

## **CHAPTER II**

### **HISTORY OF AFRICAN UNION, It is POLITICAL FUNCTIONS AND PEACEKEEPING MISSION PROGRAMS**



**PICTURE 2. 1: The official Emblem  
of the African Union (African Union,  
2018)**

African Union is one of regional organization in the world that stated as one of the most important intergovernmental organizations. African Union has 53 members of African countries. In these organizations,

countries in Africa that reported as a member work together to solve the

problem in Africa as the continent. Countries will work diplomatically even if there are many differences within the members in term of race, history, geographic condition, religion. African Union tries to improve the social, politic, and economic situation in Africa which have around one million people that have to protect. African Union has a mission to protect culture and people in Africa as a continent.

#### **A. Timeline, History and its Political Function of African Union**

African Union has a long journey to be a regional organization in Africa. In 1963 the organization was called as Organization of African Unity. Thirty-two independent African states gather in Addis Ababa the

capital city of Ethiopia in order to form the Organization of African Union, and a further 21 have joined after the year. The primary objective of Organization of Africa Unity were to erase the remaining of colonialization and apartheid in that continent, to promote the unity and solidarity among nations in Africa continent, to coordinate teamwork among nations in order to do the development in Africa, to protect the sovereignty and integrity in the area of member state and to promote the international teamwork within the framework of united nation. The Organization of Africa Unity started its first operation at September 1963 that formed liberation committee in Tanzania which has the aim to support the struggle of people against minorities' rule of White people in Namibia and South Africa.

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>EVENT</b>
1980	OAU - Lagos Plan of Action operations
1991	OAU – formed African Economic Community
1999	Special Summit in Libya - Discussion about the establishment of African Union
2000	Establishment of the African Union
2001	Lusaka Summit – Roadmap implementation of the African Union

**TABLE 2. 1: Timeline of African Union (DW.com, 2013)**

In 1980, OAU passed another operation which called as "Lagos Plan of Action" in Nigeria, it has the aim to strengthen regional cooperation in Africa and give the foundation stone for an African Economic Community.

Moreover, the conflict that happened within its member begins in 1982. After the Organization of African Union allowing Western Sahara to join OAU, Morocco officially leaves OAU because of its stance on Western Sahara. The rebel movement from Morocco Polisario front declared its independence from Morocco and formed its republic government in exile. Because of that conflict, the African Commission on Human and People's Rights of Organization of Africa Unity takes up that conflict in 1989.

In 1991, Organization of Africa Unity formed the African Economic Community in order to create the common African economic region, to implement this policy, organization of Africa Unity use the European economic-community as its role model. In 1999, in the middle of the extraordinary summit in Libya, the organization of Africa Unity was discussed about the creation of African Union with the aims just like European Union that manage politics, social, and economy in a regional scope. This idea came from Muammar Gadhafi as the Libyan leader.

Regarding that idea, in a conference in Lome, West Africa, the head of OAU signed the African Union Charter in 2000. After signing that charter in 2001, the OAU was officially changed the name called African Union and has 53 members. Within the first two years of transition, OAU and the AU did exist together. The central part of African Union are the heads of state in the African Continent and a yearly rotating chair. Thus, because of its change become African Union, the African Economic Community becomes part of African Union.

The existence of African Union can be described as a big event on the evolution of institutions in Africa continent. In 1999 the head of state and government of Organization Africa Unity issued the declaration of African Union, with the trade, in order to boost the process of integration in Africa continent. It was the process to play the economic role in the level of global while overcoming the other problems such as, social, political, and economics that exist by the impact of globalization.

The initiatives of OAU gives way for the existence of Africa Union. In July 1999, the assembly decided to have an extraordinary session in order to accelerate the process of economic and politic integration in Africa. Since then, four Summits have been held in order to the launching of the African Union, such as, the Sirte Extraordinary Session in 1999 that decided the establishment of African Union. The constitutive act of the union that adopted in The Lome summit in 2000. The Lusaka summit in 2001 that drew the roadmap of the implementation of the African Union. The last is the Durban summit that held in 2002 launched the African Union and convened the first Assembly of heads of state among member states in Africa.

To run the programs, African Union as the regional organization in Africa has vision and mission. The vision of the African Union is that of "A peaceful, integrated, and prosperous of Africa, in order to represent its prosperity in the global arena and driven by its ." (African Union, 2018). This vision will be implemented through endless struggle in some aspects and as the long-term policies. African Union has shifted its focus from supporting liberation movements in some areas in Africa

under colonialism and apartheid to organizations which promote Africa's development and integration.

Moreover, the objectives of the African Union are:

1. to achieve greater unity and solidarity among African countries within the people.
2. To defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and the independence of its member state.
3. To accelerate the political, social, and economical integration in African Continent.
4. To promote and defend common African positions on issues of interest to the continent and its people.
5. To encourage international cooperation, taking due account of the charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
6. To promote peace, security, and stability in the African continent.
7. To promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance.
8. To promote and protect human and people's rights by the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and over relevant human rights instruments.
9. To establish the necessary conditions which enable the African continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and the international negotiations.

10. To promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies.
11. To promote cooperation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African people.
12. To coordinate and harmonize the policies between the existing and future Regional Economic Communities for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union.
13. To advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields in particular in science and technology.
14. To work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent.

Based on those objectives, African Union has great role and functions as the regional organization in the African continent to advance the development among the countries in Africa, protect the sovereignty of its member within the human and people's rights in the African continent. In order to reach the objectives, African Union has several elements that called s AU organs, such as the assembly, the commission, the permanent representatives' committee, peace and security council, Pan-African Parliament, the economic social and cultural council, a court of justice, and the specialized technical committees (Ekwealor & Uzodike, 2016). Every element has their responsibility and functions, regarding Libyan crisis, African Union has peacekeeping

missions that held by African Union peace and security council.

The peace and security council is one of the African Union organs that established to prevent, manage and solve the conflict. It is the critical element of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). This organ has the aim to promote peace, security, and stability among countries in the African continent. It has functions to give the 'early warning' for whoever who can conflict and the efficient responses to the conflict that already happened including preventive actions through diplomacy, facilitate peace-making, create the support operation in certain conditions.

More functions of African Union Peace and Security Council include prevent the conflict, promote and implementation of peace-building missions in Africa, and reconstruction the condition in post-conflict activities, the continental efforts in order to prevent and combat the international terrorism in its all aspect with coordination and harmonisation, the development of common defence policy in every country in Africa, and the encouragement of good democracy practice, good governance and the implementation of law, and fundamental protections and human rights freedom (African Union, 2001). Other four entities help the effort of African Union Peace and Security Council. They are the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), Panel of Wise (PoW), the Special Fund, and the African Standby Force (ASF). It has been strengthened by the mechanism of peace and security, and individual security of eight that has been recognized by Regional Economic Communities or RECs.

Mediation, preventive diplomacy and military intervention have improved by African Union and RECs in the field of peace and security efforts. With the example, Kenya as the leader of Africa mediation under the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), resulted signed the comprehensive peace agreement in Sudan 2005. Democratic Republic of Kongo and five of its neighbor state resulted Lusaka agreement, reach because of the persistence of the African leader and significant support from the South Africa Development Community (SADC).

African Union's peacekeeping role will be institutionalized and efficient with the establishment of the African Standby Force that consists of five regional troops coordinated by the RECs. The African Union is in the process putting the CEWS portal that will be connected to the eight RECs and connected with the satellite technology, and it has the function to give brief and rapid news. Similarly, the RECs will spread the warning pieces of information among themselves (Woodrow Wilson Centre, 2008).

## **B. The Beginning of Peacekeeping Mission programs of African Union**

The transition from OAU to the AU fundamentally changed the understanding and the principle of the union towards the peacekeeping concept that has been implemented in OAU. The old understanding concept about peacekeeping was changed within the changed of name from OAU become AU and the establishment of the constitutional act on 2000. There is a normative difference between AU and OAU that is significant. The main difference is understanding and



desire from the leaders to create an influential institution in the union that capable to address challenges that were facing Africa and its people. The principle of OAU charter is "sovereign equality of all member states." While the AU principle is "sovereign equality and interdependence among member states of the Union." That principle means that OAU adopts the policy of non-interference in internal affairs among member states. While the African Union Constitutive Act adopts non-interference of any member states in the domestic affairs of other member states, but it based to the right of African Union to put the intervention to its member states based on the decision in the African Union Assembly in a specific situation such as urgent situation like preventing genocide, civil war, and crimes against humanity (Kimenyi & Kuhlmann, 2012). As well in the serious case, that government has the right to create peace and security in the member states based on the recommendation of African Union Peace and Security Council.

The objectives of African Union are supported by some principles including the establishment of peaceful conflict resolution, common defense policy for the African continent among member state through appropriate actions that decided by the assembly. The prohibition of the use of force or threat to use force among them, their right to live peacefully and peaceful coexistence of the member states, every member states have the right to ask the intervention from Union in order to help and to solve the conflict that happened in that area (Majinge, 2010).

The Peace and Security Council has a responsibility to create and as the coordination and

harmonization of the African continental efforts in conflict resolution and peacekeeping, peacemaking, peacebuilding missions. According to the protocol of the PSC establishment, the main functions of PSC are including preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding operations during and post-conflict. PSC as the main organ of African Union has a big responsibility for peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding in the African Continent also tasked with spreading the coordination and cooperations among member states for peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding missions. Since the establishment of African Union, AU commits to secure peace and security in some conflictual area in the African continent. AU has some experiences in conducting peacekeeping operations, such as

#### 1. AU peacekeeping mission in Burundi

OAU and the next AU was involved in Burundi since the breakdown and murder of the first democratically president election in Burundi 1993. However, the mission was not finished until African Union agreed on the establishment of African Union Mission in Burundi (AMIB) in 2003. The spread of the African Union Mission came from ceasefire agreement between the rebels in Burundi and the government of Burundi in December 2002. The agreement especially said that African Union should conduct verification and ceasefire control.

Mandates that came from AMIB such as, to create and maintain the connection between the conflictual actor, to give protection for the VIP of

the returning leaders, to monitor and verify the implementation of the ceasefire agreement. This mission also has a responsibility to facilitate and provide the technical assistance to the Demobilization, Disarmament, and Reintegration (DDR) process. It was also mandated to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance, including to refugees, and internally displaced persons and coordinate mission's activities with the presence of the United Nations in Burundi. The success of AMIB was mixed while the ceasefire was not fully implemented because the rebels still fighting, the mission managed to stabilize most of the country. This succeeds to create the conducive environment for the spread of United Nation's troops.

Compared to the other mission that was held by the OAU, AMIB has no significant problem with the legal mandate. Otherwise, the thing that faced by AMIB is a "traditional Challenge" about the challenge of financial resources and the inability of countries troops that involved in a wrong time. The fact that South Africa is one of the countries that have strong financial in Africa continent, thus it makes the significant gap between South Africa and the other African countries which have the financial challenge. Nevertheless, it can be argued that AMIB achieved the significant success partly because of South Africa's commitment and the other side who have contributions such as Ethiopia, and Mozambique to take the responsibility about humanity and financial, the

commitment to keep the mission until it fully finished.

## 2. The African Union intervention in Darfur

The conflict that happened in Darfur is very identical with the peacekeeping efforts of the African Union in the African Continent. This was the mission that came to define the capabilities and weakness of the organization that relates to the peacekeeping concept in that continent. The involvement of the organization in Darfur put the attention from many sides. Many of the African people consider this mission as a bold statement on the African willingness to face their challenge and to reach out their promise to provide the solution for African problems.

The intervention of the African Union in Darfur was based on the decision of African Union Peace and Security Council (PSC) that was taken in 2004. Based on this decision, PSC defined the situation in Darfur consider as the threat to peace and security in the continent and the world. It given the authority to the chairperson of assembly to spread the African Union observer mission to monitor the ceasefire agreement that signed between the government and the rebels and ensure the compliment by all parties. In October 2004 the PSC adopted the resolution that asks the chairperson of commission to improve the capability of the mission by providing more troops to that missions. Mandate to that mission was to enlarge the protection to the civilians because everyone whom in danger there will be a

threat. Effectively this mission was given the significant power to use force power in order to protect the civilians who are in danger.

The Political Functions of the African Union which is the responsibility to protect makes the African Union has a significant role in protecting its member and to intervention its member in an urgent situation that decided by the assembly. Through the Peacekeeping mission, African Union tries to manage peace and a security situation in the African Continent. The experience of African Union peacekeeping mission in some area in Africa makes this program continuing, and it happened in Libya in case of Libya Crisis that will be discussed in the third chapter.