX)] and [Assembly/AU/Dec. 695(XXXI)] on the harmonization of the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises (ACIRC) within the African Standby Force (ASF) Framework.

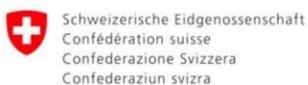


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