MONTHLY DIGEST ON THE AFRICAN UNION PEACE AND SECURITY COUNCIL

AMANI AFRICA
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THE MONTH AT A GLANCE

Tunisia assumed the role of chairing the African Union (AU) Peace and Security Council (PSC) in April. Six meetings were held during the month. One of these was an emergency session not envisaged within the programme of work and one session scheduled for the month was postponed.² The initial programme of work for the month also envisaged convening of PSC’s 15th Retreat on its Working Methods but the activity was removed from the revised programme of work.²

Three of the sessions convened in April addressed country specific situations while the other three were committed to thematic issues. Additionally, the PSC convened an informal consultation, which it held for the first time although it is envisaged within the PSC Protocol and the Rules of Procedure. The consultation was held in a venue different from where the PSC holds its formal sessions. It focused on facilitating direct exchanges between the PSC and member states undergoing political transition. This informal consultation was thus not expected to lead to a formal outcome.

With the exception of one session held at ministerial level, all other meetings took place at ambassadorial level. The outcomes of all the other sessions were adopted in the form of communiqués. On average, it took 17 days for the release of outcome documents.

PSC CALLS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CONTINENTAL MECHANISM FOR MINE ACTION

The 1146th meeting, the first session of the month held on 03 April, was dedicated to PSC’s annual commemoration of ‘international day for mine awareness and assistance in mine action’.³ The outcome of the session was adopted as a Communiqué.

Although efforts to counter the threat of anti-personnel landmines and explosive remnants of war (ERW) in Africa have shown notable progress over the years, two related broad issues continue to impede the quest for achieving the desired aim of ridding Africa of all landmines.

As can be deduced from the communiqué of the 1146th meeting, the first factor which challenges elimination of landmines from the continent is the set-back experienced by some member states to fully meet their mine clearance obligations in line with relevant instruments including the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention (APMBC), the Convention on Cluster Munitions (CCM) and the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW). The main issue which confronts member states in their efforts to implement these obligations, as stressed by the PSC, is the absence of sufficient finances to fund mine action activities. In light of this, it is critical for member states to form partnerships that can address the funding gaps and work closely with the AU Commission to obtain technical support.

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1 Following the outbreak of conflict between Sudanese armed forces on 15 April, the PSC convened an emergency session on 16 April dedicated to the situation. The situation in Sahel which formed part of sessions scheduled in the programme of work did not take place within the month.

2 The political crisis in Tunisia, including most notably the attacks to which black Africans have been subject led to reconsideration of the initial plan by the PSC of having its retreat in Tunisia, hence the postponement of the initial plan.

3 PSC received statements from the United Nations (UN) Office to the African Union (UNOAU), the European Union (EU) Delegation to the AU, the UN Mine Action Services (UNMAS), International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the Halo Trust.
In his intervention, Bruce Mokaya, Head of the ICRC Delegation to the AU, called up on member states to spare no effort in fulfilling their obligations prescribed in the relevant treaties and instruments including the APMBC, and the CCM.

Bruce Mokaya
Head of Delegation, ICRC Delegation to the AU and International Organisations
Source: (@ICRC_AfricUnion

The second factor is the proliferation and use of landmines in various conflict situations on the continent, particularly, but not just, by terrorist organisations and other non-state armed groups. A concern underscored by the PSC at the 1146th meeting, the use of antipersonnel landmines, particularly improvised explosive devices (IEDs) by non-state armed actors including terrorist groups, has become growingly prevalent in the continent.

As observed in Amani Africa’s insight on the 1146th session, not only are terrorist organisations such as Al-Shabaab adopting the use of various forms of IEDs as insurgency tactics, there is also concerning trends indicating possible existence of regional network, specifically linking terrorist operations in the central Africa region with those in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, to facilitate external assistance in manufacturing IEDs.

While mine clearance obligations are primarily the responsibility of member states, the threat posed by landmines and explosives is transnational by nature and as such, requires joint action and collaboration of relevant actors. This is particularly true in case of mines found in border areas. Similarly, the signs of regional collaborations among terrorist groups in the development of landmines is a threat that calls for urgent collaborative response at the sub-regional as well as continental levels. In that context, the PSC’s call for establishment of a ‘Continental mechanism for mine action to coordinate and support the efforts of Member States’ is an important one which could also enable better coordination with Regional Economic Communities and Regional Mechanisms (RECs/RMs).

The PSC also reiterated the need for an advocacy forum to allow experience sharing and exchange on addressing the threat imposed by mines in Africa.

Relevant previous PSC decisions:

1072nd session [PSC/PR/COMM.1072 (2022)]: the PSC requested the AU Commission, with RECs/RMs support, ‘to organize an advocacy forum for Member States and all stakeholders to exchange views and share experiences on addressing threats posed in mine action in Africa’.

1032nd session [PSC/PR/COMM.1032(2021)]: underscoring the primary role of member states in mine action, the PSC emphasised the importance of the supporting role played by the AU, UN and other partners to counter the threat mines pose in the continent.

Key actionable decisions requiring follow-up:

At the 1146th session, the PSC:

- Decided to convene next year’s commemoration of ‘international day for mine awareness and assistance in mine action’ as an open session, to bring together all member states, RECs/RMs, international partners and other relevant actors.
- AU Commission requested to closely work with members states and partners ‘to mobilize funds and technical expertise to support the implementation of mine action activities’.
- Member states that have not yet done so, urged ‘to sign and ratify the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention and to ensure its full implementation’.

PSC CALLED ON MEMBER STATES TO INVESTIGATE, ARREST, PROSECUTE OR EXTRADITE THE GENOCIDE FUGITIVES CURRENTLY RESIDING IN THEIR TERRITORIES

PSC dedicated its 1147th session, held on 6 April, to the prevention of the ideology of hate, genocide and hate
crimes in Africa. The session was convened as part of the annual commemoration of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda, which was observed on 7 April in line with AU Assembly Decision Assembly/AU/Dec.695 of 2 July 2018. The session was also convened within the framework of the decision of the PSC, at its 678th session of April 2017, to dedicate an annual open session on the theme every April. The representatives of Rwanda and the EU delegation delivered statements while the Special Adviser of the UN Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide, Alice Wairimu Nderitu, made a presentation.

The Communique adopted at the session, which for the most part is a rehashing of themes and issues raised in previous sessions, expressed concern over and condemned the persistent trend and perpetration of the ideologies of hate, hate speech, identity-based conflicts. It also reiterated its condemnation of genocide denialism, justification, and in particular the trivialization of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda.

In the communique, the PSC highlighted various specific measures that Members States should consider to address the challenge of the ideologies of hate, genocide, and hate crimes, although much of these tend to be rhetorical and lacking measurable actions. The PSC also reiterated a number of its previous decisions that have not been implemented, which also highlights the need for the PSC to device follow-up mechanism for the expeditious implementation of these decisions.

Relevant previous PSC decisions:

- 678th PSC session (PSC/PR/COMM.(DCLXX-VIII)), held on 11 April 2017, decided to convene, annually in April, a PSC open meeting on hate crimes and fighting genocide ideology in Africa;

- 989th PSC session (PSC/PR/COMM. (CMLXXX-VII)), held on 12 April 2021
  - underscored the need to reinvigorate the early warning mechanism as a preventative tool to enable an early response before hate speech and crimes degenerate into violent conflicts and genocide;
  - decided to include an analysis on indicators of hate crime and risk factors for them to escalate to genocide in the Report of the PSC on its Activities and the State of Peace and Security in Africa; and
  - requested the Chairperson of the AU Commission to appoint an AU Special Envoy on the Prevention of Hate Crimes and the Crime of Genocide.

Key actionable decisions other than those restated from previous decisions highlighted above:

The PSC at the 1147th session called on

- Member States, which have not yet done so, to investigate, arrest, prosecute or extradite the genocide fugitives currently residing in their territories.

PSC WARNS PERPETRATORS OF CYBER ATTACK

On 13 April 2023, the PSC convened its 1148th session on 'Cyber Security: Impact on Peace and Security in Africa'. The background to the session was the cyber-attack that inflicted significant damage on the AU Commission system. The outcome of the session was adopted as a Communique. Representatives of the AU Department of Energy and Infrastructure;
the AU Office of the Legal Counsel, the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) and the Committee of Intelligence and Security Services of Africa (CISSA) briefed the PSC.

The session was held following the major cyber-attack on the AU Commission cyber space that resulted in the loss of data and disruption of regular activities. The PSC, which curiously expressed a stern warning against the perpetrators of the attack while lacking the means to act on such warning, rightly underlined the immediate need for member states to strengthen their cybersecurity infrastructure and regulatory frameworks. In the session the PSC, not only outlined the critical threats that continue to hamper the activities of the cyber space but also called for the concerted efforts of a wide range of state and non-state actors to enhance protection mechanisms.

At the continental level, the PSC also highlighted the value of existing institutions such as CISSA and AFRIPOL and the importance for member states to make use of such platforms. In this context, an important initiative that was welcomed by the PSC was CISSA’s offer to train PSC’s committee of experts on the cyber security, which aims at boosting capacity and awareness around the emerging threat in the continent. Moreover, the planned capacity building program that will be held in the AU in June 2023 was presented as an opportunity to further elevate preparedness and prevention efforts.

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 emphasized the importance of a safe and secure cyberspace ‘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 cyberse-}

Key actionable decisions requiring follow-up

At the 1148th the session, the PSC:

- Reiterated its previous decisions and requested the AUC to expedite the establishment of a Unit within the PAPS Department that will monitor and report on cyber security in the continent.
- Requested for the preparation of a draft statement on the application of international law to cyberspace and to be submitted to the PSC for consideration.
- Requested AUCIL to urgently complete and submit the draft statement of a Common African Position on the Application of International Law to Cyberspace.
- Following up on previous requests, it called on member states to complete the questionnaire on the application of international law to cyberspace.
- Requested the AUC to establish regional forums on cyber security for experience sharing and cooperation.
PSC CONDEMNED THE ERUPTION OF ARMED CONFRONTATION IN SUDAN AND URGED THE WARRING PARTIES FOR IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE

On 16 April, at its 1149th session, the PSC convened an emergency session to discuss the situation in Sudan following the outbreak of a deadly fighting on 15 April between the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF), headed by General Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, and the paramilitary Rapid Support Forces (RSF) led by General Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo. Showing a sense of urgency, the PSC held the emergency session a day before it was initially proposed. Despite that the session was convened on a holiday, all PSC members were present for the session, ten of them at the Ambassadorial level. The Chairperson of the AU Commission, Moussa Faki Mahamat, also briefed the PSC.

In a Communique released shortly after the conclusion of the meeting, the PSC not only condemned the armed confrontation between SAF and RSF but also urged the two parties to commit for immediate ceasefire and embrace peaceful solution in order to avoid further bloodshed and harm to innocent civilians. The PSC also rejected any external interference that could complicate the situation in Sudan. As part of the effort to bring the two sides to the negotiating table, the PSC in that session requested the Chairperson of the AU Commission to use his good offices to facilitate dialogue and peace resolution of the conflict. However, AU Commission Chairperson has not been able to undertake the visit to Khartoum as of yet on account of the security situation on the ground.

The other highlight of the session was its decision to conduct a field mission to Sudan. It is to be recalled that PSC’s plan to undertake a field mission in February of last year was cancelled as the military authorities were not ready to receive the mission. The field mission was slated to take place in May of this year, according to PSC’s annual indicative programme of activities for 2023, but the field mission is unlikely to happen in the foreseeable future considering the prevailing security conditions of Sudan.

THE PSC REITERATED ITS LONGSTANDING CALL FOR THE RELOCATION OF THE AU MISSION IN LIBYA TO TRIPOLI

At the 150th meeting, held on 18 April at ministerial level, the PSC considered the situation in Libya, with a specific focus on the planned national reconciliation process. The outcome of the session was adopted as a Communique.

Wahida Ayari, Special Representative of the Chairperson of the AU Commission (SRCC) for Libya and Abdoulaye Bathily, Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) for Libya and Head of United Nations Support Mission to Libya (UNSMIL) were among the briefers for the session.

The inter-Libyan reconciliation conference, a process led by the Libyan Presidential Council through facilitation of the AU High-Level Committee for Libya,

4 Further to remarks read on behalf of Foreign Affairs Minister of Tunisia, Nabil Ammar and statement delivered on by Alhaji Sarjoh Bah, Director for Conflict Management Directorate of AU Political Affairs, Peace and Security (PAPA) Department on behalf of Bankole Adeyeye, PAPS Commissioner, statements were also presented by Jean-Claude Cakossa, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Congo and Chair of the AU High-Level Committee on Libya, and Najla El Mangoush, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the State of Libya.
chaired by President Denis Sassou Nguesso of the Republic of Congo, was initiated early in the year. Specifically, a National Reconciliation Preparatory Conference held in January 2023, in Tripoli officially commenced the process. Taking note of the steps taken in preparation for the conference, including Minister Jean-Claude Gakosso’s consultations with relevant actors in various parts of Libya, the PSC underscored the need to ensure inclusivity and transitional justice in the reconciliation processes. Despite earlier indications that the conference is expected to take place within the month of May 2023 and some positive developments in establishing a mechanism for working on electoral law, there is no fundamental change to the political and security dynamics in Libya. The political division that has so far impeded progress for the resolution of the crisis in Libya remains unresolved. Regional and other international actors also continue to support rival political and security actors further compounding the long festering conflict. On 16 May, the east-based House of Representatives (HoR) voted to suspend Fathi Bashagha, the Prime Minister it appointed in February 2022. This move is blamed on various factors including his inability to enter Tripoli and disagreements over management of financial resources, particularly involving Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar and possibly, association with economic interests of foreign actors.

These conditions coupled with the lack of clarity on the strategy for the convening of the reconciliation conference cast doubt on whether it will be convened anytime soon. Under the circumstances, the best the PSC did was to repeat, to no avail, its call for all external actors to refrain from fuelling Libya’s political crisis. It is long overdue for the PSC to request the AU Commission to develop a clear strategy for effective follow up of the longstanding proposal for the AU to lead on the convening of the Libya national reconciliation conference, whose pursuit is largely characterized by a touch and go and ad hoc approach.

Relevant previous PSC decisions:

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**1091st session [PSC/PR/COMM.1091(2022)]**: the PSC strongly condemned and totally rejected ‘the continuous external interference in the domestic affairs of Libya’ and appealed ‘to all Libyan stakeholders and external actors involved in fuelling the current political crisis to fully comply with the commitments outlined in the Berlin Conferences, the Libyan Political Dialogue Forum (LPDF) and the Permanent Ceasefire Agreement’.

**1136 session [PSC/PR/COMM.1136 (2023)]**: expressing concern over the growing military tension in the country, the PSC strongly condemned and totally rejected ‘continuous external interferences in the domestic affairs of Libya’.

On the security front, the PSC was briefed at length of the ongoing efforts being made to ensure sequenced and full withdrawal of foreign fighters and mercenaries from the country. In the past month of March in particular, multiple consultations were conducted among key players including the Joint Monitoring
Committee (JMC 5+5), focal points from neighbouring countries (Chad, Niger and Sudan) as well as Libyan ceasefire monitors. In addition to facilitating progress for withdrawal of foreign fighters from Libya, these strengthened efforts have also been key to enable cooperation between the Libyan Army and the Libyan National Army, an important step for unification of Libyan armed forces. Despite these positive advances, challenges continue to be faced in the withdrawal of foreign fighters, particularly in managing their return to their homes of origin in a manner that ensures they will not impose security threat.

Key actionable decisions requiring follow-up:

- PSC reiterated the decision of its previous 1136th session, to undertake a field visit to Libya (no timeline indicated).

- The PSC reiterated the request made at multiple of its previous sessions on Libya, for ‘the AU Commission to expedite the relocation of the AU Mission in Libya, to Tripoli’.

PSC DEPLOYS ‘INFORMAL CONSULTATION’ TO ENGAGE WITH MEMBER STATES SUSPENDED FOR MILITARY COUPS

On 26 April, the PSC resorted to the use of informal consultation to interact with member states suspended from activities of the AU, due to unconstitutional change of governments in their respective territories. The meeting opened up the opportunity for the PSC to directly engage with representatives of suspended member states currently undergoing political transition, namely Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali and Sudan.

Chad, another member state that experienced a coup in 2021 and is currently among the member states in transition, was not part of the informal consultation owing to the fact that the country was not suspended, exposing the PSC to legitimate charges of inconsistency and double standards. In part, it is on account of the anomaly that this inconsistency created by allowing Chad to continue participation in the AU while these other countries in similar conditions are left out that prompted the PSC to resort to the use of this format. Additionally, at AU’s February 2023 summit ministers from these suspended countries highlighted this anomaly by their presence on the corridors of the AU summit. In the meeting that they held with the Foreign Minister of Tunisia, one of their asks was to have direct exchange with the PSC. The PSC also in its retreats at the end of 2022 envisaged the use of such an informal format for engaging the affected countries while maintaining the suspension.

Being an informal method of engagement, no formal outcome document was adopted on the findings of the consultation.

As elaborated in some detail in Amani Africa’s insight on the meeting, informal consultations form one of the format of meetings envisaged under Article 8(11) of the PSC Protocol and Rule 16 of the PSC Rules of Procedure. Putting this meeting format to the test for the first time under Tunisia’s chairship, the PSC was able to respond to the challenge that has been faced in terms of absence of its effective interface with member states in political transition. Not discounting the role played by the AU Commission, specifically through the Chairperson, to provide updates to the PSC on developments on the ground in member states in political transition, affected countries sought to engage the PSC directly, including for making their case for the PSC to establish a pathway for the lifting of their suspension and for the PSC to have direct appreciation of the challenges facing the transitions in these countries.

PSC TOOK STOCK OF THE SUCCESS AND CHALLENGES OF ATMIS AS THE MISSION MARKED ONE YEAR OF OPERATION

On 28 April, the PSC convened its 1151st session to take stock of the progress, challenges, and funding of the African Union Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS) Operations as the mission marked the first anniversary of its operations on 1 April. The Special Representative of the Chairperson of the AU Commission for Somalia and Head of ATMIS, Mohamed El-Amine Souef briefed the PSC while the representatives of Uganda (on
behalf of the Troop Contributing Countries (TCCs)), the EU and the UN delivered statement during the session.

The Communique adopted at the session took note of the progress registered by ATMIS over the last one year in the implementation of its mandate and the operational success that the coordinated joint and independent operations by the Somali Security Forces (SSF) and local militias supported by ATMIS undertook against Al-Shabaab. PSC also commended ATMIS for its contribution towards the successful implementation and realization of the Somali Transition Plan (STP) and the Somali National Stabilisation Strategy, notably through the provision of security and creation of enabling environment to newly liberated areas, as well as the enhancement of institutional capacity of the SSF and supervision of the May 2022 election.

The 1151st session also addressed the funding challenges of ATMIS, a recurrent issue that featured throughout the various PSC session on ATMIS. In this session, PSC expressed its deep concern over the funding shortfalls and the lack of adequate, sustainable, and predictable financing for ATMIS. It also noted the impact of the financial challenge on the overall implementation of ATMIS mandate and the envisaged troops drawdowns. In that context, the communique reiterated several of its previous decisions, including the call for the UN Security Council to hold a special session on financing ATMIS (1075th session); the immediate utilization of the Peace Fund and its Crisis Reserve Facility (36th Ordinary Session of the Assembly); and the international community to join AU’s efforts to mobilize the additional resources for the mission. One of the subsequent positive developments regarding the funding issue is AU’s approval of $2 million for ATMIS from the Crisis Reserve Facility in line with the decision of the 36th Ordinary Session of the Assembly. This was announced during the ministerial session of the 15th Ordinary meeting of the Specialized Technical Committee on Defence, Safety and Security (STCDSS), which was held in Addis Ababa from 9 to 12 May 2023.

The other key highlight of the session was its endorsement of the outcome of the TCCs meeting of the Heads of State convened between Burundi, Djibouti, Kenya, Ethiopia, and Uganda in Entebbe, Uganda on 27 April.

The TCCs summit was held upon the invitation of Uganda’s President to evaluate the achievements made in the implementation of ATMIS mandate and the security situation in Somalia. The summit adopted a communique as an outcome document, which among others:

- agreed on the procedures for the drawdown of 2,000 ATMIS Troops in accordance with the UN Security Council Resolution 2670 (2022);
- underlined the need for the joint assessment of the drawdown of 3,000 troops;
- urged for a quick commencement of preparations and joint assessment bearing the security situation in Somalia;
- stressed the need for the AU Commission to consider utilizing the AU Peace Fund to support the enhancement of the long-term security capabilities for Somalia; and
- mandated the Presidents of Djibouti and Kenya to engage development partners on behalf of the TCCs.

PSC also agreed to undertake a field mission to Somalia without setting a specific timeline for the visit. The last time the PSC undertook field mission to Somalia was in July 2022.

Key actionable decisions requiring follow-up:

PSC requested:

- ATMIS and FGS to complete all outstanding task to ensure the completion of Phase I of the transition plan, which envisages the drawdown of 2,000 troops by the revised timeline of 30 June 2023, as well as the need for the commencement of preparations for the drawdown of 3,000 troops by 30 September 2023.
Other PSC activities during the month

Aside from the various substantive sessions of the PSC, the Committee of Experts (CoE) of the PSC convened a meeting during the month, to prepare for the PSC’s annual meeting with the EU Political and Security Committee (EUPSC), which took place on 02 and 03 May 2023. The Military Staff Committee (MSC) also had a meeting during the month where its discussed issues related to strategic airlift.
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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