MONTHLY DIGEST ON THE AFRICAN UNION PEACE AND SECURITY COUNCIL

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THE MONTH AT A GLANCE

Namibia chaired the African Union (AU) Peace and Security Council (PSC) in November. The Provisional Program of Work initially envisaged six sessions with eight substantive agenda items. One of these sessions – a briefing on the deployment of 3000 troops to Sahel – was postponed to December. Two sessions that were not initially envisaged were added to the monthly program. Accordingly, the PSC held seven sessions in total. Of the seven sessions, four had two substantive agenda items (the 1117th, 1120th, 1121st, and 1122nd). Six of these agenda items were committed to country/region specific situations while three addressed thematic issues and one was a preparatory meeting held to receive key messages on climate change and peace and security nexus ahead of the 27th Conference of the Parties of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (COP 27). The remaining agenda was a consultative meeting of the PSC and the United Nations (UN) Peace Building Commission (UNPBC).

One of the sessions was convened at ministerial level while the remaining were at ambassadorial level. Two press statements and seven communiqués were adopted. Two of the agendas considered during the month had no publicly available outcome document. The release of outcome documents took about ten days on average.

PSC UNDERSCORES THE NECESSITY OF AN ALL-INCLUSIVE POLITICAL PROCESS IN SUDAN FOR FULL OWNERSHIP AND LEGITIMACY OF THE OUTCOME

On 2 November, PSC held its 1117th session, to receive updated briefing on the situation in Sudan, as one of the agenda items of the session. The outcome of the session was adopted as a Communiqué.

This session, which is the fifth since the 25 October 2021 military coup, came in the context of the ongoing consultations between the different Sudanese stakeholders to reach consensus on the appointment a new civilian Prime Minister and civilian interim government that would steer the transition in Sudan towards elections for restoration of constitutional order. In that regard, the session took note of the draft constitutional document initiated by the Sudan Bar Association (SBA) while urging those stakeholders that were not part of the process for the draft of SBA’s constitutional document to join the process with the conviction that this document could serve as base document for negotiations.

The PSC also emphasized ‘the necessity of an all-inclusive political process to ensure full ownership and legitimacy of the outcome by every segment of the Sudanese society.’

It is to be recalled that the negotiation between the military authorities and the Forces for Freedom and Change based on the draft Constitutional Document led to the signing of a Political Framework Agreement on 5 December.

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1 The 5th Annual Consultative Meeting between the PSC and the United Nations (UN) Peace Building Commission (UNPBC) took place on 28 November. No publicly available outcome document was issued on the meeting. The preparatory meeting held ahead of COP 27 to receive key messages on climate change-peace and security nexus also had no publicly available outcome document.
If this recent momentum leads to the appointment of a Prime Minister and the formation of a civilian government, one of the immediate issues for the PSC to address would be whether to maintain or remove the sanction it imposed on 25 October 2021. During its 48th ordinary session of Council of Ministers held on 30 November in Khartoum, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) indicated its support for the lifting of Sudan’s suspension from the AU.

The 48th Ordinary Session of IGAD Council of Ministers held on 30 November 2022 in Khartoum, Sudan: IGAD advocated for the reinstatement of the membership of the Republic of Sudan to the African Union and resolved to engage the African Union to dispatch a fact-finding mission to the Republic of Sudan.

The other key issue highlighted in the PSC’s 1117th session is the violent intercommunal clashes in different regions of Sudan, which PSC noted as a matter of deep concern. As part of the effort to address the increasing intercommunal conflicts particularly in Darfur as well as West Kordofan, Kassala and Blue Nile State, PSC in this session underscored the need to operationalize the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration component of the Juba Peace Agreement.

In terms of the peace process, the key highlight of the session was its appeal to the AU-IGAD-UNITAMS Trilateral Mechanism to ‘maintain equidistance from all the stakeholders to enhance its credibility and effectiveness’ as a facilitator of the process to restore constitutional order in Sudan.

However, there were various issues that the PSC either failed to recall (such as the need for an independent investigation into violations perpetrated during the military coup) or to highlight (such as the need for respect for the right of Sudanese to peaceful protest and call for investigation into excessive use of force against peaceful protesters that led to death and injury).

**Relevant previous PSC decisions:**

- **1041st PSC session [PSC/PR/COMM.1041(2021)]** held on 26 October 2021: PSC
  - suspended Sudan, with immediate effect, in all AU activities until the effective restoration of the civilian-led Transitional Authority;
  - decided to undertake a mission to Sudan to engage with all stakeholders with the view to finding amicable solution to the political impasse; and
  - requested AU Commission to provide monthly updates on the evolution of the situation in Sudan

- **1050th PSC session [PSC/PR/COMM.1050(2021)]** held on 24 November 2021: PSC urged the Sudanese authorities to undertake a prompt, independent, transparent and effective investigation into alleged violations and abuses perpetrated since 24 October 2021.

**Key actionable decisions requiring follow-up:**

- PSC reiterated its commitment to undertake a field mission to Sudan to have a fist-hand account of the current situation towards contributing to the resolution of the crisis. It is worth recalling that PSC was not able to undertake its envisaged field mission in February this year as Sudan’s military authorities were not ready to receive the delegation.

The second agenda item of the 1117th session was presentation of key messages on the nexus between peace and security and climate change, in preparation for COP 27, which took place from 06 to 18 November 2022, in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt. Presentation was made by the AU Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security, Bankole Adeoye. The meeting mainly served for the PSC to receive and reflect on some key messages on the nexus between peace and security and climate change. No publicly available outcome was adopted on this meeting. Amani Africa’s statement submitted to the meeting provides more details on the topic.
THE ROLE OF AFRICAN YOUTH AMBASSADORS FOR PEACE (AYAPS) APPLAUDED

The 1118th session of the PSC which took place on 3 November was dedicated to the YPS theme. Demonstrating PSC’s growing engagement on the topic, this was the third session convened within the year on the YPS theme.

The lead briefers of the session included the AU Special Envoy on Youth, the five Africa Youth Ambassadors for Peace (AYAPs) and invited guests including Chairperson of the National Youth Council of Namibia, Sharonice Busch and Jayathma Wickramanayake, UN Secretary-General’s Envoy on Youth.

In the open segment of the session, one of the issues raised was the importance of documentation and recording of data related to youth radicalisation in order to better understand the trends associated with this concerning threat to peace and security. It was emphasised in the discussions that in order to better address rehabilitation needs of radicalised youth, it is vital to have a well-documented approach and to that end, the critical role of the African Centre for the Study & Research on Terrorism (ACSRT) was emphasised, although this was not carried into the outcome document.

The importance of ensuring youth capacity building and meaningful participation in various initiatives including those with critical bearing to peace and security as well as programmes aimed at mitigating impacts of climate change including migration. In the outcome document on the session, the PSC emphasized the ‘imperative of harnessing the demographic dividend by maximizing investment in quality education and training …and equip the youth with technical and entrepreneurial skills.’

1118th Meeting (Open Session) of peace and security council on youth peace and security in Africa

‘Partners and stakeholders from all regions must be involved in a range of actions, from grassroots initiatives to global advocacy in order to highlight the perspectives of young peacebuilders and climate activist from all over the continent, identify promising practices, and emphasize how youth involvement can be supported throughout humanitarian-development-peacebuilding nexus; as well as in decision-making processes relating to peace and climate to the national and regional levels’

Khouloud Baghouri, 
Africa youth Ambassador for peace (AYAP)Northern Africa Region

One of the Five Africa Youth Ambassadors for Peace highlighted the role of Africa’s youth in combating hate speech and shared an initiative in Cameroon mobilizing youth in media campaign informing the public on the dangers of hate speech.

1118th Meeting (Open Session) of peace and security council on youth peace and security in Africa

‘In Cameroon, a group of young people in collaboration with the EU commission in Cameroon launched a nationwide video contest to sensitive communities via social and mass media on the dangers of hate speech. These example could go on and on’

Achaleke Christian Leke
Africa youth Ambassador for peace (AYAP)
Central Africa Region

Source: taken from AU PAPS
In the Press Statement it adopted, much of the issues contained therein are reiteration or restatement of previous outcome documents of the PSC on the subject of YPS. These include creating conditions for meaningful participation of youth, ratification and domestication of African Youth Charter, development of National Action Plans (NAPs) on youth, peace and security.

Relevant previous PSC decision:

- 1080th session [PSC/PR/COMM. 1080 (2022)]: PSC decided that the Continental Dialogue on YPS inaugurated in Bujumbura.
- 1067th session [PSC/PR/COMM. 1067 (2022)]: Nigeria commended for the adoption of NAP on YPS and all other member States encouraged to follow suit.
- 1080th session [PSC/PR/COMM. 1080 (2022)]: AU Commission requested to brief the PSC on the progress of implementation of the CFYPS, especially the development of NAPs.

Additionally, and in relation to the timely issue of the UN negotiation on climate, the PSC emphasised the important role of the youth in advocating for Africa's priorities in climate change and commended the AU Commission for advancing youth engagement in the lead up to COP 27.

Acknowledging the new dynamism and energy that the current cohort of AYAPS injected into their role, the PSC commended them for their notable contributions to Africa’s peace and security agenda by ably representing youth voices at various fora and their ‘intentional collaboration with RECs/RMs and support to the Office of the Youth Envoy.’ The PSC requested the Commission to redouble its efforts in popularizing the efforts of the Special Envoy on Youth and the AYAPs, with a view to further enhancing their activities in the promotion of peace and security on the Continent.

Key actionable decisions requiring follow-up:

The PSC requested the AU Commission

- to regularly brief Council on the status of progress in the implementation of the 10-Year Implementation Plan of the Continental Framework on Youth, Peace and Security and challenges faced, including through periodic reports and annual briefings;
- to redouble its efforts in promoting the role of the Youth Envoy and the AYAPs.

PSC ENDORSED SADC’S DECISION TO RESTRUCTURE SAMIM FROM RAPID DEPLOYMENT CAPABILITY TO A MULTIDIMENSIONAL PEACE SUPPORT OPERATION

On 7 November, PSC convened its 1119th session at the ministerial level to consider the situation in Mozambique and operations of the Southern African Development (SADC) Mission in Mozambique (SAMIM). Convening the session at the ministerial level reflects the high political weight that the chair of the month, Namibia, as well as the southern Africa region attach to the deployment of SAMIM and the terrorist threat in Cabo Delgado province of northern Mozambique. This was the second time that PSC met to discuss SAMIM since its deployment in July 2021.

The major outcome of the Communiqué adopted at the 1119th session remains PSC’s endorsement of the 42nd Ordinary Summit of SADC held in August 2022, which made two critical decisions in relation to the deployment of SAMIM. The first is the extension of SAMIM’s mandate for one year while the second is the decision to de-escalate the intervention from scenario 6 to scenario 5 and subsequently scenario 4. This decision of SADC to de-escalate SAMIM from scenario 6 to scenario 4 will restructure the mission from a rapid deployment capability into a multidisciplinary peace support operation composed of a civilian, military and police components. It is expected that such restructuring would allow the mission to address the scourge of terrorism in northern Mozambique in a more comprehensive manner by integrating non-military measures such as peacebuilding interventions with military measures. As SADC does not often disclose details of the mission through its outcome documents, such information on the duration of the mandate and the restructuring of the mission are not provided in the Communiqué of the 42nd ordinary summit of the SADC Heads of State and Government.
The other issue addressed in the 1119th session was the logistical and financial challenges that SAMIM continues to face. In relation to the logistical challenges, PSC welcomed the provision of necessary equipment from the Continental Logistics Base (CLB) in Doula in light of the airlift of the first batch of the equipment in July 2022. PSC appealed to Member States of the AU with airlift capabilities to help in the transportation of the rest of donated equipment that are still in Doula. However, no progress has been made in the shipment of equipment from the second batch, which is expected to be donated by China and shipped directly to Mozambique as agreed during the 1062nd PSC session, and as such, PSC requested the Commission to continue liaising with the Embassy of China in Addis Ababa to facilitate the delivery. On the financial challenge, PSC directed the Commission to continue engagement with the European Union. This direction is in line with the EU’s announcement of EUR 15 million funding to SAMIM in September to provide its military component with camp fortifications and storage containers, medical equipment, vehicles, and boats, as well as technological devices.

Relevant previous PSC decisions:

- 1062nd PSC session [PSC/PR/COMM.2/1062 (2022)] convened on 31 January 2022: PSC requested the Commission to:
  - intensify engagements with the Government of Mozambique, SADC and SAMIM, to enhance coordination in supporting efforts aimed at combating terrorism and violent extremism;
  - promptly provide SADC with the required equipment already identified at the Continental Logistics Base (CLB) in Douala, Cameroon;
  - provide substantial additional equipment from the second batch of military aid being donated by China to the AU to support the efforts of SAMIM expected to be delivered directly to the Nakala Port in Mozambique during 2022; and
  - provide regular updates to the Council on progress in the implementation of SAMIM’s mandates, together with SADC Secretariat.

PSC DRAWS ATTENTION TO THE NEED FOR A COMMON AFRICAN POSITION ON THE APPLICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW ON CYBERSPACE

As one of its agenda items tabled for the 1120th session, the PSC held an inaugural engagement with the AU Commission on International Law (AUCIL) on 9 November. The outcome of the engagement was adopted as a Communiqué.

Briefings and statements were presented by Guy-Fleury Ntwari, AU Legal Counsel Director; Hajer Gueldich, Chairperson of the AUCIL; and Mohamed Helal, member of AUCIL and Special Rapporteur on the Prohibition on Intervention in the Internal and External Affairs of States.

The meeting had a specific focus on exchanging views regarding the regulation and management of cyberspace in order to ensure that activities undertaken under this domain do not pose a threat to international peace and security. Developments in contemporary cyberspace – including the use of cyber-weapons as instruments of war and manipulating cyberspace for influencing domestic politics to destabilise governments – are nowadays initiating a lot of conversation around the importance of cybersecurity. Although not very extensive, the PSC has dealt with the issue before but not from the perspective of the international law rules required for regulating cyberspace for peace and security.

Relevant previous PSC decisions:

- 627th session [PSC/PR/BR.(DCXXVII)]: the critical role of cybersecurity in promoting and maintaining peace and security in Africa was considered. Noting with concern the increasing global cyber threats and attacks, the PSC urged member States to cultivate cyber diplomacy capabilities and actively participate in the international fora to contribute to discussions and debates on internet governance and management of cyberspace.
- 850th session [PSC/PR/COMM. (DCCCL)]: the PSC emphasised the importance of a safe
and secure cyberspace for ‘for reaping the dividends of the digital transformation of Africa and the world’. It was agreed at this session, to hold annual sessions dedicated to cybersecurity although there hasn’t been a strict follow-through with this decision.

- 1097th session [PSC/PR/COMM.1097.1 (2022)]:
  - dedicated to assessing the impacts of emerging technologies and new media on democratic governance, peace and security in Africa, the session served to reflect on the importance of adopting relevant policies to respond to security threats associated with the use new technologies and media, including the cyberspace.

While PSC’s previous engagement on the topic has been instrumental in highlighting the relevance of the issue in Africa’s peace and security discourse, the inaugural engagement with the AUCIL was critical to reflect on the legal aspect associated with the management of cybersecurity. In this respect, the session served to acknowledge the applicability of international law to cyberspace and to call on AU member States to adopt a common position in this regard.

**Relevant other AU Executive Decisions:**

- Decision of the 32nd Ordinary Session of the Executive Council [EX.CL/ Dec.986-1007 (XXXII)]: key decisions related to cybersecurity adopted including the formation of ‘an Africa Cyber Security Collaboration and Coordination Committee (ACS3C) to advise the Commission and policymakers on Cyber strategies’, an activity the AU Commission has been tasked with.

**Key actionable decisions requiring follow-up:**

At the 1120th session, the PSC requested AUCIL to:

- Prepare a draft statement on the application of international law to cyberspace and submit to the PSC for consideration.
- Circulate background note and questionnaire to member States on the application of international law to cyberspace.
- Organise in collaboration with the AU Commission, consultations with relevant stakeholders on the application of international law to cyberspace.

**PSC HIGHLIGHTED THE DIRE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION, WHILE ENDORSING THE AGREEMENT THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT IN ETHIOPIA SIGNED**

PSC convened its 1120th session on 9 November to receive a briefing on the Agreement for Lasting Peace through Permanent Cessation of Hostilities between the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the Tigray People’s Liberation Front (TPLF). The outcome of the session was adopted as a [Communique](source: Foreign Policy Magazine). Like in previous sessions on Ethiopia, Olusegun Obasanjo, former Nigeria’s president, and AU High Representative for the Horn of Africa since August 2021 briefed the PSC on the latest developments in the peace talks in Ethiopia.

The 1120th session was convened against the backdrop of two significant developments towards ending the two-year disastrous conflict that had been raging since November 2020. The first is the signing of the cessation of hostilities agreement between the federal government and TPLF on 2 November after 10 days of intensive negotiation in Pretoria under AU’s auspice and with the participation of ICAD, UN, and the US in observer capacity.

The second is the follow-on meeting of senior military commanders on 7 November in Nairobi, Kenya on the implementation of part of the agreement that deals with disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration.
As such, the main outcome of the 1120th session was the endorsement of the 2 November agreement while urging the two sides to ‘honor and fully implement the Agreement in its spirit and letter’. It also welcomed the convening of the meeting of senior military commanders in Nairobi.

As highlighted in our analysis, the future of the COHA and the peace it promises also depend on how various issues such as withdrawal of Eritrean forces and delicate aspects of the COHA are dealt with during implementation and in subsequent talks. These are critical issues that present major challenge and require close attention, although PSC made no direct reference.

The other key aspect of the communiqué adopted at the session was PSC’s appeal to the international community and member states to provide humanitarian support considering the dire humanitarian situation that has been prevailing in the region due to the conflict.

Key actionable decisions requiring follow-up:

- PSC requested the AU Commission to provide regular briefings to Council on the status of the implementation of the Agreement.

PSC APPROVES SOMALIA'S REQUEST TO EXTEND TIMELINE FOR DRAWDOWN OF 2,000 ATMIS TROOPS FROM 31 DECEMBER 2022 TO 30 JUNE 2023

One of the agenda items the PSC considered at its 1121st session held on 11 November was the request of the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) to extend the timeline of the drawdown of AU Transition Mission in Somalia (ATIM)’s phase 1 operations.

The PSC was briefed by Fiona Lortan, Interim Special Representative of the Chairperson of the Commission for Somalia and Acting Head of ATMIS and received statements by Hussein Sheikh-Ali, National Security Adviser of the FGS and by Birgitte Markussen, Ambassador of the European Union (EU) to the AU. In the Communiqué adopted on the session, the PSC expressed its support for a slight revision of the operational timeline of ATMIS’s phase 1 operation, so as to accommodate the extension of the drawdown of 2,000 ATMIS troops, from the initially planned deadline of 31 December 2022 to 30 June 2023. At the same time, the PSC re-confirmed the commitment to maintain ATMIS’s exit date of 31 December 2024 and encouraged the FGS to fortify its force generation and integration efforts in order to fully assume security responsibilities upon ATMIS’s phased drawdowns. Having expressed support to the extension, the PSC requested the Chairperson of the AU Commission to submit the Communiqué of the 1121st session to the UNSC for its endorsement of the extension of ATMIS phase 1 operations.

Relevant UNSC decision:

- 9232nd meeting: on 21 December 2022, the UNSC adopted S/RES/2670 (2022) authorising Phase 1 of ATMIS for the drawdown of 2000 ATMIS personnel, until 30 June 2023. The resolution further extended the timeline for the submission of the joint technical assessment report of the UN, AU, Somalia, EU and other partners on ATMIS operations, particularly progress made against agreed benchmarks, requested under S/RES/2628 (2022) by 15 February 2023, to 30 April 2023 instead. Demonstrating a clear departure from the previous FGS administration which pushed for speedy withdrawal of the then AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), it was interesting to note that the request for extension of ATMIS’s phase 1 reconfiguration came from the FGS, under the new administration. While the request for extension could bring up reasonable questions and concerns regarding potential postponements to ATMIS’s final exit date and related financial implications, it also highlights the necessity for implementing the plan on the drawdown and exist of ATMIS on the basis of the progress made in degrading Al Shabaab and importantly in generating the requisite Somalia Security Forces for taking over security responsibilities from ATMIS.

Not surprisingly and considering the funding shortfall of ATMIS, the issue of ensuring predictable funding for ATMIS was also one of the critical points that formed part of the deliberations of the 1121st session.
Particularly in light of resource implications that would ensue from extension of phase 1 operations, the PSC called on the UN and UNSC, to consider additional and predictable funding for ATMIS.

**Relevant previous PSC decision:**
- 1075th session [PSC/PR/COMM.1075(2022)]: the PSC considered the options and means for securing predictable and sustainable funding for ATMIS. More analysis on the options considered in this regard available in Amani Africa’s Monthly Digest for April 2022.

A welcome development noted by the PSC at the 1121st session with respect to the issue of financing was the series of joint AU/UN advocacy engagements with AU member States, ATMIS troop and police contributing countries (T/PCCs) and the international community which commenced in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in November 2022. The joint advocacy has the main objective of mobilising required resources, including financial resources, to support ATMIS’s operational capabilities in the discharge of its mandates.

**Relevant previous decision:**
- 16th Joint Annual Consultative Meeting of the PSC and UNSC: in the joint-communiqué of their 16th consultative meeting convened on 14 October 2022, the PSC and UNSC called on the UN Secretary General and the AU Commission Chairperson to consider a joint convening of an international pledging conference for ATMIS operations, by March 2023.

**Key actionable decisions requiring follow-up:**

The AU Commission was requested to:
- Work jointly with the UN, FGS and partners to submit a joint-report, no later than 15 February 2023, providing technical assessment of progress made by ATMIS as well as proposals on the revision of the phases of the CONOPS and the force generation requirements.
- Jointly with the UN, consider the convening of an international pledging conference for mobilising resources for ATMIS, involving the Intergovernmental Agency for Development (IGAD) and other partners, by March 2023.

**CHAD ESCAPED SUSPENSION FROM THE AU, AGAIN AND FOR NOW**

On 11 November, the PSC held its 1121st session where it considered the situation in Chad as one of its agenda items. The deliberation on the situation in Chad was convened more than a month after the announcement on 1 October by the national dialogue forum to extend the transition period by another 24 months in contravention of the timeframe established by the PSC. Perhaps more gravely, the national dialogue forum further agreed allow the head of the Transitional Military Council (TMC) and members of the TMC to participate in the planned election in direct contravention of extant AU norms and clear PSC decision on the matter.

During the session, the AU Commission Chair presented a report to provide an update to the PSC. After long hours of debate the session was adjourned without a consensus among members of the PSC on the actions to be taken vis-à-vis the developments in Chad. While the provisions that ban unconstitutional changes of government are clear and the existing PSC decisions of its 996th and 1121st sessions affirm the importance of upholding AU principles including the ineligibility of the members of the TMC for elections that will be held for restoring constitutional order, the PSC was divided on the issue of the suspension of Chad, highlighted in the AU Commission Chairperson’s report as one course of action available to the PSC.

As indicated in our analysis released ahead of the session this is partly an outcome of the dynamics within the PSC ‘there are countries who view the situation in Chad through the prism of Chad’s role in the region and the risk that Chad’s neighbors in particular face in their relationship in the security sphere with the TMC’. While countries from Southern Africa joined by one member of the PSC from Eastern Africa underscored that the decision of the outcome of the national dialogue that diametrically opposed to the AU norms and clear terms of PSC’s decision warranted the suspension of Chad, others mostly from West Africa and Central Africa region argued against suspension. One of the arguments raised was the fact that actual violation of the AU norm and the PSC decision is only a future possibility and the PSC can only act when the violation actually takes place. While this is true, at the
very least the PSC could have stated that it rejects the decision of the dialogue allowing the members of the TMC to run for election and reiterated its decision that the members of the TMC are ineligible and should any of them breach this decision, which is in accord with the African Charter on Elections, Democracy and Governance, it will suspend Chad.

Some also tried to use the card of subsidiarity despite the fact that in the particular instance ECCAS lacks comparable standard for sanctioning unconstitutional change of government and does not therefore have the legal basis for taking lead on the subject. There was also a proposal for the PSC to undertake another fact-finding mission to Chad, which from previous experience and working methods perspective is deeply problematic and exposes the PSC to manipulation and hence a repeat of PSC’s inaction, which exposed it to charges of inconsistency and selective application of the norm banning military seizure of power.

The session on Chad has indeed received a lot of attention from various stakeholders. The statement released the day after the PSC session by AU Commission Chair spokesperson aimed at addressing the various claims surrounding the role of the Chair on the situation in Chad including the intention behind the report that was presented to the PSC. The statement pointed out the division that exists within the PSC and made reference to the inclination by some members to continue to give the authorities of the transition exceptional treatment while others wanted to suspend. The statement further affirmed the Chair’s commitment to implement whatever decision the PSC adopts.

In order to finalize the consideration of the agenda on Chad, the PSC held a meeting on 30 November. Unfortunately, the members of the PSC were not able to bridge their divide. In the end, they opted for the adoption of a Press Statement instead of a communiqué that is usually used for substantive meeting of the PSC. Although it did not make explicit reference to its decision on the ineligibility of members of the TMC, in the statement the PSC reiterated in general terms its previous decisions on Chad and reaffirmed its total rejection of unconstitutional changes of government.

The implication of this is that suspension, although avoided for now, is still a possibility that the PSC may resort to. This may happen when any member of the TMC stands as candidate of the elections that will be held at the end of the transition period. The PSC welcomed the appointment of Democratic Republic of Congo’s President Félix Tshisekedi as the facilitator for the transition processes in Chad by the Economic Community of Central Africa States (ECCAS). As a next step, it requested AUC to deploy the Panel of Wise in Chad to consult with various actors and report back to the PSC before 31 March 2023. This a clear departure from previous PSC led fact finding approach that was conducted back in April 2021, which exposed PSC to manipulation and operate as investigator, prosecutor and judge all at the same time. This engagement by the PoW gives the AU the opportunity to communicate the need for setting reasonable time for the transition in accordance with the PSC decision of its 1106th session.

The PSC press statement on Chad however had a major omission which is the absence of reference to the continued repression against members of the opposition and civil society organizations and the killings of civilians on 20 October that triggered condemnation by various stakeholders.

Relevant previous PSC decision:

- **1106th session [PSC/PR/COMM.1106 (2022)]**: the PSC reaffirmed ‘its call for the transition authorities to respect the 18 months period for the completion of the transition and unequivocally reiterates that all members of the Transition Military Council (TMC) shall be ineligible to participate as candidates for the elections at the end of the transition’.

**PSC OUTLINED SPECIFIC COURSE OF ACTION INCLUDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A WORKING GROUP WITH AUDA/NEPAD FOR BOLSTERING PCRD INTERVENTION**

On 28 November, PSC held its 1122nd session to receive update on AU Post-Conflict, Reconstruction and Development (PCRD), which adopted a Communique as an outcome document. The session was held as part of the commemoration of the second edition of PCRD
awareness week from 24 to 30 November. Progress Report of the Chairperson of the AU Commission on the implementation of AU PCRD Policy Framework in Africa was also presented in the session through the AU Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security, Bankole Adeoye.

The discussion focused on three main areas; progress made in strengthening the AU peacebuilding architecture, AU’s support to member states in the areas of PCRD, and challenges in the implementation of the AU PCRD policy and the measures that should be taken to address these challenges.

In relation to strengthening AU peacebuilding architecture, one of the developments noted by the PSC in the session is the operationalization of the Cairo PCRD Centre and the efforts deployed by Egypt towards that regard. As the Centre is not fully operationalized yet, PSC requested the Commission to ensure that the Centre is availed with all necessary resources so that it effectively discharges its mandate. The other major progress welcomed by the PSC at its 1122nd session is the launch of the AU PCRD Policy Framework review process. The review process was initiated in line with PSC’s request for the same, at its 1047th session in November 2021, with the view to ensuring that the Policy is re-aligned and adaptable to the emerging challenges in the continental peace and security landscape. During its 1122nd session, PSC further requested the PSC Committee of Experts to urgently review the draft and submit the same to it before the upcoming Ordinary Session of the Assembly in February 2023.

Relevant previous decisions of PSC and the Assembly:

- AU Assembly (Assembly/AU/Dec. 815(XXXV) of 6 February 2022) and PSC 1047th session [PSC/PR/COMM.1047(2021)] held in November 2021 endorsed the institutionalization and regularization of the PCRD Awareness Week as an annual event. In the same outcome documents, the Assembly and PSC also requested the Commission for the urgent review of the AU PCRD Policy Framework and the subsequent submission of the revised policy in the upcoming ordinary session in February 2023.

In terms of AU’s support to Member States undergoing PCRD processes, PSC welcomed the various initiatives of the AU Commission, including the deployment of multidimensional technical teams in South Sudan and the Comoros to provide technical assistance in the areas of constitutionalism and good governance. To step up such efforts, the PSC also further directed the Commission to ensure the deployment of long-term AU Technical Support Teams (AUTST) to identified countries under PCRD, but without listing the name of these countries. Such technical support team was first employed in the Gambia as the AU Technical Support Team to the Gambia following PSC’s request in June 2017 to support the peacebuilding efforts in that country. In 2021, similar types of missions were initiated for the Comoros and Chad, although their effective operationalization remains unfinished.

Regarding challenges, PSC noted the ‘growing peacebuilding funding gaps’ as a matter of deep concern. Two measures are highlighted in the communiqué adopted at the session to address the funding gaps: smart partnership between the Commission and the private sector and for the UN to ensure adequate, predictable, and sustainable financing for PCRD efforts in the continent.

Key actionable decisions requiring follow-up:

With the aim to fully operationalize AU’s peacebuilding architecture and ensure effective implementation of the AU PCRD Policy Framework, PSC in this session highlighted range of measures that need to be undertaken, including the following:

- AU Commission and the AU Development Agency (AUDA/NEPAD) to establish a PCRD Working Group;
- Commission to establish a Continental Network of National Development and Cooperation Agencies to support the PCRD Working Group in implementing PCRD activities and programmes on the continent;
- reactivate the Council’s Sub-Committee on PCRD and the Committee of Experts to urgently work on the terms of reference and time frames for the Sub-Committee;
- Commission to expeditiously revitalize the Interdepartmental Task Force on PCRD;
- Commission to work in close coordination
MITIGATION OF ADVERSE IMPACTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE ON PEACEBUILDING TAKES CENTRE STAGE AT THE 5TH ANNUAL CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF THE PSC AND UNSPBC

PSC held its 5th Annual Consultative Meeting with the UNSBC on 28 November, as one of its agenda items of the 1022nd session. Although there was a practice of issuing a Joint-Communiqué on these deliberations in the past, both this year’s and the previous year’s consultative meetings did not have publicly available outcome documents.

The annual meetings between the PSC and UNPBC which have been held regularly since 2018 serve the critical purpose of strengthening cooperation between AU and UN on peace and security, particularly in post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding efforts.

Having a specific focus on highlighting the nexus between climate change and peacebuilding, this year’s consultative meeting emphasised among other points, how the Peacebuilding Fund can contribute towards the promotion of climate-sensitive programming in Africa. Coming right after the conclusion of COP 27, the meeting welcomed some of the important outcomes of the conference which will have a positive bearing on peacebuilding efforts in Africa. The launch of the Climate Responses for Sustaining Peace initiative, the decision to establish a loss and damage fund, the launch of an Action Plan for the Early Warnings, and the launch of the Team Europe Initiative on Climate Change Adaptation and Resilience in Africa have been key outcomes of COP 27 in this regard.

Welcoming these initiatives, the 5th consultative meeting of the PSC and UNPBC stressed the importance of a more predictable climate-responsive financing for peacebuilding efforts in Africa and drew attention to the importance of adopting a common African position on the link between climate and peace and security.

PSC EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN OVER THE DETERIORATING HUMANITARIAN SITUATION AND INTER-COMMUNAL VIOLENCE RAGING IN VARIOUS PARTS OF SOUTH SUDAN

The 1123rd session of the PSC held on 30 November addressed the situation in South Sudan. Joram Mukama Biswaro, Special Representative of the Chairperson of the AU Commission for South Sudan and Head of AU Liaison Office in Juba briefed the PSC. Statements were also delivered James Morgan, representative of South Sudan; Berhanu Kebede, Reconstituted Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission (RJMEC) Chief of Staff on behalf of the Interim Chairperson of the RJMEC; and Nicholas Haysom, Special Representative of UN Secretary-General for South Sudan and Head of the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS).

Coming in the wake of the extension of South Sudan’s transition period for additional 24 months, the session served to reflect on outstanding transitional tasks that have resulted in the need for the extension of the transition. It is to be recalled that at its previous session on the situation, the PSC underscored the need to adopt a roadmap tracking outstanding transitional activities and the way forward in their implementation.
Relevant previous PSC decision:

- 1092nd session [PSC/PR/COMM.1092 (2022)]: the PSC called on the Reconstituted Transitional Government of National Unity (R-TGoNU) to develop a roadmap on outstanding transitional tasks and the way forward in their implementation.

In the Communiqué of the 1123rd session, the PSC welcomed the adoption of a roadmap on outstanding issues and implementation of the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS). Considering that the major outstanding transitional tasks could not be finalised by February 2023 as initially envisaged in the RARCSS, the roadmap extended the transitional period by 24 months until 22 February 2025, upon the achievement of political consensus on how to proceed with the implementation of these pending tasks. In the communiqué, the PSC urges the South Sudanese parties ‘to work towards completing all outstanding transitional tasks within the stipulated timelines and not later than February 2025’.

Main outstanding tasks in R-ARCSS Implementation

The major transitional tasks stipulated in the R-ARCSS which remain pending and which now form part of the roadmap are:

- Graduation and deployment of the Necessary Unified Forces (NUF): although not completed, the graduation of forces has already commenced with around 80% of phase 1 of NUF already graduated.
- Finalisation of the Permanent Constitution Making Process: the constitution-making bill was already passed earlier in the year but later re-called to be re-tabled before the Reconstituted Transitional National Legislature (TNL) provided that at the time of its passing, TNL members from opposition parties were on a boycott. The new roadmap articulates specific activities with timelines that are intended to see the finalisation of the permanent constitution making processes by the end of the 24 months extension.
- Ratification of the National Elections Act and Reconstitution of the National Electoral Commission (NEC): review and drafting of amendments to the 2022 national elections act bill are already in their final stages according to the latest RJMEC report (see Report No. 016/22). Both the ratification of the elections act and reconstitution of the NEC are among the critical deliverables incorporated in the roadmap.

Another critical issue which formed part of the discussions of the 1123rd session was the deteriorating humanitarian situation in South Sudan. The humanitarian needs in South Sudan are continually increasing at an alarming rate as a result of compounded crises including conflict – particularly continuing intercommunal violence, public health challenges, food insecurity, drought, flooding and other adverse impacts of climate change. The impacts of these multiple crises continue to displace populations in mass. The PSC in this respect called for accessing of the Special Fund established as outcome of the Malabo Humanitarian Summit for supporting South Sudan and the convening of an international pledging conference.

Sources: OCHA, IOM-DTM, DRC CCCM, UNHCR, WFP-VAM, Ministry of Health
Key actionable decisions requiring follow-up:

- AU Commission requested to explore possibilities of accessing the Special Fund\(^2\) and to consider convening an international pledging conference to mobilise resources in support of South Sudan.
- AU Ad-hoc High-Level Committee for South Sudan (C5) requested to fulfil their pledge to conduct a solidarity visit to South Sudan.
- AU Panel of the Wise requested to undertake a solidarity visit to South Sudan and brief the PSC on its engagements.
- AU Commission requested to expedite the post-conflict technical needs-assessment exercise for South Sudan, working in collaboration with IGAD.
- AU Commission requested to consider reactivating the AU High-Level Implementation Panel for Sudan and South Sudan (AUHIP) and the Abyei Joint Oversight Committee (AJOC) to assist Sudan and South Sudan in resolving the Abyei issue.
- PSC decided to undertake a solidarity visit to South Sudan on 22 February 2023 (on the anniversary of the formation of the R-TGoNU).

Other Activities of the PSC

During the month, the PSC conducted two major activities aside from the convening of its various statutory sessions.

The first one of these was the convening of the second annual joint retreat of the PSC and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), which took place from 14 to 15 November, in Durban, South Africa. The inaugural joint retreat between the PSC and APRM was conducted in December 2021 and at its 1069th session convened on 10 March 2022, the PSC decided to institutionalise the annual convening of the joint retreat with APRM. The retreat is mainly aimed at reflecting on how to best address governance deficits in Africa before they turn into peace and security challenges.

The second activity undertaken during the month was the conduct of the 14th Annual Retreat of the PSC on its Working Methods. The retreat took place from 17 to 19 November, in Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe. As indicated in the Conclusions adopted few days later, in addition to reflecting on progress, challenges and ways forward on its working methods, the 14th PSC retreat served the PSC to discuss major issues including the ‘Final Draft Africa Consensus Paper on Predictable, Adequate and Sustainable Financing for African Union Peace and Security Activities’ and the activation of the Ministerial Committee on Counter Terrorism as well as the PSC Sub-Committee on Sanctions.

The PSC Military Staff Committee (MSC) also convened a Lesson Learned Forum on AU Peace Support Operations (PSOs) from 01 to 03 November, in Abuja, Nigeria. The forum served the main purpose of reflecting on reconceptualising the African Standby Force (ASF) in order to realign its vision with current realities in PSO deployments on the ground.

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\(^2\) The AU Special Emergency Assistance Fund for Drought and Famine in Africa (SEAF) was established in 1984 and its statutes were adopted in July 1985. Its main purpose is to offer emergency aid to African countries suffering from drought or famine, and to support the efforts of African governments in reducing their reliance on foreign aid.
ABOUT AMANI AFRICA

Amani Africa is an independent African based policy research; training and consulting think tank with a specialization and primary focus on African multilateral policy processes, particularly those relating to the African Union.

We support the pan-African dream of peaceful, prosperous and integrated Africa through research, training, strategic communications, technical advisory services, and convening and facilitation.

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