



# THE UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA

PEACE, DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN SECURITY



POLICY SEMINAR REPORT

14 - 16 DECEMBER 2006, HOTEL AVENIDA, MAPUTO, MOZAMBIQUE

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## **POLICY SEMINAR REPORT**

CO-ORGANISED BY THE CENTRE FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION (CCR), UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA  
AND THE FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG, MOZAMBIQUE  
14 - 16 DECEMBER 2006, HOTEL AVENIDA, MAPUTO, MOZAMBIQUE

## **RAPORTEURS**

HELEN SCANLON AND TIM MURITHI



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## Acknowledgements

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## About the Co-organisers:

### The Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), Cape Town, South Africa

The Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) is affiliated to the University of Cape Town (UCT) in South Africa. Established in 1968, the organisation has wide-ranging experience of conflict interventions in the Western Cape and southern Africa and is working increasingly on a pan-continental basis to strengthen the conflict management capacity of Africa’s regional organisations, as well as on policy research on the United Nations’ (UN) role in Africa; South Africa’s role in Africa; African Union (AU)/New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) relations; and HIV/AIDS and Human Security.

### The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES)

The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) is a German non-profit organisation committed to the principles and values of social democracy. Today, FES supports education, research and international co-operation from its head offices in Bonn and Berlin, as well as through its offices in more than 90 countries, including Mozambique. In view of the FES mandate to promote international understanding, the organisation works directly with host and partner countries, as well as through multilateral forums. FES activities are designed to promote the participation of its partners in the South through dialogues with multilateral organisations.

## The Rapporteurs

Dr Helen Scanlon is Africa Co-ordinator: Gender Programme at the International Centre for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) office in Cape Town. Dr Tim Murithi is a Senior Researcher at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) office in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

# Executive Summary

**The Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), Cape Town, and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), Mozambique, hosted a policy advisory group meeting in Maputo, Mozambique, from 14 to 16 December 2006 on “The United Nations and Africa since 1945”.**

This meeting was the fourth in a series of seminars organised by CCR and FES to focus on aspects of the United Nations’ (UN) past, current and future roles in Africa. The Maputo meeting set out to assess the responsibility of the principal organs of the UN; to examine the activities of the UN’s specialised agencies; and to analyse the peacekeeping, governance and security functions of the UN in Africa. The policy seminar was attended by 35 participants, including senior officials from the UN; academics; senior government officials; and civil society activists. The deliberations over the three days addressed:

- Institutional and conceptual challenges facing the world body;
- The recent UN reform process;
- The UN and regional organisations;
- Peacekeeping case studies; and
- Humanitarian initiatives.

Participants discussed ways of developing and influencing policy in order to contribute positively towards enhancing the UN’s role on the continent.

## Context: The UN in Africa

When the UN was created in 1945, its aim was “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”. As a result, its structures were primarily devoted to preventing conflict between states at a time when most of the world’s nations were still under colonial rule. The UN has grown from an initial 51 members in 1945 to 192 members in 2007. Among these are 53 African countries that constitute more than a quarter of the UN’s membership. The need for strengthening the role of the UN on the continent is clear since:

- Nearly half of the 50 UN peacekeeping missions in the post-Cold War era have been in Africa;
- The continent currently hosts the most numerous and largest UN peacekeeping missions in the world;
- Eighty per cent of UN peacekeepers deployed globally are in Africa;
- Most of the UN’s socio-economic and humanitarian efforts are located in Africa; and
- The world body has established sub-regional offices in Kenya, Senegal, and Cameroon to work on security and human rights issues;
- Africa has produced two UN Secretaries-General - Egyptian, Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1992-1996) and Ghanaian, Kofi Annan (1997-2006).

Despite the importance of the UN to the continent, there is still limited knowledge about the organisation and how relevant actors can access it. It is, however, clear that the UN has a vital role to play in Africa’s future development and peace and security.

## The Principal Organs of the United Nations

The past 60 years have witnessed enormous changes in the world's political geography. However, while the world has transformed with the end of the Cold War, the principal power structures of the UN have remained virtually unchanged. The UN's primary organ – the 15-member Security Council – is the most powerful of the various organs of the UN, given its mandate to ensure global peace and security. Nonetheless, the Security Council's five veto-wielding permanent members mainly constitute the victorious powers of the Second World War: the United States (US), Britain, France, Russia and China. Other principal bodies and actors in the UN system include: the office of the UN Secretary-General; the 192-member General Assembly; the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC); and the International Court of Justice (ICJ).

The UN Security Council adopted 195 resolutions on African conflicts between 2000 and 2006. Since more than two-thirds of the Security Council's agenda focuses on African issues in any given month, some on the continent feel that Africa has effectively become an experimental and legitimising field for new UN initiatives, institutions, norms and doctrines. Africa should therefore be concerned about the growth of the Security Council's discretionary powers which may ultimately constrain the ability of African actors to determine their own affairs, though the UN does have an important role to play on the continent. The UN Secretary-General can "bring to the attention of the Security Council" issues that may threaten international peace and security, and the incumbent in the office has both a political and an administrative role. Eight UN Secretaries-General have held the office in the 62-year history of the organisation, and each of them has developed his own unique style of executing these roles. The UN Secretary-General has generally been forced to adopt three roles: that of the "Southern Prophet" who campaigns for the development and security interests of weaker countries; the "Secular Pope" who upholds the principles of the UN Charter; and the "Stubborn Pharaoh" who upholds the independence of his office; all of which can lead to a confrontation with the interests of powerful nations.

In terms of the UN's principal organs, criticism has been levelled at the bias towards the rich North's focus on security issues rather than the socio-economic development priorities of the global South. Since the founding of the UN, the interests of international financial institutions – particularly the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) – have usurped the role of bodies such as ECOSOC and the General Assembly on many development issues. Thus, African countries must transform their relationship with the UN's principal organs by shaping agendas on issues relevant to the continent, as well as by building strategic alliances to ensure that these agendas are adopted.

## Africa's Stake in UN Reform

The most recent UN reform process initiated by former Ghanaian UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan in 2005 came about due to the coalescence of three factors:

- First, the acceptance of the need for change as a result of the lack of coherence and effectiveness of the global multilateral architecture;
- Second, the design of a detailed agenda for change; and
- Third, the opportunity for change offered by the world body's 60th anniversary in 2005.

While the reform process was an overall disappointment in terms of Africa's security and development aspirations, the process mobilised the continent's leaders to craft a common position on reform issues through



the African Union's (AU) Ezulwini Consensus of February 2005. It is significant that no other continent presented a consensus position on UN reform, suggesting that, even though ultimately fragile, a framework was nonetheless provided for mobilising African opinion. The principle of the "responsibility to protect" adopted by the General Assembly in 2005 can complement the AU's own Constitutive Act of 2000, which commits African governments to intervene to prevent human rights abuses on the continent. Given the many conflicts that have plagued parts of Africa, the degree to which the international community is responsible for the protection of civilians during humanitarian crises has become an issue of increasing concern. However, the question of when intervention is necessary during a humanitarian emergency has also become increasingly relevant to the international community, as current debates over the conflict in Sudan's Darfur region, in which an estimated 200,000 people have been killed since 2003, clearly demonstrate.

## The UN's Economic and Development Role in Africa

One of the UN's central mandates is the promotion of higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of socio-economic progress and development. As much as 70 percent of the work of the UN system is devoted to accomplishing this mandate. However, the world body's record in economic development has not generally been one of great success. The UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was established in 1964 to increase trade and investment in the developing world and to facilitate the integration of these countries into the world economy. Despite this noble intention, access to the markets of the rich world remains closed to southern agricultural producers and UNCTAD has, in effect, failed to achieve its major goals. Equally, the impact of the UN's Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), established to promote the economic and social development of Africa's 53 states, has yet to be felt fully on the ground in many African countries. Overall, there has been a failure by powerful members of the UN to make development aid work. The 0.7 percent of GDP (Gross Domestic Product) commitment by rich countries to Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) set as far back as 1970 has not been met by most donor governments, while most African countries will not achieve the Millennium Development Goal's (MDG) aims of halving poverty by 2015. Furthermore, there remains a need to examine the root causes of the continent's current economic plight, which includes an external debt of \$290 billion.

## UN Peacemaking, Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding: the UN's Role on the Continent

Former Egyptian UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's 1992 report, entitled *An Agenda for Peace*, continues to provide the basis for assessing the post-Cold War era's security tools and techniques. The end of the Cold War shifted global power dynamics, leaving many African governments with multiple internal challenges. As a result, African conflicts continue to require the active engagement of the UN. Experiences from Africa demonstrate that, in some instances, the UN has been best positioned to intervene in conflict situations, while, in others, the AU and/or regional economic communities (RECs) have taken the lead. Several lessons can be learned from recent UN interventions in Africa. Experiences in places such as Angola, Somalia and Rwanda in the 1990s have shown that the UN needs to adapt a longer-term strategy to underpin its peacekeeping operations; commit sufficient political will and development resources to these missions; and provide effective peacekeeping support to interventions in Africa. Peacemaking initiatives have revealed that the actions of several actors may undermine peace processes. Domestic "spoilers" such as warlords and rebels in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Liberia, Burundi, and Angola have often frustrated the implementation of peace

accords. In Côte d'Ivoire, the former colonial power, France, was said to have sometimes acted in ways that undermined the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The selective implementation of peace agreements has often undermined the UN's peacekeeping efforts in cases such as Western Sahara and Ethiopia/Eritrea. In contrast, successful peacekeeping in Namibia and Mozambique was predicated on political "buy-in" by domestic, regional and external actors in both countries. The UN must learn from these experiences. The UN's new Peacebuilding Commission – created in 2005 – must also co-ordinate efforts to mobilise resources and to ensure that the conditions that led to conflict are removed.

## The UN and Africa's Regional Organisations

Chapter VIII of the UN Charter established a broad programme of collaboration and co-operation between the world body and regional organisations in order to advance global peace and security. The UN established its first liaison office with a regional organisation at the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) secretariat in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 1998. UN departments, agencies and programmes have more recently established offices to interface with the OAU's successor organisation, the AU. Nonetheless, there is much scope to improve the UN's collaborative efforts at promoting peace and development with Africa's regional organisations. African leaders must also strengthen and rationalise these institutions to be able to act as effective partners to the UN.

Africa's RECs – the Southern African Development Community (SADC); ECOWAS; the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD); the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS); and the

**The 0.7 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) commitment by rich countries to Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) set as far back as 1970 has not been met by most donor governments.**

Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) – are, in collaboration with the AU, developing their own mechanisms for conflict management to be able to address security emergencies on the continent. However, Africa's regional institutions have weak institutional capacities and there remains an urgent need for the UN to take the lead in providing security on the continent, as recent cases in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Burundi, and Sudan's Darfur region have clearly demonstrated. The Brahimi Report of August 2000 on peacekeeping had recommended burden-sharing between the UN and regional organisations, but this has yet to be adequately realised, despite the proposal in the UN reform process of 2005 for a ten-year peacekeeping capacity-building programme between the UN and Africa's regional organisations.

## The UN and Human Security

Most of the UN's socio-economic and humanitarian efforts are located in Africa, and the continent is the largest recipient of humanitarian assistance as a result of natural disasters and conflicts. The end of the Cold War by 1990 witnessed a series of humanitarian crises and civil wars in Africa, the growth of refugees fleeing conflict situations, the spread of HIV/AIDS, and increased disparities between the world's richest and poorest inhabitants. The UN reform summit of 2005 did not endorse a substantive human security agenda, even though it did establish the principle of "the responsibility to protect" and created the Human Rights Council to replace the previous Human Rights Commission. Due to the broad mandate given to the UN by its Charter, an array of

agencies were established or have become part of the UN system. Organs such as the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM); the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF); the UN Economic Commission for Africa; the UN Development Programme (UNDP); the UN Conference on Trade and Development; the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO); the World Food Programme (WFP); the Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS); the World Health Organisation (WHO); the International Labour Organisation (ILO); the UN Environment Programme (UNEP); the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO); and the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) have been striving to deliver the basic conditions for development for women, children and refugees around the world. But under-funding, a lack of co-ordination, and limited political will are currently hampering the world body's intention to adopt a more holistic and inclusive approach to peace and security issues. HIV/AIDS has been transformed from a public health crisis to an emergency that requires political action by the UN, with over 60 percent of current infections occurring in Africa.

## Policy Recommendations

Six key policy recommendations on the UN's role in Africa emerged from the Maputo seminar:

1. African governments must transform their relationship with the UN from one of paternalism to one of partnership through shaping agendas on issues relevant to the continent within the UN system and building strategic alliances within and outside the UN to ensure that these agendas are adopted;
2. The UN must address its own institutional rivalries between its myriad agencies and departments, particularly in the field, as these divisions often undermine the synergy required to deliver the necessary protection and relief services to people on the ground in Africa;
3. African policymakers should strategically use the UN-AU Framework for the Ten-year Capacity Building Programme for the African Union, of 2006, to engage the UN more effectively to promote peace, security, governance and development in Africa;
4. The UN must work collaboratively with Africa's regional organisations to promote peace and security in Africa through initiatives on the UN stand-by arrangements and by defining a clear division of labour with, and providing UN funding to, regional organisations under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter;
5. The UN must commit sufficient political will and development resources to its peacemaking and peacekeeping interventions in Africa. In this regard, the UN's new Peacebuilding Commission should be used to mobilise international and domestic actors to support post-conflict peacebuilding efforts on the continent to ensure that countries such as Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Burundi do not slide back into conflict; and
6. Finally, there is a need to ensure the involvement of African civil society in the work of the UN and for civil society to be creative in securing its involvement in the world body's peace and development initiatives on the continent. Effective peace and development initiatives are sustained "from below", and institutional memory can be brought to the UN from Africa.



**FAR LEFT:** Dr Medhane Tadesse, Centre for Policy Research and Dialogue, Addis Ababa

**LEFT:** Ambassador James Jonah, Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies, New York, *left*; Ambassador Kaire Mbuende, Permanent Representative of Namibia to the UN, New York

# 1. Introduction

**The Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) office in Mozambique co-organised a policy seminar on “The United Nations and Africa: Peace, Development and Human Security” in Maputo, Mozambique, from 14 to 16 December 2006.**

This was the fourth meeting in a series of seminars organised by CCR and FES to focus on aspects of the United Nations’ (UN) role in Africa.<sup>1</sup> The first, held in Cape Town in May 2004, provided a forum for articulating African interests and responses to the UN reform process, and set out to consider the UN, Africa’s regional organisations and future security threats to the continent.<sup>2</sup> The objective of the meeting was to generate policy proposals to strengthen relationships between the UN and African organisations for the continent’s future security.

The second seminar, also held in Cape Town, in April 2005,<sup>3</sup> set out to consider African perspectives on the High-Level Panel Report of December 2004 and UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan’s March 2005 report, *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights For All*.<sup>4</sup> In August 2006, a third meeting in Maputo assessed the relevance for Africa of the creation, in December 2005, of the UN Peacebuilding Commission, and examined how countries emerging from conflict in Africa could benefit from its establishment.<sup>5</sup>

The December 2006 Maputo meeting, on which this report is based, brought together 35 mainly African policymakers, scholars, and civil society activists. Key officials who attended the seminar included: Kaire Mbuende, the Permanent Representative of Namibia to the UN and former Executive Secretary of the Southern African Development Community (SADC); James Jonah, former UN Undersecretary-General for Political Affairs; Margaret Vogt, a Deputy Director at the UN; Musifky Mwanasali, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary-General for Africa (both in the UN Department for Political Affairs, UNDP/A); Robert Okello, Director for the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) and Regional Integration Division, UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; and Ahunna Eziakonwa, Chief of the Africa Section in the UN Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). The Maputo seminar set out to assess the role of the principal organs of the UN; to examine the efforts of the UN’s specialised agencies; and to analyse the peacekeeping, governance and security roles of the UN in Africa. The meeting also sought to contribute towards addressing the lack of African-generated knowledge on the role of the UN on the continent. Based on discussions, policy proposals were formulated to enhance the effectiveness of the UN in promoting peace, governance and socio-economic development in Africa. This report is based on the papers submitted and discussions at the Maputo meeting, as well as additional research.

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1 See Adekeye Adebajo and Helen Scanlon (eds.), *A Dialogue of the Deaf: Essays on Africa and the United Nations* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2006).

2 Centre for Conflict Resolution and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, *The New Partnership for Africa’s Security: The United Nations, Regional Organisations, and Future Security Threats in Africa*, seminar report, Cape Town, May 2004 (available at [www.ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za](http://www.ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za)).

3 Centre for Conflict Resolution and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, *A More Secure Continent: African Perspectives on the UN High-Level Panel Report, A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, seminar report, Cape Town, April 2005 (available at [www.ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za](http://www.ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za)).

4 United Nations, *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All*, report of the UN Secretary-General; follow-up to the outcome of the Millennium Summit, 21 March 2005, A/59/2005.

5 Centre for Conflict Resolution and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, *African Perspectives on the UN Peacebuilding Commission*, seminar report, Maputo, Mozambique, 3-5 August 2006 (available at [www.ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za](http://www.ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za)).

## 1.1 Objectives

The objective of the December 2006 Maputo seminar was to develop, debate and influence policy options that have the potential to contribute positively towards enhancing the UN's role in promoting peace, security and development in Africa.

Specifically, the meeting aimed to achieve the following four goals:

- To serve as a useful guide to the UN system and Africa's regional organisations and civil society actors on how to enhance peace and development in Africa;
- To identify the key factors required in maximising the potential of UN initiatives to provide tangible support for the efforts of Africa's regional organisations such as the African Union (AU); the Southern African Development Community; the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD); the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS); and the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU);
- To share comparative experiences between, and learn policy lessons from, the UN system and African regional organisations and governments; and
- To facilitate networking among civil society actors, representatives of the UN, the AU, regional economic communities (RECs) and government officials, as well as to encourage the involvement of civil society actors in critical policy debates on the UN.



ABOVE: Dr Funmi Olonisakin, King's College, London, *right*; Ms Ethel Hamman, Horwath Zeller Karro Chartered Accountants (SA), Cape Town  
FAR RIGHT: Mr Cameron Jacobs, South African Human Rights Commission, Johannesburg  
RIGHT: Mr Glenn Cowley, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Scottsville



## 1.2 Seminar Themes

The following ten key themes were covered during the policy seminar:

- The Principal Organs of the UN – the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), and the International Court of Justice (ICJ);
- The Role of the UN Secretary-General;
- The UN's Economic Development and Governance Roles in Africa;
- The UN's Specialised Agencies;
- New Bodies such as the UN Peacebuilding Commission<sup>6</sup> and the Human Rights Council;
- The UN's Role in the Empowerment of Women and Children;
- The UN's Role in Protecting Refugees and Preventing the Spread of HIV/AIDS;
- The UN and Humanitarian Intervention – the Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA);
- The Division of Labour between the UN and Africa's Regional Organisations; and
- Case studies and a comparative examination and assessment of lessons learned in UN peacekeeping missions<sup>7</sup> in Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Egypt, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia/Eritrea, Liberia, and Western Sahara.

## 1.3 Background

When the UN was created in 1945, its main objective was to prevent the horrors of the Second World War from being repeated. According to the UN Charter, the mission of the world body was “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”. As a result, the UN's structures were primarily devoted to preventing wars between states at a time when much of the world was still under colonial rule. At the time of the UN's inception, only Egypt, Ethiopia, and Liberia were present as fully sovereign African entities. This lack of adequate African representation meant that African voices were not sufficiently articulated in the formulation of peace, security, and development policies at the UN.

The past 60 years have witnessed dramatic changes in the world's political geography. The world has transformed significantly and the mandate of the UN has gradually expanded to incorporate wider global concerns such as development; the environment; women and children; refugees; and health. These are all intrinsic interests for a post-colonial Africa that has been struggling to find a place in the skewed global order. During this period, the UN has grown from an initial 51 members in 1945 to 192 members in 2007, and now incorporates former colonies which have since transformed into independent nation states. Among these are 53 African countries that constitute more than a quarter of the UN's membership.

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6 Catherine Guicherd, “Picking up the Pieces: What to Expect from the Peacebuilding Commission”, *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: Briefing Papers*, report of a conference organised by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) in co-operation with the German Federal Ministry of Economic Co-operation and Development (BMZ), 6 December 2005. See also CCR/FES, *African Perspectives on the UN Peacebuilding Commission*, seminar report, Maputo, Mozambique, 3-5 August 2006.

7 See Olara Otunnu and Michael Doyle (eds.), *Peacemaking and Peacekeeping for the New Century*, (Lanham, New York, Boulder and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 1998); and Cyrus Samii, *Developing Peace Partnerships in Africa: Report from the 35th Annual Vienna Peacemaking and Peacekeeping Seminar*, New York: International Peace Academy, 2005 (see [www.ipacademy.org](http://www.ipacademy.org)).

The need for strengthening the role of the UN on the continent is clear since:

- Nearly half of the 50 UN peacekeeping missions in the post-Cold War era have been in Africa;
- The continent currently hosts the most numerous UN peacekeeping missions in the world (six of 15), which includes the largest with 17,000 – in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (a 26,000-strong UN force was approved for Sudan's Darfur region in August 2007 which will become the largest);
- About 80 percent of UN peacekeepers deployed globally are in Africa;
- Most of the UN's socio-economic and humanitarian efforts are located in Africa;
- The world body has established sub-regional offices in West Africa, the Great Lakes region and central Africa; as well as peacebuilding offices in Liberia, Guinea-Bissau and the Central African Republic (CAR); and has peacekeeping operations currently deployed in Sudan, Liberia, Ethiopia/Eritrea, Côte d'Ivoire, the DRC, and Western Sahara; and
- Africa has produced two UN Secretaries-General – Egyptian, Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1992-1996) and Ghanaian, Kofi Annan (1997-2006).

Since the era of decolonisation from the 1950s, Africa has been ravaged by a series of conflicts. The Suez crisis of 1956 saw the creation of the world's first ever peacekeeping mission. The Congo crisis of 1960 to 1964 also led to the deployment of the largest and most complex UN mission at the time, of 20,000 troops. The UN was not involved in peacekeeping in Africa again until 1989 when it oversaw apartheid South Africa's military withdrawal from Namibia (then South-West Africa) and then supervised that country's first democratic election in 1990. Over the next decade, the UN launched 17 peacekeeping operations in Africa. There were relative successes in Namibia and Mozambique, and spectacular failures in Somalia and Rwanda. The UN's unwillingness to undertake certain missions after Somalia and Rwanda led many to voice concerns over the lack of concerted action by the world body in a number of African conflicts, most recently in the Congo and Sudan's Darfur region.

In the post-Cold War era, the UN established sub-regional offices in West Africa, the Great Lakes and central Africa, as well as peacebuilding offices in Liberia, Guinea-Bissau, CAR, and Sierra Leone. Despite the importance of the UN to the continent, there is still little knowledge among many African practitioners and policymakers about the organisation or how to access it to serve the continent's needs, as was evident during a meeting in South Africa in 2001 on the Brahimi report<sup>8</sup> on peacekeeping of 2000.<sup>9</sup> The Maputo seminar in December 2006 examined how best to use the UN's organs to promote the political, social and economic development of Africa's 800 million people.

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<sup>8</sup> See *Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations*, (Brahimi Report), 21 August 2000, S/2000/809.

<sup>9</sup> International Peace Academy/Centre on International Cooperation, *Refashioning the Dialogue: Regional Perspectives on the Brahimi Report on UN Peace Operations*, regional meetings, February-March 2001, Johannesburg, Buenos Aires, Singapore and London, pp.6-11 (see [www.ipacademy.org](http://www.ipacademy.org)).

## 2. The Principal Organs of the UN and Africa

**Six decades after the inauguration of the UN, it is worth assessing the role that the world body has played in promoting peace, security and development in Africa. From the late 1950s, the UN's Special Political Committee presided over the decolonisation of Africa.<sup>10</sup>**

Newly-independent African states effectively had to catch up with the “diplomatic game” since its “rules of engagement” had already been determined at the UN, based on the legal regime developed since the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648. The effect of not having played a role in determining procedural issues at the UN meant that the organisation adopted a posture of expediting agendas, and sometimes dictated and pronounced on issues that related to Africa, without adequate consultation or due diligence of the ramifications and consequences of such a “top-down” approach on the continent. This is especially true of the Security Council, where the Permanent Five (P5) – the United States (US), Britain, France, Russia and China – can, and still do, prevent resolutions that are important to Africa from even being considered. Indeed, this was the case with the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 that resulted in the death of an estimated one million people. Africa was also a major theatre of the Cold War that raged between the two superpower blocs between 1950 and 1989. The following sections will assess the principal organs of the UN: the Security Council; the Office of the Secretary-General; the 192-member General Assembly; ECOSOC; and the ICJ.

### The Security Council

In 1945, the founders of the UN drew lessons from the performance of the League of Nations which had been established after the First World War in 1919. The Security Council was designed to make it possible for the allied powers of the Second World War to act as guarantors of global security. Accordingly, the UN Charter established the 15-member Council as a body with five permanent members who must all agree on issues requiring joint action. Since it was expected that the permanent members – particularly Russia, Britain and the US – would provide the military force to maintain international peace and security, it was considered prudent to give these countries, along with France and China, the power to block Security Council action that they did not support.<sup>11</sup>

This right of veto was vigorously criticised by small and medium-sized powers at the San Francisco Conference that created the United Nations in 1945. The veto was subsequently abused during the Cold War, with 193 vetoes cast between 1945 and 1990 as the major powers argued among themselves about the authorisation, financing and management of peacekeeping operations and other issues.

The policy debates in the UN and other international fora following the UN's failure to prevent the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 were symptomatic of a general malaise about the legitimacy of the Security Council. The Council wields considerable discretionary powers on security issues, though its members are not sufficiently representative of humanity as a whole.<sup>12</sup> African issues constitute more than two-thirds of the agenda

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<sup>10</sup> Tor Sellstrom, “The UN, Decolonisation and Liberation in Africa: From Trusteeship to Anti-Apartheid”, paper commissioned for the CCR volume, “The United Nations’ Role in Africa: 1945-2005” (forthcoming).

<sup>11</sup> James Jonah, “The Security Council, General Assembly and ECOSOC”, paper presented at the CCR/FES seminar, “The United Nations’ Role in Africa: 1945-2005”, Maputo, Mozambique, 14-16 December 2006.

<sup>12</sup> Musifiky Mwanasali, “Overheating Chapter VII? The Security Council and African Conflict (2000-2006)”, paper presented at the CCR/FES seminar, “The United Nations’ Role in Africa: 1945-2005”, Maputo, Mozambique, 14-16 December 2006.



of the Security Council in any given month. In addition, Africa is often an experimental and legitimising field for any number of new international initiatives, institutions, norms and doctrines.

There is an ever-expanding role for the Security Council in the maintenance of regional and international peace, especially on the African continent. Taking full advantage of the ambiguity and intended flexibility of the term “a threat to the peace”, the Security Council has, since the 1990s, taken an active part in addressing these perceived threats. From 2000 to mid-2006, the Security Council adopted a total of 195 resolutions on African conflicts, many of them issued through a Chapter VII mandate dealing with the use of force and other sanctions to implement UN resolutions.

By including 56 resolutions on such cross-cutting issues as women and peace; the protection of civilians in armed conflicts; and threats caused by terrorist acts, this total amounts to 251 resolutions, the majority of which were issued through Chapter VII of the UN Charter.<sup>13</sup>

**The AU Permanent Observer Mission to the UN in New York should also provide leadership and adopt a more activist stance with regard to advocating issues that concern Africa.**

The over-use of Chapter VII should be of concern to Africa because the Security Council can issue binding decisions that can ultimately constrain a member state and limit its sovereignty on domestic issues. Within the Security Council, the three two-year rotating non-permanent African countries should move beyond their parochial interests and begin to shape agendas on issues relevant to the continent. They must build strategic alliances with other council members to ensure that these agendas are adopted. Such activities should include influencing events and drafting resolutions in the Security Council through the Africa Group in New York. The AU Permanent Observer Mission to the UN in New York should also provide leadership and adopt a more activist stance with regard to advocating issues that concern Africa.<sup>14</sup>

## The General Assembly

The 192-member General Assembly can discuss, but not take action on, the maintenance of international peace and security. By 1961, there were 25 African states in the General Assembly, exceeding the membership of the 20 Latin American countries. With both East and West competing for the votes of developing nations, African countries had a numerical advantage<sup>15</sup> and were able to use the provisions of the UN Charter to advocate and campaign for decolonisation issues. African countries were also able to pass resolutions in the General Assembly to campaign against white minority rule in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), South-West Africa (Namibia) and apartheid South Africa. As a result of the outbreak of the Korean War of 1950-53 and the impasse in the Security Council due to the threat of the use of the veto and Moscow's temporary absence from the Council in protest, the US mobilised a majority in the General Assembly and arranged for the adoption of the “Uniting for Peace”

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<sup>13</sup> Mwanasali, “Overheating Chapter VII?”, p.5.

<sup>14</sup> Jonah, “The Security Council, General Assembly and ECOSOC”, p.1.

<sup>15</sup> Jonah, “The Security Council, General Assembly and ECOSOC”, p.2.



**LEFT:** Ambassador Kaire Mbuende, Permanent Representative of Namibia to the UN, New York, *left*; Dr Adekeye Adebajo, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town

**RIGHT:** Dr Ulrich Golaszinski, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Maputo, *left*; Ms Mpumi Motlafi, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town

resolution in 1950. This resolution authorised military action under a UN flag in Korea. The General Assembly was a vital organ of the UN during the Cold War when the East and West competed for the support of small and medium-sized states. Today, however, the power and influence of the General Assembly has waned, while that of the Security Council has increased.<sup>16</sup>

## The Economic and Social Council and Africa

Article 55 of the UN Charter stipulates that “the United Nations shall promote a higher standard of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development”.<sup>17</sup> Chapter X of the UN Charter outlines the composition, functions and powers of the Economic and Social Council, which was established in 1946 to “initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters” and to “make recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly”.<sup>18</sup> ECOSOC, however, has not had the impact it was expected to have on development issues, or on the promotion and improvement of the livelihood of people around the world. Over time, ECOSOC’s role has often been usurped by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).<sup>19</sup>

## The International Court of Justice

The Hague-based International Court of Justice – the World Court – was created by the UN Charter in 1945 and designated by Article VII of the Charter as a principal organ of the UN, as well as by Article 92 as the UN’s principal judicial organ.<sup>20</sup> The ICJ is an essential part of the international machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes and comprises 15 judges who are elected to serve nine-year terms. About a third of the Court is elected or re-elected every three years. All members of the UN are subject to the jurisdiction of the Court, as stipulated in Article 93 of the UN Charter. African judges have made a significant contribution to the work of

<sup>16</sup> Jonah, “The Security Council, General Assembly and ECOSOC”, p.2.

<sup>17</sup> *United Nations, Charter of the United Nations*, Article 55.

<sup>18</sup> *United Nations, Charter of the United Nations*, Article 62.

<sup>19</sup> Jonah, “The Security Council, General Assembly and ECOSOC”, p.4.

<sup>20</sup> *United Nations Charter*, Article 92-96 and the Statute of the International Court of Justice 59 Stat. 1055, T.S. 993.

the ICJ since its establishment.<sup>21</sup> Of the 15 judges elected for the first time in 1946 to sit on the Court, only one, Judge Badawi Pasha, of Egypt, was from Africa.<sup>22</sup> Nigeria's Taslim Elias was president of the World Court between 1982 and 1985. Today, the ICJ has three African judges: Raymonth Ranjeva of Madagascar; Abdul Koroma of Sierra Leone; and Mohamed Bennouna of Morocco. The current President of the ICJ, Judge Rosalyn Higgins, recently observed that "the Court has been favoured with African judges of great distinction and considerable personality".<sup>23</sup>

African states and African issues have engaged the ICJ since its establishment in 1946. The first African case was addressed by the Court on the issue of the international status of South-West Africa (Namibia) in 1949.<sup>24</sup> The campaign for self-determination in Western Sahara helped to establish a precedent on this issue in 1975. African countries have used the Court, particularly with regard to the peaceful settlement of disputes among themselves. In a recent dispute involving the Bakassi Peninsula on the Cameroon/Nigeria border in 2002,<sup>25</sup> both countries fought for ownership of the land boundary from Lake Chad to the Bakassi Peninsula. The Court held that there was nothing in the historical record to indicate that Cameroon had relinquished title to the land, and therefore had the legal right to maintain sovereignty over the area.<sup>26</sup> Through such cases, Africa's contribution to international law has been significant.

The continent's use of the Court demonstrates that the institution is fully occupying its rightful place in the global system for the maintenance of peace as envisioned in the UN Charter, though critics argue that judges often vote in relation to their country's national interests.

## The UN Secretary-General and Africa

According to Article 99 of the UN Charter, the Secretary-General can "bring to the attention of the Security Council" issues that may threaten international peace and security. Respectively, Articles 97 and 98 designate the Secretary-General as chief administrative officer of the organisation and secretary of meetings of the General Assembly, the Security Council, ECOSOC, and the Trusteeship Council. In terms of Article 101, the Secretary-General is also empowered to appoint all staff at the UN Secretariat.<sup>27</sup> The Secretary-General therefore has both a political and an administrative role.<sup>28</sup> Eight UN Secretaries-General have held the office in the 62-year history of the organisation and each of them developed his own unique style of executing these roles.

Three key themes describe the role of the UN Secretary-General: the "Southern Prophet"; the "Secular Pope"; and the "Stubborn Pharaoh".<sup>29</sup> First, the Secretary-General can be regarded as a "Southern Prophet" since the majority of members of the organisation are from the developing world. North-South issues therefore have to

21 Muna Ndulo, "The International Court of Justice and Africa", paper presented at the CCR/FES seminar, "The United Nations' Role in Africa: 1945-2005", Maputo, Mozambique, 14-16 December 2006.

22 Abdulqawi Yusuf, "Africa Participation in the International Court of Justice: A Statistical Appraisal (1946-1998)", *Africa Year Book of International Law*, Vol. 7, 1999.

23 Rosalyn Higgins, "The International Court of Justice and Africa", in Abdulqawi Yusuf (ed.), *Africa Year Book of International Law*, Vol. 7, 1999, p. 27.

24 International Court of Justice, *International Status of South West Africa (1949-1950)*, Advisory Opinion of 11 July 1950.

25 International Court of Justice, *Case Concerning the Land and Maritime Boundary Between Cameroon and Nigeria*, Ruling 303 (2002).

26 Muna Ndulo, "The International Court of Justice and Africa".

27 See, for example, Andrew Boyd, *The United Nations Organisation Handbook* (London: The Pilot Press, 1946); and Sydney D. Bailey and Sam Daws, *The United Nations: A Concise Political Guide* (London: Macmillan Press, 1995), Third Edition.

28 Adekeye Adebajo, "Prophet, Pope or Pharaoh? The Role of the UN Secretary-General", paper presented at the CCR/FES seminar, "The United Nations' Role in Africa: 1945-2005", Maputo, Mozambique, 14-16 December 2006.

29 Adebajo, "Prophet, Pope or Pharaoh?", paper presented at the CCR/FES seminar, "The United Nations' Role in Africa: 1945-2005", Maputo, Mozambique, 14-16 December 2006.

be addressed as a priority, and the Secretary-General campaigns for the development and security interests of weaker countries, sometimes against the interests of the powerful. Second, the Secretary-General has to uphold the principles of the UN Charter and promote noble principles for world peace, thereby acting as a “Secular Pope”. And, third, by emphasising and upholding the independence of his Office, the Secretary-General, also acts as a “Stubborn Pharaoh”, which can lead to a confrontation with the interests of powerful nations on the Security Council.

**Eight UN Secretaries-General have held the office in the 62-year history of the organisation and each of them developed his own unique style of executing these roles.**

The contrast between Africa’s two UN Secretaries-General – Egyptian, Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1992-1996) and Ghanaian, Kofi Annan (1997-2006) – reveals divergent styles and idiosyncrasies of the position. Boutros-Ghali’s main legacy was the pioneering 1992 publication, *An Agenda for Peace*, which provides the standard framework for understanding preventive diplomacy; peacemaking; peacekeeping; and post-conflict peacebuilding in the post-Cold War era.<sup>30</sup> Annan issued key reports on the primacy and importance of conflict prevention and humanitarian action.<sup>31</sup> Due to their management styles, Boutros-Ghali was referred to as “the pharaoh”, while Annan was perceived to be more of a “prophet” due to his promotion of such issues as “humanitarian intervention”.

Annan progressively worked his way up the UN system and acquired the reputation of being accessible and approachable. The intellectual Boutros-Ghali, on the other hand, was considered more aloof and authoritarian – an attitude that eventually led to his confrontation with the US, the world’s sole superpower at the time. Annan’s record at the UN is tainted by the fact that he inappropriately failed to respond to a cable warning of the escalating genocide in Rwanda in January 1994. The cable was sent to Annan, then Undersecretary-General for UN Peacekeeping Operations, by the Canadian UN Force Commander, General Roméo Dallaire, who had been warned of the impending genocide. The UN subsequently released a report in December 1999 that was critical of Annan and his deputy, Iqbal Riza,<sup>32</sup> for not passing on these details to the Security Council. However, powerful countries such as the US and France were seen as the main culprits in failing to prevent or contributing to the events in Rwanda.

Boutros-Ghali was a more vocal advocate for the South and often expressed the criticism that the rich North was too focused on peace and security issues and did not pay enough attention to socio-economic development.<sup>33</sup> Many commentators felt that Annan did not effectively confront the US. He has, however, demonstrated his commitment to African issues by commissioning special reports on peace and development on the continent in 1998. He was also a strong supporter of UN peacekeeping missions in the DRC, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d’Ivoire and Sudan. It was also Annan who initiated the reform process in 2003 that led to the creation of the UN Human Rights Council, and the UN Peacebuilding Commission, as well as – at least on paper – the “responsibility to protect” doctrine.

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30 Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping* (New York: United Nations, 1992).

31 Kofi Annan, *The Prevention of Armed Conflict*, report of the Secretary-General, A/55/985, S/2001/574 (New York: United Nations, June 2001).

32 Linda Melvern, *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda’s Genocide* (London: Zed Books, 2000), p.93.

33 Marrack Goulding, “The UN Secretary-General”, in David M. Malone, *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner, 2004), p.269.

### 3. Africa's Stake in UN Reform

**The most recent UN reform process initiated by Kofi Annan in September 2003, in the aftermath of the divisions caused by the US-led invasion of Iraq (not sanctioned by the UN) eight months earlier, mobilised African countries to craft a common continental position.<sup>34</sup>**

In March 2005, the African Union issued *The Common African Position on the Proposed Reform of the United Nations: The Ezulwini Consensus*<sup>35</sup> as a response to the *Report of the UN High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change* issued in December 2004. The High-Level Panel had been established by Annan the previous year. The report identified global security concerns which included poverty; debt; environmental degradation; trade negotiations; the “responsibility to protect”; as well as traditional threats.<sup>36</sup> The Ezulwini Consensus established a continental position on UN reform and, in particular, on the reform of the Security Council by noting that “in 1945, when the UN was formed, most of Africa was not represented and in 1963, when the first reform took place, Africa was represented but was not in a particularly strong position”.<sup>37</sup> Ezulwini goes on to state that “Africa is now in a position to influence the proposed UN reforms by maintaining her unity of purpose”.

Furthermore, Ezulwini notes that “Africa’s goal is to be fully represented in all the decision-making organs of the UN, particularly in the Security Council”.<sup>38</sup> The Common Position enumerates what “full representation” of Africa in the Security Council means by demanding “not less than two permanent seats with all the prerogatives and privileges of permanent membership, including the right to veto” and “five non-permanent seats”.<sup>39</sup> This decision subsequently locked the AU into trying to maintain its adopted position in the face of formidable pressure from other members of the international community, notably the G4 (Group of Four): Brazil, Germany, Japan, and India – which were vying for a permanent seat on the Council; as well as the Uniting for Consensus coalition – consisting of countries such as Pakistan, Argentina, Canada, Italy and Mexico – which opposed their ambitions and favoured the addition of four-year-term, non-permanent members. Ezulwini was a bold move from the AU and was informed more by principle than by *realpolitik*. On paper, the AU was endeavouring to establish and maintain a common position. However, due to internal dissension among some African countries insisting on the right of veto for any new Security Council members, a meeting in Addis Ababa in August 2005 on reforming the Security Council resulted in an inevitable lack of consensus. Nonetheless, it is significant that no other continent presented a consensus position, suggesting that, even though ultimately fragile, a framework was provided for mobilising African opinion.

#### Africa and the Responsibility to Protect

Given the conflicts that have plagued the African continent, the degree to which the international community is responsible for the protection of civilians during humanitarian crises has become one of increasing concern.

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34 Chris Landsberg, “African Stakes in UN Reform”, paper presented at the CCR/FES seminar, “The United Nations’ Role in Africa: 1945-2005”, Maputo, Mozambique, 14-16 December 2006.

35 African Union, *The Common African Position on the Proposed Reform of the United Nations: The Ezulwini Consensus*, EXT/EX.CL/2 (VII), Addis Ababa, African Union, 7 and 8 March 2005.

36 AU, *Ezulwini Consensus*, pp.1-7.

37 AU, *Ezulwini Consensus*, p.9.

38 AU, *Ezulwini Consensus*, p.9.

39 AU, *Ezulwini Consensus*, p.9.

About one million people died in the 1994 Rwandan genocide, despite the presence of a 2,500-strong UN peacekeeping mission in the country at the start of the massacre. The failure of the UN to act drew widespread international condemnation and called for a re-evaluation of international norms in this area. Respect for the sovereign rights of governments nonetheless remains central to relations between states,<sup>40</sup> but the question of when intervention is necessary during a humanitarian emergency has become increasingly relevant to the international community, as current debates over Darfur, where over 200,000 people are estimated to have been killed since 2003, clearly demonstrate. The principle of the “responsibility to protect” adopted by the General Assembly in 2005, can complement the AU’s own Constitutive Act of 2000, which commits African governments to intervene to halt egregious human rights abuses on the continent. Currently, complex emergencies in Darfur and the eastern Congo demonstrate the need for the UN to mobilise resources and to co-ordinate its activities effectively in order to ensure effective humanitarian interventions.

## Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect

In April 1992, then UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, established the Department of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA) and appointed an Emergency Relief Co-ordinator to head the new department, with offices in New York and Geneva. With the creation of the DHA, the UN’s disparate complex emergency responsibilities and its natural disaster structures were brought under a common entity within its secretariat. The mid-1990s were particularly challenging for the international humanitarian system with the emergence of the complex crises in Somalia (1993) and Rwanda (1994). As part of UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan’s reform programme in 1998, the DHA was reorganised into the Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs and its mandate was streamlined to include three core elements: the co-ordination of humanitarian response; policy development; and humanitarian advocacy. OCHA in New York has since been active in overseeing the implementation of intervention strategies in Africa and elsewhere.<sup>41</sup>

OCHA’s mandate is to co-ordinate international efforts to respond to complex emergencies.<sup>42</sup> At the field level, the emergence of integrated UN missions<sup>43</sup> has met with much criticism from some of OCHA’s humanitarian partners, particularly non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The prevailing view is that a completely integrated mission will undermine OCHA’s impartiality and neutrality in dealing with complex emergency situations. OCHA recognises the importance of integrated missions in ensuring post-conflict transitions. However, a model in which humanitarian programming is seen as an important political tool of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the field should be avoided. In addition, OCHA should not be absorbed into peacekeeping missions when humanitarian issues still need to be addressed independently of political interference. Ongoing security challenges in Côte d’Ivoire and Somalia suggest that OCHA will continue to play an important role in stabilising conflicts in Africa.

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40 Francis Deng, ‘The Evolution of Sovereignty as Responsibility’, paper commissioned for the CCR volume, *The United Nations and Africa* (forthcoming).

41 Ahunna Eziakonwa, ‘The Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)’, paper presented at the CCR/FES seminar, ‘The United Nations’ Role in Africa: 1945-2005’, Maputo, Mozambique, 14-16 December 2006.

42 A complex emergency is defined as a multifaceted humanitarian crisis in a country, region or society where there is total or considerable breakdown of authority resulting from internal or external conflict and which requires a multi-sectoral, international response that goes beyond the mandate or capacity of any single agency and/or the ongoing UN country programmes.

43 Integrated missions are designed to streamline UN peace support processes and to ensure that the objectives of all UN actors are channelled towards a common goal. Its application has varied from country to country. In Liberia, OCHA was absorbed into the mission structure, whereas in Sierra Leone, the DRC, Côte d’Ivoire, Burundi and Sudan, OCHA remained separate and independent of the mission but reported to the Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General, who is typically also the UN Humanitarian Co-ordinator.

## 4. Peacemaking, Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding: the UN's Role in Africa

**Former Egyptian UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's 1992 *An Agenda for Peace* argued for proactive peacemaking and humanitarian interventions in the world's trouble spots.<sup>44</sup>**

The report outlined suggestions for enabling inter-governmental organisations to respond quickly and effectively to threats to international peace and security in the post-Cold War era. In particular, four major areas of activity were identified: preventive diplomacy; peacemaking; peacekeeping; and post-conflict peacebuilding.

### Peacemaking

Peacemaking represents "action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations".<sup>45</sup> The UN Department for Political Affairs is responsible for conducting peacemaking and preventive diplomacy. As the Cold War drew to a close in 1989, new opportunities emerged for negotiating peace agreements. A number of conflicts were brought to an end, either through direct UN mediation, or through the efforts of other third parties acting with the support of the UN.<sup>46</sup> This included disputes in Namibia, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Burundi, and, more recently, the North-South conflict in Sudan. In addition, a number of potential disputes have been defused through preventive diplomacy and other institutional conflict resolution processes, notably the Bakassi Peninsula dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon in 2002.

Today, peacemaking challenges in Africa include internal disputes in Côte d'Ivoire, Western Sahara, Somalia, and Sudan. In addition, there have also been inter-state tensions between Ethiopia and Eritrea. As a result, African conflicts continue to require the active engagement of the UN. Experiences from Africa demonstrate that, in some instances, the UN has been best positioned to mediate, and in others, the AU and/or RECs have taken the lead. In the African context, peacemaking interventions have revealed the actions of various actors that may undermine peace processes.<sup>47</sup>

For example, in Côte d'Ivoire, the former colonial power, France, acted in ways that were seen by some to have undermined the efforts of ECOWAS and the AU's Chief Mediator, South African President, Thabo Mbeki. The 2003 Linas-Marcoussi agreement brokered by France was not widely accepted by the parties to the dispute,<sup>48</sup> and did not properly involve key regional actors such as Ghana, Nigeria and Burkina Faso. Similarly, experiences from Ethiopia/Eritrea and Western Sahara have demonstrated that the selective implementation of peace agreements often undermine UN peacekeeping efforts.

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<sup>44</sup> Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace*, paragraph 20.

<sup>45</sup> Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace*, paragraph 20.

<sup>46</sup> See Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall (eds), *Taming Intractable Conflict: Mediating in the Hardest Cases* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute for Peace, 2004); Marrack Goulding, *Peacemonger* (London: John Murray, 2002); and James O.C. Jonah, *What Price the Survival of the United Nations? Memoirs of a Veteran International Civil Servant* (Ibadan: Evans Brothers, 2006).

<sup>47</sup> Centre for Conflict Resolution, *United Nations Mediation Experience in Africa*, seminar report, Cape Town, South Africa, 16 and 17 October 2006 (available at <http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za>).

<sup>48</sup> Adekeye Adebajo, "Pretoria, Paris, and the Crisis in Côte d'Ivoire", *Global Dialogue*, Vol. 11/2 September 2006, pp.20-22, and p.36.

## Peacekeeping

The most prominent UN presence in Africa has been through its peacekeeping missions since 1956. Since the era of decolonisation from the 1950s, Africa has been ravaged by a series of conflicts. The Suez Canal crisis of 1956 saw the creation of the world's first-ever peacekeeping mission. The Congo crisis of 1960 to 1964 also led to the deployment of the largest and most complex UN mission at the time with 20,000 troops. The UN has seen relative peacekeeping success in Namibia and Mozambique, and, eventually, Sierra Leone. Disasters also occurred, most notably in Somalia (1993) and Rwanda (1994).

The Brahimi Report on UN peacekeeping of August 2000 (named after Algerian UN Special Envoy, Lakhdar Brahimi) recognised the need to improve collaboration between the UN and Africa's regional organisations. Greater efforts must also be made to support a stronger relationship between the UN and regional organisations and to consider linking regional peacekeeping capacities to the UN peacekeeping system.<sup>49</sup> The UN is currently conducting challenging peacekeeping missions in Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Ethiopia/Eritrea, Sudan, the DRC, and Western Sahara.



**TOP:** Dr Adekeye Adebajo, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, *left*; Professor Margaret Vogt, UN Department for Political Affairs, New York  
**ABOVE:** Professor Gilbert Khadiagala, Independent Consultant, Virginia, *left*; Ambassador Kunle Adeyemi, UN Mission in the Central African Republic, Lagos  
**RIGHT:** Dr Chris Landsberg, Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg

49 Centre for Conflict Resolution, *A More Secure Continent: African Perspectives on the UN High-Level Panel Report*, seminar report, Cape Town, South Africa, 23 and 24 April 2005 (available at <http://ccrweb.uct.ac.za>; accessed 26 July 2006), p.25.



## Peacekeeping in North Africa

The concept of UN peacekeeping emerged from the UN Truce Supervision Organisation (UNTSO) created in Palestine in May 1948 to supervise the truce arranged by the UN Security Council at the cessation of hostilities between Arab nations and Israel. The term “peacekeeping” entered the international lexicon soon thereafter, after the eruption of the Suez Canal crisis in 1956 involving Egypt and Israel, the latter backed by France and Britain. The UN Emergency Force (UNEF), established as a response to the Suez crisis, provided a model example of rapid deployment – especially impressive, given that the creation of UNEF was the first peacekeeping operation and was conceived not as a peace enforcement operation, as envisaged in Article 42 of the UN Charter,<sup>50</sup> but as a force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities between two parties. In

Since the era of decolonisation from the 1950s, Africa has been ravaged by a series of conflicts; the most prominent UN presence in Africa has been through its peacekeeping missions since 1956.

Western Sahara, the UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) has been present in the territory since April 1991, observing a ceasefire between the government of Morocco and the *Frente Popular para la Liberacion de Saguia el Hamra y Rio de Oro* (Frente POLISARIO).<sup>51</sup> To date, this UN peacekeeping mission has been successful in maintaining a ceasefire in the region, which has been occupied by Morocco since 1975. However, the Moroccan government, backed by France and the US, has continued to stall over the date of a referendum to determine the wishes of the people of Western Sahara.

## Peacekeeping in the Great Lakes Region

In the Great Lakes region, UN peacekeeping efforts in the Congo between 1960 and 1964 laid the foundation for more contemporary UN peacekeeping efforts in Africa. The Congo intervention, however, demonstrated that peacekeeping interventions would perennially be affected by a lack of political will, of resources, and an absence of clarity on the question of mandates.<sup>52</sup> More recent UN peacekeeping missions in Burundi and the DRC between 1999 and 2007 demonstrate that these tensions still persist.<sup>53</sup> In terms of collaboration with regional organisations, the UN was at first reluctant to establish a peacekeeping operation in Burundi while there was the potential for a relapse into conflict. The AU therefore established a mission in Burundi (AMIB) in 2003 under South African leadership and also involving troops from Ethiopia and Mozambique. AMIB's role was vital in creating conditions through which peace, albeit a fragile one, could be built in the country. Throughout its period of operation, AMIB succeeded in de-escalating a potentially volatile situation. In February 2004, a UN evaluation team concluded that the conditions were appropriate to establish a UN peacekeeping operation in the country. Following a UN Security Council decision to deploy a peacekeeping mission to Burundi in May

50 United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations website (available at [www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\\_mission/uneffbackgr2.html#five](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/uneffbackgr2.html#five); accessed 21 March 2007).

51 United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations website (available at [www.un.org/depts/dpko/missions/minurso](http://www.un.org/depts/dpko/missions/minurso); accessed 21 March 2007).

52 Gilbert Khadiagala, “UN Peacekeeping in the Great Lakes Region: the DRC, Rwanda, and Burundi”, paper presented at the CCR/FES seminar, “The United Nations’ Role in Africa: 1945-2005”, Maputo, Mozambique, 14-16 December 2006.

53 See Devon Curtis, “South Africa: ‘Exporting Peace to the Great Lakes Region?’”, in Adekeye Adebajo, Adebayo Adedeji and Chris Landsberg (eds.), *South Africa in Africa: The Post-Apartheid Era* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2007), pp.253-273.

2004, then UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan appointed a Special Representative, Berhanu Dinka, to head the mission in June 2004. The former AMIB troops were incorporated into the UN Peace Operation in Burundi (ONUB). By November 2006, some 20,000 Burundian military personnel had been demobilised, but many lacked economic opportunities and thus still pose a potential security threat.<sup>54</sup> It is too early to conclude whether the foundations for peacebuilding laid by both AMIB and ONUB will be sustained. The UN terminated its operations in Burundi in 2006, after which a UN Integrated Office in Burundi (BINUB) was established to co-ordinate international assistance.

The conflict in the DRC between 1998 and 2000 further destabilised an already volatile region.<sup>55</sup> SADC embarked on diplomatic efforts to end the conflict that led to the Lusaka peace agreement of July 1999. Since the implementation of the Lusaka agreement depended on international commitments, the UN Security Council passed resolution 1279 in November 1999 establishing the UN Mission in the Congo (MONUC) with three principal objectives: implementation and monitoring of the ceasefire envisaged under the Lusaka agreement; disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration (DDR) of combatants; and facilitating the transition towards the organisation of credible elections. MONUC was authorised to use force to protect civilians under the imminent threat of physical violence, and to contribute to the improvement of the security situation in the country. Initially, UN member states were slow in the deployment of a viable MONUC presence. However, the European troika of France, Belgium, and Britain, as well as the US, eventually supported the mission's deployment. By the time of the Congolese elections in July 2006, MONUC was the largest UN peacekeeping force in the world with about 17,000 peacekeepers. MONUC mobilised resources to conduct the elections efficiently and transparently, assisted by the European Union (EU) and other international actions.

## Peacekeeping in West Africa

In the case of West Africa, 15 years after the end of the Cold War, the Security Council authorised the deployment of about 40,000 troops to Sierra Leone (1999), Liberia (2003), and Côte d'Ivoire (2004), with a mandate initially to observe, and later, to keep and maintain peace in conflict situations where the political will to sustain such interventions was questionable.<sup>56</sup> In the case of Sierra Leone, the UN's experiences were defined by differences of approach between the UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) and Britain – Sierra Leone's former colonial power – in how to address the conflict. The struggle between London and sub-regional hegemon Nigeria – which had led an ECOWAS mission in the country between 1997 and 1999 – for control in mediating the dispute, also had a negative impact on UNAMSIL's effectiveness. In addition, there were internal divisions within UNAMSIL on how to manage the conflict. French interests in managing the dispute also affected the UN peacekeeping mission in Côte d'Ivoire. The UN's experience of peacekeeping in West Africa demonstrates the tensions as well as the potential involved in establishing a powerful partnership between UN actors and regional organisations in Africa.<sup>57</sup>

54 Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR)/Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) seminar report on *African Perspectives on the UN Peacebuilding Commission*, Maputo, Mozambique, 3 and 4 August 2006 (available at <http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za>).

55 Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, 'Civil War, Peacekeeping, and the Great Lakes Region', in Ricardo Laremont (ed.), *The Causes of War and the Consequences of Peacekeeping* (London: Heinemann, 2002), pp. 91-115; and Ola Olsson and Heather Congdon Fors, 'Congo: The Prize of Predation', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 41 (2004), pp. 321-36.

56 Of the observer missions, 368 military observers were authorised to be redeployed to Liberia (UNOMIL) and 192 to Sierra Leone (United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone, UNOMSIL). In terms of peacekeeping missions, the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone grew from 6,000 (1999) to 20,000; the United Nations Mission in Liberia totalled 15,000, and the United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire had 9,183 total uniformed personnel in 2007.

57 Comfort Ero, 'Elite States, Sub-regional Actors and the Dynamic of Partnership in UN Peace Processes in West Africa', paper presented at the CCR/FES seminar, 'The United Nations' Role in Africa: 1945-2005', p.1.

## Peacekeeping in Southern Africa

UN peacekeeping operations in Namibia (1989-1990) and Mozambique (1992-1994), which were relatively successful, differed from Angola (1992-1999), where the intervention was more complex and protracted.<sup>58</sup> In Namibia and Mozambique, the UN intervened in the aftermath of long conflicts and laid the foundations for a democratic order. In Namibia, the UN peace operation had to work with an apartheid South African administration that remained in place until the country's own independence in 1994. The UN did not play a major role in demobilising and then integrating rebel forces in Namibia, as it attempted to do in Angola and Mozambique, where it had to deal with an independent government and an armed opposition.

In Mozambique, the UN benefited from the fact that generous donors – Italy, Portugal, France, Britain and the US – provided the necessary funds for the election that led to the establishment of a democratic order in 1994.<sup>59</sup> In Angola, by contrast, three of the four UN missions sent to that war-torn country between 1992 and 1999 failed to secure peace and to arrange a successful democratic transition. By the time the last of the missions had left Angola in February 1999, the country was still at war.<sup>60</sup> In the Angolan case, the UN was never able to get the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) to demobilise effectively, and the conflict ended only with the death of UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi in 2002.

## Peacekeeping in the Horn of Africa

Peacekeeping experiences on the Horn of Africa demonstrate that the UN needs to adapt a longer-term strategy to underpin its peacekeeping operations.<sup>61</sup> In Somalia (1992-1993), Ethiopia/Eritrea (2000 - ) and Sudan (2005 - ), the UN had to demilitarise, or “civilianise”, national and inter-clan politics to ensure effective demobilisation. In the case of Somalia and South Sudan, the world body would have been well advised to involve the community and clan leaders in peacekeeping efforts and to limit itself to monitoring confidence-building measures. Ultimately, these three peacekeeping missions on the Horn of Africa suggest that the UN needs to adopt a common framework to provide a blueprint for conflict-related interventions in Africa. The UN should also foster co-operation among state actors and regional security arrangements such as IGAD. In August 2007, the UN Security Council authorised a 26,000-strong UN/AU hybrid force to maintain peace in Sudan's troubled Darfur region, in which an estimated 200,000 people had been killed since 2003.

**RIGHT:** Mr David Monyae, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg  
**CENTRE:** Dr Musifiky Mwanasali, UN Department for Political Affairs, New York, *right*; Dr Chris Landsberg, Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg  
**FAR RIGHT:** Commissioner Leon Levy, Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration, Cape Town



58 Chris Saunders, 'Peacekeeping in Southern Africa: Namibia, Mozambique and Angola', paper presented at the CCR/FES seminar, 'The United Nations' Role in Africa: 1945-2005', p.1.

59 Dennis C. Jett, *Why Peacekeeping Fails* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), p.110.

60 A small UN presence remained in Luanda after the end of the UN Mission in Angola (MONUA), mainly for humanitarian purposes.

61 Medhane Tadesse, 'UN Peacekeeping in the Horn of Africa: Problems and Prospects', paper presented at the CCR/FES seminar, 'The United Nations' Role in Africa: 1945-2005', p.1.

## Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding is defined as the medium to long-term process of rebuilding war-affected communities through identifying and supporting structures to consolidate peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.<sup>62</sup> Peacebuilding currently includes the process of rebuilding the political, security, social, and economic dimensions of societies emerging from conflict. This includes addressing the root causes of conflicts and promoting social and economic justice, as well as putting in place political structures of governance and the rule of law in order to consolidate reconciliation, reconstruction and development. Peacebuilding further involves demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration, as well as security sector reform.

It is critical to ensure the UN's commitment to peacebuilding in Africa since there are currently ten key war-affected and post-conflict countries on the continent, including Angola, Burundi, CAR, Côte d'Ivoire, the DRC, Liberia, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Sudan, and Western Sahara. The UN General Assembly Outcome Document of September 2005 established the Peacebuilding Commission,<sup>63</sup> which was launched in June 2006, with the selection of a 31-member Organisational Committee.<sup>64</sup> During the debates leading up to the creation of the Commission, several countries voiced fears of an infringement on their sovereignty by more powerful states if the Commission was given a conflict prevention or preventive diplomacy role.<sup>65</sup> The expectation is therefore that the Commission will focus more on post-conflict peacebuilding than conflict prevention. The Commission will "bring together all relevant actors to advise on and propose integrated strategies for post-conflict peacebuilding and recovery".<sup>66</sup> More specifically, its mandate encompasses three broad areas:

- First, to promote post-conflict peacebuilding and recovery through bringing together the relevant actors both within and outside the UN to devise strategies and to identify the resources necessary to promote post-conflict reconstruction;
- Second, to help bridge the gap between the immediate post-conflict phase and sustainable peace through identifying the public institutions necessary to support recovery and economic development efforts; and
- Third, to provide a monitoring and review function to help co-ordinate information-sharing among all concerned parties.<sup>67</sup>

The body consists of a core 31-member Organisational Committee, to which seven African countries – Tanzania, Angola, Nigeria, Ghana, Burundi, Egypt and Guinea-Bissau – were elected in May 2006. The Permanent Representative of Angola to the UN, Ismael Gaspar Martins, was elected as chair of the Organisational Committee. To facilitate its activities, the Commission is assisted by a Peacebuilding Support Office based at the UN secretariat in New York. The office is helping to co-ordinate the work of UN agencies involved in peacebuilding. The Support Office, headed by the Canadian former UN Special Representative in Burundi, Carolyn McAskie, is to be reinforced by a Peacebuilding Fund.

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62 Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace*.

63 United Nations General Assembly, *Outcome Document*, 14 September 2005.

64 United Nations General Assembly, *The Peacebuilding Commission*, A/60/L.40, New York: United Nations, 20 December 2005. The 31 members are: Angola, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brazil, Burundi, Chile, China, Croatia, Denmark, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Fiji, Germany, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, India, Indonesia, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Russia, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

65 African Union, *The Common African Position on the Proposed Reform of the United Nations: The Ezulwini Consensus*, Seventh Extraordinary Session of the Executive Council, Ext/EC.CL/2 (VII), Addis Ababa: African Union, 7 and 8 March 2005.

66 United Nations General Assembly Resolution, *Outcome Document*, 14 September 2005, paragraph 97.

67 United Nations General Assembly, *The Peacebuilding Commission*, A/60/L.40, New York: United Nations, 20 December 2005.



From left: Ms Angela Ndinga-Muvumba, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town; Ms Ahunna Eziakonwa, UN Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs, New York; Professor Margaret Vogt, UN Department for Political Affairs, New York

The Commission has also been tasked with a monitoring and review function. The role of the new body will be to help prevent violence from recurring through effective post-conflict peacebuilding and reconstruction.<sup>68</sup> The creation of the Commission thus provides the international system with a unique opportunity to establish a network of institutions, mechanisms and processes which can guide, plan, monitor and evaluate post-conflict reconstruction efforts. The challenge, as always, is one of transforming these policies into coherent and practical strategies on the ground. The Commission's core work will be its country-specific meetings of the Organisational Committee. The country-specific meetings will include:

- Representatives from the country under consideration;
- Countries in the region engaged in the post-conflict process;
- Other countries involved in relief efforts and/or political dialogue, as well as relevant regional and sub-regional organisations;
- The major financial, troop and civilian police contributors involved in the recovery effort;
- The senior UN representative in the field and other relevant UN representatives; and
- Regional and international financial institutions such as the African Development Bank (ADB), the World Bank and the IMF.<sup>69</sup>

The first country-specific meetings on Sierra Leone and Burundi in October 2006 operationalised the activities of the Peacebuilding Commission. Both countries requested the meetings.<sup>70</sup> The sessions addressed the priorities and potential obstacles in the peacebuilding processes in Sierra Leone and Burundi. Ultimately, the value of the Commission, particularly to Africa, lies in its ability to bring with it the institutional memory and lessons learned from previous peacebuilding efforts over the last 15 years. The Commission should strive to focus the attention of the international community on peacebuilding and build strong partnerships with regional organisations like the AU, ECOWAS, IGAD, and SADC. Concerns have, however, been expressed about the lack of sustained funding (contributions are voluntary) for the Commission, as well as the UN's historically poor peacebuilding record in Africa.

68 Guicherd, "Picking up the Pieces", p.3.

69 UN, *Outcome Document*, 14 September 2005, paragraph 100.

70 "Responsibility to Protect: Engaging Civil Society (R2PCS)", *Peacebuilding Commission: Country-Specific Meeting - Sierra Leone*, relevant highlights recorded by R2PCS, Economic and Social Council Chamber, United Nations, New York, 12 October 2006.

## 5. The UN and Africa's Regional Organisations

**African regional and sub-regional organisations such as the AU, SADC, ECOWAS, and IGAD have been at the vanguard of setting new norms on international engagement in African conflict situations.<sup>71</sup> (The Arab Maghreb Union and the Economic Community of Central African States have been less active in the security field.) In August 1990, ECOWAS intervened in Liberia to stop the fighting in Monrovia and to end the devastating attacks on the country's civilian population.**

The UN Security Council did not respond in a timely manner, with several of its members arguing that they lacked the authority to intervene in an internal security situation.<sup>72</sup> A pioneering decision was made by ECOWAS to launch an intervention force known as the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) into Liberia. ECOWAS was supported by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), whose Secretary-General, Salim Ahmed Salim, participated in most ECOWAS deliberations and was actively involved in the decision-making processes.

The ECOWAS/OAU initiative was later endorsed by the UN, but the larger part of the cost of this exercise was borne by the regional states, particularly Nigeria and Ghana. ECOMOG's efforts in Liberia between 1990 and 1998, and subsequently in Sierra Leone between 1997 and 1999, coupled with the failure of the UN to act during the Rwandan genocide of 1994, reinforced the point that Africa's institutions needed to be more proactive in resolving regional disputes. Africa's RECs – ECOWAS, IGAD and SADC – and the AU are developing their own mechanisms for conflict management to be able to address security emergencies on the continent. However, Africa's regional institutions have weak institutional capacities, and the UN must continue to play a leading role in managing conflicts on the continent. The process of "re-hatting" regional forces with a UN mandate is gaining currency, as evidenced by peacebuilding missions in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Burundi.<sup>73</sup> The Brahimi Report of 2000 had recommended burden-sharing between the UN and regional organisations. More recently, the UN reform process of 2005 also made similar calls for the UN to strengthen the capacity of Africa's regional organisations through a ten-year programme.

### Institutional Co-operation: The UN and the AU

Within the framework of Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, the world body established a broad programme of collaboration and co-operation with regional organisations as it seeks to tackle issues of global peace and security. The UN established its first liaison office with a regional organisation at the OAU secretariat in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 1998, with the objective of enhancing information exchange and to co-ordinate UN support to the organisation more effectively in the area of conflict management. The UN Office to the OAU/AU headquarters in Addis Ababa was established following the exchange of a Memorandum of Understanding. This office has, over the years, provided a platform for the co-ordination of the UN's response to the demand of the

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71 Margaret Vogt, 'The UN and Africa's Regional Organisations: Defining the Agenda for International Security Management', paper presented at the CCR/FES seminar, 'The United Nations' Role in Africa: 1945-2005', p.1.

72 See James O.C. Jonah, 'The United Nations', in Adekeye Adebajo and Ismail Rashid (eds.), *West Africa's Security Challenges: Building Peace in a Troubled Region*, (London and Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004), pp.313-347.

73 Vogt, 'The UN and Africa's Regional Organisations', p.5.

OAU/AU for information and technical assistance.<sup>74</sup> Former UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, and the Chairperson of the African Union Commission, Alpha Oumar Konare, signed a declaration on UN-AU collaboration entitled “Enhancing UN-AU Co-operation: Framework for the Ten-Year Capacity Building Programme for the African Union” in Addis Ababa in November 2006.<sup>75</sup> This declaration was drafted following extensive consultations between the AU Commission and UN agencies and departments, including the UN Economic Commission for Africa; the UNDP; the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO); the Office of the Special Adviser for Africa; and other UN representatives at the AU.



**ABOVE:** The seminar, The United Nations and Africa, in session

**FAR LEFT:** Ms Ahunna Eziakonwa, UN Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs, New York

**CENTRE:** Dr Comfort Ero, UN Mission in Liberia, Monrovia

**LEFT:** Prof Chris Saunders, University of Cape Town, Cape Town

<sup>74</sup> Vogt, “The UN and Africa’s Regional Organisations”, p.II.

<sup>75</sup> United Nations and African Union, *Enhancing UN-AU Cooperation: Framework for the Ten-Year Capacity Building Programme for the African Union*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 16 November 2006.

## 6. The UN's Socio-economic Development, Humanitarian and Governance Roles in Africa

**Most of the UN's socio-economic and humanitarian efforts are located in Africa and the continent is the largest recipient of humanitarian assistance as a result of natural disasters, conflict, and an inequitable global economic order.**

The end of the Cold War in 1989 saw a series of humanitarian crises and civil wars in Africa; a growth in the number of refugees fleeing conflict situations; the spread of HIV/AIDS; and increased disparities between the world's richest and poorest inhabitants. The term "human security" was popularised through a UN Human Development Report of 1994 and is characterised as encompassing "economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security."<sup>76</sup> Thus, the concept of human security recognises the right of individuals to human dignity, and consequently identifies the different social, economic, and cultural rights necessary to ensure human dignity.

Due to the broad mandate given to the UN by its Charter, an array of specialised agencies have been established or have become part of the UN system. Organs such as the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) have been striving to deliver the basic conditions for development, with a focus on the promotion of gender parity and an emphasis on the well-being of children around the world. The UN system has also broadened its areas of focus to include the environment – through the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) – as well as education, science, and culture, through the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).

The Paris-based UNESCO has undertaken important studies, such as the documentation of African history, and established academic positions within Africa to promote the scientific and cultural development of the continent. The Nairobi-based UNEP is one of the few specialised UN agencies with its international headquarters in Africa. UNEP was established in 1972 to administer environmentally-related development projects and to act as the "environmental conscience" of the world. Over the years, the mandate of the organisation has expanded through the Malmö Ministerial Declaration and the UN Millennium Declaration, both passed in 2000, when "deep concern" was expressed that "the environment and the natural resource base that supports life on Earth continue to deteriorate at an alarming rate". The role of the agency was further strengthened through the recommendations made on international environmental governance at the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development and the 2005 UN Summit.<sup>77</sup> The reality of current conflicts has created a series of humanitarian challenges for the UN, and resulted in the establishment of a number of bodies to address them. Since the UN's creation in 1945, there have been increasingly vocal campaigns for the recognition of gender issues as governance concerns. The Commission on the Status of Women was established in 1946. However, only with the 1975 Decade of Women did the world body start to consider the

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76 See the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Human Development Report 1994: New Dimensions of Human Security, Human Development Report 1994, UNDP (available at <http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/1994/en/>; accessed 24 March 2006).

77 See Asgedeh Chirmazion, "The Role of the UN Environment Programme (UNEP), 1972-2006", paper submitted for the CCR/FES policy seminar on "The United Nations' Role in Africa: 1945-2005", Maputo, 14-16 December 2006.



issue of gender seriously.<sup>78</sup> UNIFEM was created the following year, 1976, to help improve the living standards of women in developing countries and to address their concerns.<sup>79</sup> Key advancements have since been made such as the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which established a standard definition of discrimination against women and a framework to encourage countries to develop and implement an agenda for national action to end such discrimination. The UN's emphasis on the role of women in conflict and peacebuilding was further strengthened through the passage of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on gender and security in 2000.<sup>80</sup> UNIFEM has focused its activities in four main areas:

- The reduction of feminised poverty;
- Curbing violence against women;
- Reversing the spread of HIV/AIDS among women and girls; and
- Achieving gender equality in democratic governance in times of peace as well as in war.<sup>81</sup>

The UN system has...broadened its areas of focus to include the environment – through the UN Environment Programme – as well as education, science, and culture, through the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

Nonetheless, the organisation is severely under-resourced – UNIFEM's 2006 current budget stood at \$65 million, compared with UNDP's \$500 million and UNICEF's \$2 billion.<sup>82</sup> While issues such as sexual and domestic violence have received greater public awareness, UN initiatives must be maintained and advanced through strategic partnerships between governments, civil society, and international organisations, as well as through a focus on multi-sectoral approaches.<sup>83</sup>

UNICEF was created in 1946 in order to provide emergency relief assistance to children in post-war Europe and China. The agency has since evolved to become an institution dedicated exclusively to the needs of children across the developing world.<sup>84</sup> UNICEF currently has five main areas of focus:

- Child survival and development;
- Education and gender equality;
- The protection of children from violence, exploitation and abuse;
- HIV/AIDS and children; and
- Policy advocacy and partnerships for children's rights.

78 Josephine Odera, 'Responding to the 'Gender Agenda': UN Mechanisms to promote Women's Empowerment and Rights', paper submitted for the CCR/FES policy seminar on 'The United Nations' Role in Africa: 1945-2005', Maputo, Mozambique, 14-16 December 2006, p.1.

79 The Voluntary Fund for the UN Decade for Women was renamed the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) in 1984.

80 Centre for Conflict Resolution and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), *Women and Peacebuilding in Africa*, seminar report, Cape Town, South Africa, 27 and 28 October 2005 (available at <http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za/>).

81 Odera, 'Responding to the 'Gender Agenda'.

82 Odera, 'Responding to the 'Gender Agenda'.

83 Odera, 'Responding to the 'Gender Agenda'.

84 'Funmi Olonisakin, 'The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the UN Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict (SRSG-CAAC)', paper presented at the CCR/FES policy seminar on 'The United Nations' Role in Africa: 1945-2005', Maputo, Mozambique, 14-16 December 2006, p.2.

The importance of both UNICEF and the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (OSRSG) to Africa is clear, considering the prevalence of voluntary and forced child soldiers who have been active in a series of armed conflicts from Liberia to the Congo. In 2007, Africa had the largest number of child soldiers, with up to 200,000 children believed to have been involved in conflicts in Burundi, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, DRC, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda.<sup>85</sup>

Furthermore, although war impacts dramatically on children's health and education, DDR programmes have often failed to include child combatants. Girls are frequently sexually abused and exploited by international actors – peacekeepers and aid workers – who are supposed to protect them, as seen in Sierra Leone in 2003 and the DRC in 2004.<sup>86</sup> While the UN has tried to redress these problems, much still remains to be done. The mandate of the OSRSG for Children Affected by Armed Conflict (CAAC) is mandated to monitor and ensure that the concerns of children in situations of war are prioritised with regard to international human rights, peace and security, and development agendas. This task could not be undertaken solely by UNICEF. The OSRSG thus acted as a focal point within the UN secretariat to focus advocacy on behalf of CAAC. The office is relatively small, with a maximum of 20 staff members.<sup>87</sup>

The OSRSG led the global campaign to promote the CAAC agenda. Having made CAAC a UN peace and security concern, the office mobilised the UN Security Council explicitly to incorporate the protection of children into peace operation mandates, starting with the UN Mission in Sierra Leone in 1999. Subsequently, Child Protection Advisers (CPAs) were deployed as required. The first CPA was deployed to UNAMSIL in early



**LEFT:** Ms Mpumi Motlafi, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town  
**TOP:** Professor Tunde Zack-Williams, University of Central Lancashire, Preston United Kingdom  
**ABOVE:** Mr Tor Sellstrom, African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes, Durban, left; Dr Robert Okello, UN Economic Commission for Africa, Addis Ababa

<sup>85</sup> Human Rights Watch, "Child Soldiers" (available at <http://hrw.org/campaigns/crp/index.htm> ; accessed 4 April 2007).

<sup>86</sup> Olonisakin, "The United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef)", p.15.

<sup>87</sup> Olonisakin, "The United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef)", p.15.

2000. Since then, CPAs have been deployed in seven other peace operations. These include MONUC in the DRC, the UN Mission in Angola (UNMA), the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (ONUCI), the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), ONUB in Burundi, and the UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS).<sup>88</sup>

Unfortunately, during the tenure of the first SRSG in this office, Olara Otunnu (1997-2005), inter-agency competition between the OSRSG and UNICEF emerged. Personality clashes developed between Carol Bellamy, the Executive Secretary of UNICEF, and Otunnu. UNICEF was concerned over the duplication of its functions by the OSRSG, as well as the fact that the office appeared to her to be moving beyond its designated advocacy role. The OSRSG's mandated child protection role in peace operations was often viewed as being in direct competition with UNICEF's role, particularly in the field. Local child protection inter-agency synchronisation must therefore be established in order to ensure the successful protection of children during and after armed conflicts. Examples from UNAMSIL in Sierra Leone and the UN Mission in Angola have shown the advantage of field-based consultations that produce context-specific functions for different agencies, which ultimately benefited children in both countries.

FACT BOX

It is estimated that Africa currently has more than six million refugees and that there are more than 12,7 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) in 20 countries on the continent.

Refugees are another important human security challenge. It is estimated that Africa currently has more than six million refugees and that there are more than 12,7 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) in 20 countries on the continent.<sup>89</sup> The work of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which was established in 1950 to protect refugees, is therefore critical. Over the years, and particularly in the post-Cold War environment when the plight of refugees has become stark, UNHCR's mandate has expanded to include the protection of IDPs. UNHCR currently has missions in South Sudan, the Chad/Darfur region, and Kenya to assist and provide services to both IDPs and refugees. The organisation's work has been assisted by the Special Representative for IDPs who has devised international norms and standards for the protection of IDPs. While the UNHCR is not a development agency, its role often extends to facilitating the provision of development assistance. The body is responsible for the organisation of the often vast assistance necessary in the country of asylum, especially in protracted refugee situations such as in Chad.<sup>90</sup> Ensuring the goodwill of the host country is vital, especially considering the potential impact in areas such as the environment, infrastructure, and water supplies. UNHCR's future roles include the involvement of the country-specific Peacebuilding Commission in Sierra Leone and Burundi, respectively, through drawing attention to the need to repatriate and reintegrate returnees.<sup>91</sup>

Unfortunately, the UNHCR's work is often constrained by the conflict between the national interests of states and the need for refugee protection.<sup>92</sup> It is therefore necessary to address each refugee and IDP situation by

88 UNAMSIL and UNMA have since concluded their operations.

89 Francis Deng, 'The International Challenges of State Failure and Internal Displacement', in Adebajo and Scanlon (eds.), *A Dialogue of the Deaf*, p.113.

90 Augustine P. Mahiga, 'The Evolving Role of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees In Africa', paper submitted for the CCR/FES policy seminar on 'The United Nations' Role in Africa: 1945-2005', Maputo, Mozambique, 14-16 December 2006, p.27.

91 Mahiga, 'The Evolving Role of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees', p.2.

92 Mahiga, 'The Evolving Role of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees', p.26.

quickly identifying the specific political context in order to be able to respond effectively. In the countries of asylum, the UNHCR needs to address the adverse impact of refugees to crises on the environment, as well as the need to provide infrastructure facilities, water supplies, and administrative support services.

The related issue of health has gained much more prominence in Africa over the last few decades. The scourge of HIV/AIDS has decimated vast sections of Africa's population. According to the Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), 24 million Africans are infected with this disease, which represents 60 percent of the world total.

The epidemic is now considered to be a threat to security and development since a large number of African citizens in strategic sectors of society are falling prey to HIV/AIDS. This, in turn, has created a vacuum within societies that can potentially lead to the breakdown of the social fabric of communities.<sup>93</sup> The work of the World Health Organisation (WHO) and UNAIDS is therefore important in assisting African countries to deal with the disease, as well as other devastating illnesses such as malaria and tuberculosis.

The UN's approach to Africa's health crises has shifted significantly under the pressure of HIV/AIDS through the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, as well as UNAIDS. These UN organs have managed to raise the profile of the pandemic, particularly in Africa. As a result, the UN has contributed towards developing a much more institutionally coherent approach to dealing with the pandemic in Africa, and has, to a certain degree, succeeded in transforming HIV/AIDS from a public health crisis into an emergency that requires political action. The extent of the pandemic has required UN agencies to become involved in a variety of areas – from mitigation to advocacy and mobilisation of resources. Nonetheless, HIV/AIDS continues to spread unabated on the continent and it remains important to keep the pandemic at the forefront of health and security initiatives in Africa.<sup>94</sup> Finally, the UN reform process of 2005 did not endorse a substantive human rights agenda, though it did establish a Human Rights Council. The overt politicisation of the UN Commission for Human Rights led to its replacement by the Human Rights Council in 2005. The Commission had been established in 1948 to protect individual freedoms and human rights, but had become constrained by double standards and, as a result, ignored the atrocities that occurred in some countries. It was also accused of electing countries with poor human rights records.<sup>95</sup>

The AU reached a common position in response to Kofi Annan's report, *In Larger Freedom*, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in March 2005 and argued that measures were necessary to address the selective nature and politicisation of the agenda of the Human Rights Commission. African leaders further noted that any new body should pay as much attention to economic, social and cultural rights as it does to civil and political rights. However, the new Council's slow response on Darfur and other cases has led to accusations that the body is already divided on human rights issues and is putting the parochial political interests of its powerful and influential actors before the task of saving lives in Africa. Unless the Council overcomes the divisions that plagued the Commission, it is in danger of failing to fulfil its mandate. Still, the significance of the protection of human rights for Africa's long-term security and development has been gaining widespread recognition and the mandate and powers of the Council are thus priorities for actors on the continent.

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93 Nicolai Natrass, 'AIDS and Human Security in Southern Africa', Centre for Social Science Research Working Paper, No.18, November 2002, p.2 (available at <http://www.cssr.uct.ac.za/>).

94 Angela Ndinga-Muvumba, 'The United Nations and Health in Africa: HIV/AIDS as a Catalyst for Change', paper submitted for the CCR/FES policy seminar on 'The United Nations' Role in Africa: 1945-2005', Maputo, Mozambique, 14-16 December 2006.

95 See Helen Scanlon, 'The UN Human Rights Council: From Rights to Responsibility?', in Adebajo and Scanlon (eds.), *A Dialogue of the Deaf*, pp.131-146.

## The International Labour Organisation

The International Labour Organisation (ILO), established in 1919, became the first specialised agency to be affiliated to the United Nations in 1946 and brings together governments, employers, and workers. The ILO's governing body comprises 28 government members and 14 worker and employer members. This tripartite body's central goal is to "promote opportunities for women and men to obtain decent and productive work, in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity".<sup>96</sup> It therefore seeks to promote and regulate employment creation, to strengthen workers' rights, to improve social protection, and to provide relevant technical support. The ILO's work is arranged into four broad areas:

- Employment creation;
- Rights at work;
- Social Protection; and
- Social Dialogue.

The UN agency's role in Africa intensified in the post-colonial era and the ILO was particularly active in the fight against white rule in South Africa through its Special Committee Against Apartheid. The ILO currently operates at three levels on the continent: the national level, the sub-regional level, and the regional level. In particular, labour movements and workers' organisations in Africa have been nurtured by the ILO. Its promotion of "social dialogue" as a means of resolving emerging conflicts in the work environment is said by some to be closely aligned to indigenous conflict resolution techniques in Africa.<sup>97</sup>

Two recent events have determined the future direction of the ILO's role in Africa. The 1995 World Summit for Social Development proved to be a major advance in addressing the social consequences of economic reforms. The Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work of 1998 also committed member states to four key areas:

- Freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining;
- Elimination of forced and compulsory labour;
- Abolition of child labour; and
- Elimination of discrimination in the workplace.

The wave of democratisation in post-Cold War Africa has resulted in a reorientation in development strategies; a new focus on productive employment and the recognition of HIV/AIDS as a workplace issue; as well as potentially increased relevance for the ILO on the continent.

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96 Report by the Director-General for the International Labour Conference, 87th Session, 1999 (available at [http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/skills/hrdr/publ/017\\_2.htm](http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/skills/hrdr/publ/017_2.htm) ; accessed 6 August 2007).

97 Mary Chinery-Hesse, "The International Labour Organisation", paper submitted for CCR/FES policy seminar on "The United Nations' Role in Africa: 1945-2005", Maputo, Mozambique, 14-16 December 2006, p.3.

## The United Nations Development Programme

The United Nations Development Programme provides advice, training, and grant support to developing countries and is currently the largest source of development assistance in the world. The agency was founded in 1965 after the merger of the UN Expanded Technical Assistance Programme and the UN Special Fund. The UNDP has played an increasing role on the continent, is funded by voluntary contributions from member states, and currently has country offices in 166 countries, 45 of which are in Africa. The organisation's work is focused in five main areas:

- Democratic Governance;
- Poverty Reduction;
- Crisis Prevention and Recovery;
- Energy and Environment; and
- HIV/AIDS.

The UNDP's role in Africa is part of the larger role played by the UN in Africa's development. Numerous development experiments in Africa over the last 40 years have failed to address human development needs despite the UNDP having devoted more than 40 percent of its resources and activities to the continent.<sup>98</sup> The agency suffers from a number of institutional weaknesses, such as poor marketing of its programmes and a lack of capacity to ensure their realisation. Africa still needs the support of institutions like the UNDP, but the agency's future on the continent depends on its ability to overcome its weaknesses, and address its own institutional challenges.



**ABOVE:** Dr Musifiky Mwanasali, UN Department for Political Affairs, New York



**RIGHT:** Dr Helen Scanlon, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, left; Professor Margaret Vogt, UN Department for Political Affairs, New York

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98 Kankwenda Mbaya, "UNDP Development Partnership with Africa", paper submitted for CCR/FES policy seminar on "The United Nations' Role in Africa: 1945-2005", Maputo, Mozambique, 14-16 December 2006, p.II.

## 7. Conclusion

**The importance of the UN in Africa in the early 21st century is clear, since over 80 percent of its peacekeeping activities, 60 percent of the Security Council's debates and most of the UN's humanitarian work are currently based on the continent. Furthermore, the UN is working across the fields of peace, security, development, health, and trade in Africa.**

This report has assessed the role of UN institutions; the UN reform process; the UN's collaboration with regional organisations; peacekeeping case studies; and the work of specialised agencies in the last six decades. An analysis of the evolution of the UN's role in Africa shows that there have been benefits and losses to the continent in terms of its engagement with the world body. There is however, a symbiotic relationship between the UN and Africa.

The organisation has evolved substantially since 1945 in terms of both its capacity to set international norms and standards and its ability to undertake activities successfully in the peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding spheres. In the post-September 11 2001 era, it is clear that the prevailing global order has sought to redefine the meaning and role of the UN towards issues of terrorism and military security over that of development and human security issues. Africa needs to achieve an effective partnership with the UN and to transform the legacy of the past when the continent seemed more of a target for the institution's actions. To achieve this, Africa must continue to deliberate and set its own agenda about how it can strategically engage with, and re-orient the work of the UN in order to bring about peace, security and development on the continent.

## Policy Recommendations

Six key policy recommendations on the UN's role in Africa emerged from the Maputo seminar:

1. African governments must transform their relationship with the UN from one of paternalism to one of partnership through shaping agendas on issues relevant to the continent within the UN system and building strategic alliances within and outside the UN to ensure that these agendas are adopted;
- 2.. The UN must address its own institutional rivalries between its myriad agencies and departments, particularly in the field, as these divisions often undermine the synergy required to deliver the necessary protection and relief services to people on the ground in Africa;
3. African policymakers should strategically use the UN-AU Framework for the Ten-year Capacity Building Programme for the African Union, of 2006, to engage the UN more effectively to promote peace, security, governance and development in Africa;
- 4 The UN must work collaboratively with Africa's regional organisations to promote peace and security in Africa through initiatives on the UN stand-by arrangements and by defining a clear division of labour with, and providing UN funding to, regional organisations under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter;

5. The UN must commit sufficient political will and development resources to its peacemaking and peacekeeping interventions in Africa. In this regard, the UN's new Peacebuilding Commission should be used to mobilise international and domestic actors to support post-conflict peacebuilding efforts on the continent to ensure that countries such as Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Burundi do not slide back into conflict; and
6. Finally, there is a need to ensure the involvement of African civil society in the work of the UN and for civil society to be creative in securing its involvement in the world body's peace and development initiatives on the continent. Effective peace and development initiatives are sustained "from below", and institutional memory can be brought to the UN from Africa.



**ABOVE:** Participants of the seminar, The United Nations and Africa: Peace, Development, and Human Security, held at the Hotel Avenida, Maputo, Mozambique, from 14 - 16 December 2006

**FAR LEFT:** Ms Njeri Karuru, International Development Research Centre, Nairobi

**LEFT:** Professor Muna Ndulo, University of Cornell, New York



# Annex I

## Agenda

Day One: Thursday 14 December 2006

09h00 – 09h15 **Welcome and Opening**

Dr Adekeye Adebajo, Executive Director, Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), Cape Town

Dr Ulrich Golaszinski, Resident Representative, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Mozambique

09h15 – 10h45 **Session I: Key UN Organs and the Role of the Secretary-General**

Chair: Dr Kaire Mbuende, Permanent Representative of Namibia to the United Nations, New York

Speakers: Ambassador James Jonah, former UN Undersecretary-General for Political Affairs, New York, "The Security Council, the General Assembly and ECOSOC"

Dr Adekeye Adebajo, Executive Director, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, "Prophet, Pope, or Pharaoh? The Role of the UN Secretary-General"

10h45 – 11h00 Coffee Break

11h00 – 12h30 **Session II: UN Reform and the Peacebuilding Commission**

Chair: Dr Musifiky Mwanasali, Senior Political Affairs Officer, United Nations, New York

Speakers: Dr Chris Landsberg, Director, Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg, "Africa's Stake in UN Reform"

Dr Tim Murithi, Senior Researcher, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, "Operationalising the UN Peacebuilding Commission: The Case of Burundi and Sierra Leone"

12h30 – 13h30 Lunch

13h30 – 14h45 **Session III: Humanitarian Challenges and The Use of Force**

Chair: Ms Njeri Karuru, International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Nairobi

Speakers: Ms Ahunna Eziakonwa, Chief, Africa Section, UN Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs, New York, "UN Humanitarian Action in Africa: The Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs"

**Dr Musifiky Mwanasali**, Senior Political Affairs Officer, United Nations, New York, "Overheating Chapter VII? The Security Council and African Conflicts, 2000 – 2006"

14h45 – 15h00      Coffee Break

**15h00 – 16h15      Session IV: Africa's Regional Organisations and HIV/AIDS**

**Chair:**      **Ms Ahunna Eziakonwa**, Chief, Africa Section, UN Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs

**Speakers:**      **Professor Margaret Vogt**, Deputy Director, United Nations, New York, "The UN and Africa's Regional Organisations: Defining the Agenda for International Security Management"

**Ms Angela Ndinga-Muvumba**, Senior Researcher, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, "The United Nations and Health in Africa: HIV/AIDS as a Catalyst for Change"

16h15 – 16h30      Coffee Break

**16h30 – 18h00      Session V: Peacekeeping in West Africa and the Great Lakes Region**

**Chair:**      **Ambassador Kunle Adeyemi**, Former Senior Political Affairs Officer, United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic

**Speakers:**      **Dr Comfort Ero**, Political Affairs Officer, UN Mission in Liberia, Monrovia, "Elite States, Sub-regional Actors and the Dynamic of Partnership in UN Peace Processes in West Africa"

**Professor Gilbert Khadiagala**, Independent Consultant, Arlington, Virginia, "UN Peacekeeping in the Great Lakes: The DRC, Rwanda, and Burundi"

19h30      Dinner

**20h00      Launch of "Dialogue of the Deaf: Essays on Africa and the United Nations"**

**Chair:**      **H E Dr Kaire Mbuende**, Permanent Representative of Namibia to the United Nations, New York

**Speakers:**      **Dr Adekeye Adebajo**, Executive Director, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town

**Ambassador James Jonah**, Former UN Undersecretary-General for Political Affairs, New York

Dr Musifiky Mwanasali, Department of Political Affairs, United Nations, New York

Dr Helen Scanlon, Senior Researcher, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town

Day Two      Friday 15 December 2006

**09h00 – 10h45 Session VI: Peacekeeping in Southern Africa and the Horn of Africa**

**Chair:**      Mr Gerson Sangiza, Head of Defence Division, Southern African Development Community, Gaborone

**Speakers:**    Professor Chris Saunders, University of Cape Town, “UN Peacekeeping in Southern Africa: Namibia, Angola and Mozambique”

Dr Medhane Tadesse, Senior Researcher, Centre for Policy Research and Development, Addis Ababa, “UN Peacekeeping in the Horn of Africa: Problems and Prospects”

10h45 – 11h00      Coffee Break

**11h00 – 13h00 Session VII: Trade and Development**

**Chair:**      Mr Tor Sellstrom, Senior Advisor, African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), Durban

**Speakers:**    Dr Robert Okello, UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), Addis Ababa, “The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa’s Role in Promoting Regional Integration and Development”

Professor Tunde Zack-Williams, University of Central Lancashire, Preston, “The UN Conference on Trade and Development and Africa”

13h00 – 14h00      Lunch

**14h00 – 15h45 Session VIII: Human Rights and International Justice**

**Chair:**      Mr Leon Levy, Commissioner, Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration, Cape Town

**Speakers:**    Mr Cameron Jacobs, South African Human Rights Commission, Johannesburg, “The UN and Human Rights: From Commission to Council”

Professor Muna Ndulo, Cornell University, New York, “The International Court of Justice”

15h45 – 16h00 Coffee Break

**16h00 – 17h30 Session IX: How to produce an Academically-Rigorous and Policy-Relevant Book from the Seminar**

**Chair:** Dr Ulrich Golaszinski, Resident Representative, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Mozambique

**Speakers:** Mr Glenn Cowley, Publisher, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Scottsville

Dr Adekeye Adebajo, Executive Director, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town

Dr Tim Murithi, Senior Researcher, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town

**Day Three Saturday 16 December 2006**

**09h00 – 11h00 Session X: Children and Armed Conflict**

**Chair:** Ms Ethel Hamman, Horwath Zeller Karro, Cape Town

**Speaker:** Dr Funmi Olonisakin, Director, Conflict, Security and Development, King's College, London, "The UN Children's Fund, (UNICEF) and the UN Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict"

11h00 – 11h15 Coffee Break

11h15 – 11h30 Completion of Evaluation Forms

**11h30 – 12h30 Session XI: Rapporteurs Report and the Way Forward**

**Chair:** Professor Margaret Vogt, Deputy Director, United Nations, New York

**Speakers:** Dr Tim Murithi, Senior Researcher, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town

Dr Helen Scanlon, Senior Researcher, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town

12h30 Closing Lunch

## Annex II

### List of Participants

1. Dr Adekeye Adebajo  
Centre for Conflict Resolution  
Cape Town  
South Africa
2. Ambassador Kunle Adeyemi  
UN Mission in the Central African Republic  
Lagos  
Nigeria
3. Ms Denise Brettschneider  
Independent Consultant  
Mombasa  
Kenya
4. Mr Glenn Cowley  
University of KwaZulu-Natal Press  
Scottsville  
South Africa
5. Dr Comfort Ero  
UN Mission in Liberia  
Monrovia  
Liberia
6. Ms Ahunna Eziakonwa  
UN Office for the Co-ordination of  
Humanitarian Affairs  
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United States
7. Dr Ulrich Golaszinski  
Friedrich Ebert Stiftung  
Maputo  
Mozambique
8. Ms Ethel Hamman  
Horwath Zeller Karro Chartered  
Accountants (SA)  
Cape Town  
South Africa
9. Mr Cameron Jacobs  
South African Human Rights Commission  
Johannesburg  
South Africa
10. Ambassador James Jonah  
Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies  
New York  
United States
11. Ms Njeri Karuru  
International Development Research Centre  
Nairobi  
Kenya
12. Professor Gilbert Khadiagala  
Independent Consultant  
Virginia  
United States
13. H.E. Ms Maj-Inger Klingvall  
Ambassador of Sweden  
Maputo  
Mozambique
14. Dr Chris Landsberg  
Centre for Policy Studies  
Johannesburg  
South Africa

15. Commissioner Leon Levy  
Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration  
Cape Town  
South Africa
16. H.E. Ambassador Kaire Mbuende  
UN Permanent Representative of Namibia to the UN  
New York  
United States
17. Mr Kwezi Mngqibisa  
African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes  
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South Africa
18. Mr David Monyae  
University of the Witwatersrand  
Johannesburg  
South Africa
19. Dr Tim Murithi  
Centre for Conflict Resolution  
Cape Town  
South Africa
20. Dr Musifiky Mwanasali  
UN Department for Political Affairs  
New York  
United States
21. Ms Angela Ndinga-Muvumba  
Centre for Conflict Resolution  
Cape Town  
South Africa
22. Professor Muna Ndulo  
University of Cornell  
New York  
United States
23. Mr Heiko Nitzschke  
German Foreign Ministry  
Berlin  
Germany
24. Dr Robert Okello  
UN Economic Commission for Africa  
Addis Ababa  
Ethiopia
25. Dr Funmi Olonisakin  
King's College  
London  
United Kingdom
26. Ms Crystal Orderson  
South African Broadcasting Corporation  
Cape Town  
South Africa
27. Dr Nhamo Samasuwo  
Institute for Global Dialogue  
Johannesburg  
South Africa
28. Mr Gerson Sangiza  
Southern African Development Community  
Gaborone  
Botswana
29. Prof Chris Saunders  
University of Cape Town  
Cape Town  
South Africa
30. Dr Helen Scanlon  
Centre for Conflict Resolution  
Cape Town  
South Africa
31. Mr Tor Sellstrom  
African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes  
Durban  
South Africa

32. Dr Medhane Tadesse  
Centre for Policy Research and Dialogue  
Addis Ababa  
Ethiopia
33. Professor Margaret Vogt  
UN Department for Political Affairs  
New York  
United States
34. Professor Tunde Zack-Williams  
University of Central Lancashire  
Preston  
United Kingdom
35. Mr Tore Zetterberg  
Embassy of Sweden  
Maputo  
Mozambique

**Conference Team:**

36. Ms Pippa Segall  
Centre for Conflict Resolution  
Cape Town  
South Africa
37. Ms Elizabeth Myburgh  
Centre for Conflict Resolution  
Cape Town  
South Africa
38. Ms Mpumi Motlafi  
Centre for Conflict Resolution  
Cape Town  
South Africa

## Annex III

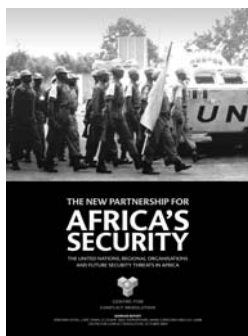
### List of Acronyms

ADB	African Development Bank	MINURSO	UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara
ADF	African Development Forum	MONUC	UN Mission in the Congo
AMIB	African Union Mission in Burundi	NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union	NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
AU	African Union	OAU	Organisation of African Unity
BINUB	UN Integrated Office in Burundi	OCHA	UN Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs
CAAC	Children Affected by Armed Conflict	ONUB	UN Peace Operation in Burundi
CAR	Central African Republic	ONUCI	UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
CCR	Centre for Conflict Resolution	OSRSG	UN Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women	P5	Permanent Five
CPAs	Child Protection Advisers	RECs	Regional Economic Communities
DDR	Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration	SADC	Southern African Development Community
DHA	Department of Humanitarian Affairs	UN	United Nations
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo	UNAIDS	Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa	UNAMSIL	UN Mission in Sierra Leone
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States	UNCTAD	UN Conference on Trade and Development
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group	UNDP	UN Department for Political Affairs
ECOSOC	UN Economic and Social Council	UNDPKO	UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States	UNEF	UN Emergency Force
EU	European Union	UNEP	UN Environmental Programme
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung	UNESCO	UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
G4	Group of Four	UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
HIV/AIDS	Human Immuno-Virus/Acquired Immune-Deficiency Syndrome	UNICEF	UN Children's Fund
ICJ	UN International Court of Justice	UNIFEM	UN Development Fund for Women
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross	UNMA	UN Mission in Angola
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons	UNMIL	UN Mission in Liberia
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development	UNMIS	UN Mission on Sudan
ILO	International Labour Organisation	UNTSO	UN Truce Supervision Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund	US	United States



## Other publications in this series

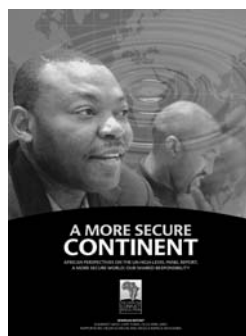
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### VOLUME 1 THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S SECURITY

THE UNITED NATIONS, REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND FUTURE SECURITY THREATS IN AFRICA

The inter-related and vexing issues of political instability in Africa and international security within the framework of UN reform were specifically focused on at this policy seminar, held from 21 – 23 May 2004 in Claremont, Cape Town.



### VOLUME 4 A MORE SECURE CONTINENT

AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES ON THE UN HIGH-LEVEL PANEL REPORT, A MORE SECURE WORLD: OUR SHARED RESPONSIBILITY

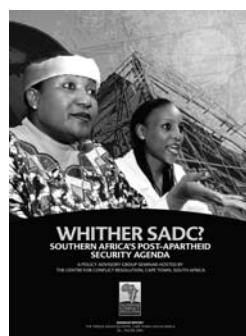
African perspectives on the United Nations' (UN) High-Level Panel report on Threats, Challenges and Change were considered at this policy advisory group meeting in Somerset West, Cape Town, on 23 and 24 April 2005.



### VOLUME 2 SOUTH AFRICA IN AFRICA

THE POST-APARTHEID DECADE

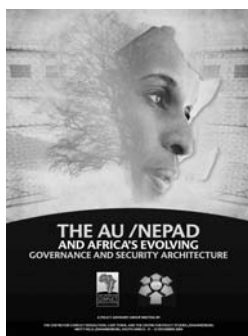
The role that South Africa has played on the African continent and the challenges that persist in South Africa's domestic transformation 10 years into democracy were assessed at this meeting in Stellenbosch, Cape Town, from 29 July - 1 August 2004.



### VOLUME 5 WHITHER SADC?

SOUTHERN AFRICA'S POST-APARTHEID SECURITY AGENDA

The role and capacity of the Southern African Development Community's (SADC) Organ on Politics, Defence and Security (OPDS) were focused on at this meeting in Oudekraal, Cape Town, on 18 and 19 June 2005.



### VOLUME 3 THE AU/NEPAD AND AFRICA'S EVOLVING GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY ARCHITECTURE

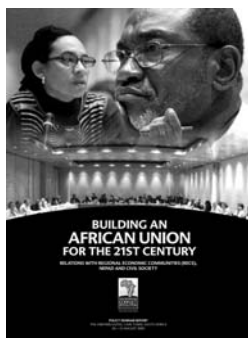
The state of governance and security in Africa under the AU and NEPAD were analysed and assessed at this policy advisory group meeting in Misty Hills, Johannesburg, on 11 and 12 December 2004.



### VOLUME 6 HIV/AIDS AND HUMAN SECURITY:

AN AGENDA FOR AFRICA

The links between human security and the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Africa, and the potential role of African leadership and the African Union in addressing this crisis were analysed at this policy advisory group meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on 9 and 10 September 2005.



### VOLUME 7 **BUILDING AN AFRICAN UNION FOR THE 21ST CENTURY**

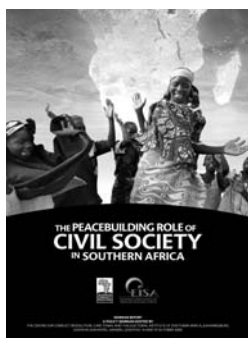
RELATIONS WITH REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES (RECS), NEPAD AND CIVIL SOCIETY

This seminar in Cape Town from 20 – 22 August 2005 made policy recommendations on how the AU's institutions, including NEPAD, could achieve their aims and objectives.



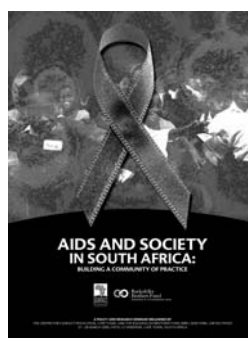
### VOLUME 10 **HIV/AIDS AND MILITARIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA**

This two-day policy advisory group seminar in Windhoek, Namibia, on 9 and 10 February 2006 examined issues of HIV/AIDS and militaries in southern Africa.



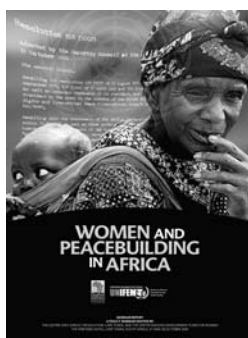
### VOLUME 8 **THE PEACEBUILDING ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA**

This meeting, held in Maseru, Lesotho, on 14 and 15 October 2005, explores civil society's role in relation to southern Africa, democratic governance, its nexus with government, and draws on comparative experiences in peacebuilding.



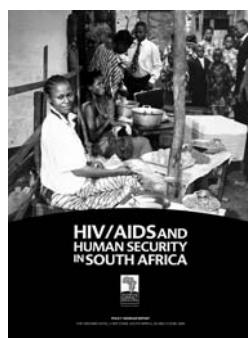
### VOLUME 11 **AIDS AND SOCIETY IN SOUTH AFRICA: BUILDING A COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE**

This policy and research seminar, held in Cape Town on 27 and 28 March 2006, developed and disseminated new knowledge on the impact of HIV/AIDS in South Africa in the three key areas of: democratic practice; sustainable development; and peace and security.



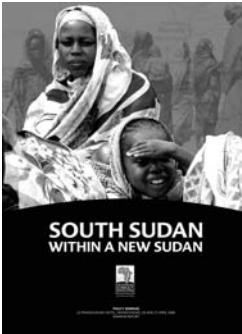
### VOLUME 9 **WOMEN AND PEACEBUILDING IN AFRICA**

This meeting, held in Cape Town on 27 and 28 October 2005, reviewed the progress of the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women and Peacebuilding in Africa in the five years since its adoption by the United Nations in 2000.



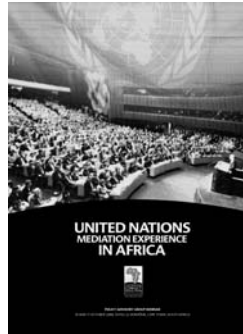
### VOLUME 12 **HIV/AIDS AND HUMAN SECURITY IN SOUTH AFRICA**

This two-day policy seminar on 26 and 27 June 2006 took place in Cape Town and examined the scope and response to HIV/AIDS in South Africa and southern Africa from a human security perspective.



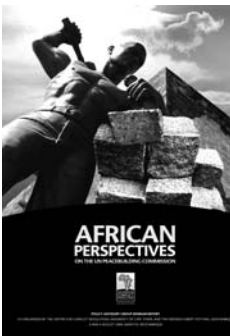
### **VOLUME 13 SOUTH SUDAN WITHIN A NEW SUDAN**

This policy advisory group seminar on 20 and 21 April 2006 in Franschhoek, Western Cape, assessed the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) signed in January 2005 by the Government of the Republic of the Sudan (GOS) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLM/A).



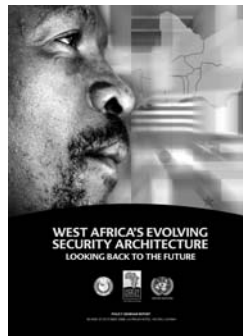
### **VOLUME 16 UNITED NATIONS MEDIATION EXPERIENCE IN AFRICA**

This seminar, held in Cape Town on 16 and 17 October 2006, sought to draw out key lessons from mediation and conflict resolution experiences in Africa, and to identify gaps in mediation support while exploring how best to fill them. It was the first regional consultation on the United Nations' newly-established Mediation Support Unit (MSU).



### **VOLUME 14 AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES ON THE UN PEACEBUILDING COMMISSION**

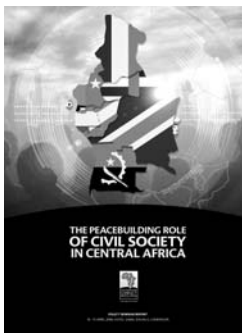
This meeting, in Maputo, Mozambique, on 3 and 4 August 2006, analysed the relevance for Africa of the creation, in December 2005, of the UN Peacebuilding Commission, and examined how countries emerging from conflict could benefit from its establishment.



### **VOLUME 17 WEST AFRICA'S EVOLVING SECURITY ARCHITECTURE**

**LOOKING BACK TO THE FUTURE**

The conflict management challenges facing the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in the areas of governance, development, and security reform and post-conflict peacebuilding formed the basis of this policy seminar in Accra, Ghana, on 30 and 31 October 2006.



### **VOLUME 15 THE PEACEBUILDING ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN CENTRAL AFRICA**

This sub-regional seminar, held from 10 to 12 April 2006 in Douala, Cameroon, provided an opportunity for civil society actors, representatives of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the United Nations (UN) and other relevant players to analyse and understand the causes and consequences of conflict in central Africa.

## Notes

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## Notes



## Notes



When the UN was created in 1945, its aim was “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”. As a result, its structures were primarily devoted to preventing conflict between states at a time when most of the world’s nations were still under colonial rule. This report interrogates the changing nature of the relationship between African countries and the UN’s principal organs in the context of issue-driven agendas relevant to the continent, as well as the need for strategic alliances to ensure that these agendas are adopted.



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