

Chapter 6: Security and Peace

This chapter deals with commitment 8 of the Final Declaration of the 6th Summit: renewed and enhanced cooperation for peace and security.

KEY OBSERVATIONS

Context:

- Important preventative peacebuilding work is being ensured by youth with opportunities for enhanced Africa-Europe exchange.** From the *UN Youth, Peace and Security Agenda*, to the *Youth for Peace (Y4P) Africa Programme*, the *European Youth Forum*, and *Women and Youth in Democracy Initiative (WYDI)* - there is an increasingly strong network and international exchange among young people. They aim to underpin institutional peacebuilding processes and strengthen the rights, empowerment, and participation in public and political life of youth and women as key actors of development and change. Building on this, ensuring strengthened and regular exchanges among youth and women between both continents remains a high priority.
- The largest share of the AU's total budget is spent on its Peace Support Budget**, representing 43% of its budget in 2022. Additional focus should be placed on support for predictable financing of AU-led peace support operations mandated by the UN Security Council, through UN-assessed contributions, and pressure put on the UNSC to reach an agreement on this long-standing matter.
- Regardless of significant progress on peace and security in the African region since the start of the millennium, 2020 has seen an increase in military coups in Africa.** The recent coups underscore challenges governments face in addressing extremism, growing insecurity, economic instability, and rising poverty rates. More preventive robust actions should be explored to solve burgeoning crises and ensure attention is paid to governance and economic development, complementing an EU focus which currently tends to overemphasise security and counterterrorism measures.
- Despite the surge in coups in Africa, Europe's attention has remained largely focused on Russia's war in Ukraine, and more recently on the Israel-Palestine crisis.** Out of the *European Peace Facility's* total EUR 12 billion budget for 2021-2027, the EU has allocated EUR 3.6 billion for Kyiv. By comparison, it has allocated EUR 730 million to the AU covering its peace support operations between 2022-2024. Continued support for Africa-led peace initiatives is key. Building the AU's security capacity represents a long-term investment, acknowledging that tangible results may not occur immediately, particularly amid the current complex global landscape.
- The four Western African countries to experience a coup d'état between 2021 and 2023 - Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali, and Niger - shared common trends:** The *Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG)* has reported a decline between 2017 and 2021 both in 'Overall Governance', and 'Security & Rule of Law and Participation, Rights & Inclusion'. Burkina Faso (-34.2, 1st), Mali (-12.1, 5th), and Niger (-8.9, 7th) were all among the ten most declined countries in Africa in the sub-category 'Security & Safety' since 2017.
- Data shows that African coups did not have a positive impact on the security situations they allegedly aimed to address but brought higher insecurity and worsening domestic circumstances.** The latest 2022 IIAG findings for Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali and Niger highlight a declining security situation and a shrinking participatory environment over the years 2017 to 2021, while data analysis from 2021 onwards also shows that insecurity worsened after coups.

Examples of progress to date:

- **The AU is taking a growing stance against unconstitutional changes of government.** The AU has developed a series of definitions and response toolkits to deter unconstitutional changes of government and protect democracy on the continent. The AU’s response toolkit includes suspension from all the organisation’s activities, as well as sanctions in cooperation with RECs. As of September 2023, countries suspended for unconstitutional changes of government are Burkina Faso (February 2022), Gabon (August 2023), Guinea (September 2021), Mali (June 2021), Niger (July 2023) and Sudan (April 2023). Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali and Niger are under ECOWAS sanctions which range from travel/visa bans to financial asset freezes. However, these stances are not

necessarily mirrored at global multilateral level- as Burhan’s participation at last UNGA shows. This considerably weakens AU’s position and points towards better coordination.

- **The launch of the Africa Facility to Support Inclusive Transitions (AFSIT) is an important development.** Launched in July 2023 by the AU and UNDP, the AFSIT aims to provide specific programmatic support to countries undergoing complex political transitions or at risk of political crisis. They assist in the development of credible, inclusive and legitimate transition roadmaps, mechanisms and institutions, ultimately leading to the restoration of constitutional rule, democracy and stability in relevant countries. The EU joining that effort would be welcome.

PARTNERSHIP FOR SECURITY AND PEACE

The Ten Commitments Framework	Main Commitments
<p>COMMITMENT 8: Renewed and enhanced cooperation for peace and security</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> I. Addressing the entire conflict cycle, through a renewed and enhanced cooperation for peace and security premised on the principle of African solutions to African problems, within the framework of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and reflected in the AU-EU Memorandum of Understanding on Peace, Security and Governance (2018), designed to combat instability, radicalisation, violent extremism, and terrorism to tackle the root causes of conflicts, and addressing the entire conflict cycle through the integrated approach. II. Maintaining peace, security and stability, training, capacity building and equipment by strengthening and scale up autonomous peace operations of African defence and security forces, including through EU missions and assistance measures, as well as support for law-enforcement capacity-building. III. Supporting African-led operations and human rights compliance by supporting the implementation of the AU human rights compliance framework in that context and the on-going discussions on the use of UN-assessed contributions for operations authorised by the UN Security Council. IV. Cooperating on security and cybersecurity, by intensify our cooperation on security, including on cybersecurity. V. Promote the rule of law by implementation of the Women, Peace and Security, Children and Armed Conflict and the Youth, Peace, and Security Agendas, and underpin it with concrete actions to achieve durable peace. VI. Complying with human rights and international humanitarian law by contributing funding to the Human rights and international humanitarian law compliance mechanism.

I. Addressing the entire conflict cycle

Examples of progress to date:

- Establishment of 12 *Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)* missions and operations (out of 22) in Africa. More than 2,500 European soldiers, Police officers and civil servants (acting either under a mandate of the UN Security Council or at the request of African partners) train and advise more than 30,000 African counterparts.
- Since the 6th Summit, approved financing for African peace and security under the *European Peace Facility (EPF)* includes a general programme for support to the AU worth EUR 730 million for the period 2021-24, comprising two assistance measures, the support for the AU totals EUR 130 million in 2021 and EUR 600 million for the period 2022-24.
- Over EUR 78 million for 12 crisis response actions were spent in 2022, including EUR 10 million to support the *Académie Internationale de Lutte contre le Terrorisme's* regional counterterrorism response.
- Increased focus on Africa under the *Strategic Priorities* for a more inclusive, action-oriented *Global Counter-terrorism Forum (GCTF)*. The Network was expanded to cover Egypt and work is ongoing to create additional posts, including one in the Gulf of Guinea.
- On November 28, 2022, nine months after the AU-EU Summit, the European Union and African Union evaluated the advancements in Summit commitments related to peace, security, and governance. The assessment took place during the inaugural Senior Official Meetings, reflecting alongstanding cooperation built on African solutions to African problems.
- The second Senior Officials' Meeting under the *EU-AU MoU on Peace, Security and Governance* was held by videoconference on 30 June 2023. The EU and the AU agreed, inter alia, to establish a structured AU-EU dialogue on *Conflict Prevention and Peace Mediation*.
- The first *Schuman Security and Defence Partnership Forum* took place in Brussels in March 2023 with the participation of nine African ministers of defence, the AU, and the League of Arab States. The Forum convened the EU's closest partners in the field of security and defence and allowed for targeted discussions on common security challenges and common responses. It consolidated implementation of the *EU Coordinated Maritime Presences (EUCMP)* concept in the Gulf of Guinea and the North-Western Indian Ocean, which contributes to addressing maritime security challenges, deepening European-Africa cooperation, while increasing the EU's capacity to act as a reliable partner and maritime security provider.
- The EU has also been collaborating with African partners at national and regional level on maritime domain awareness, port security and information sharing, with ongoing support in the Gulf of Guinea, Western Indian Ocean and Red Sea region.
- In light of the recognized security needs in Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Togo, and Benin, the Council of the European Union initiated a customized decision on December 11th, 2023, to combat armed groups with terrorist affiliations operating in their northern regions. With an initial duration of two years, this initiative will involve the provision of short-term training teams or the deployment of visiting experts, coordinated in conjunction with European Peace Facility (EPF) assistance measures.
- AU-coordinated efforts for Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) and Security Sector Reform (SSR) aim to foster stability across Africa. DDR processes, increasingly vital for peacebuilding, benefit the economy, society, and infrastructure, laying fundamental preconditions for stability. These interventions address fragility in

complex security environments, with the Fourth Phase of the African Union DDR Implementation Framework (2023-2025) highlighting ongoing commitment. Parallely, Security Sector Reform (SSR) plays a pivotal role, involving the reorientation of policies, structures, and capacities within the security

sector. Emphasizing nationally owned and led SSR processes, discussed at the Fifth meeting of the AU Steering Committee on SSR (November 30, 2023), the objective is to enhance effectiveness, efficiency, and responsiveness while addressing security and justice concerns.

II. Strengthened autonomous peace operations of African defence and security forces, and support for law enforcement capacity building

Examples of progress to date:

Key initiatives:

- EUR 40.5 million under the *IV APSA support programme* (APF – 2020-23) designed to improve the AU conflict cycle management under the APSA continental framework.
- EUR 25 million under the *III AGA support programme* (APF - 2021-24) which aims at strengthening the capacity of *AGA Platform*.
- EUR 25 million for the third phase of the *Early Response Mechanism* within its time frame from 2020 to 2024 to prevent violent conflicts or to seek opportunities for peace building. (Chad and Liberia)
- A EUR 600 **Assistance Measure General Programme** under the *European Peace Facility (EPF)* supporting the AU aimed at strengthening the armed forces capabilities of individual AU member states.

Bilateral programmes:

- EUR 109 million *EU Mozambique bilateral EPF Assistance Measures*
- EUR 1 million to bolster the Somali National Army.
- EUR 21 million earmarked for supporting military actors and navies in the Gulf of Guinea.
- EUR 11.75 million dedicated to supporting the Beninese Armed Forces.

- EUR 20 million, under the *European Peace Facility*, directed to back the 31st Rapid Reaction Brigade of the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (FARDC).
- EUR 4.7 million allocated for supporting the Nigerien Armed Forces with military equipment.
- EUR 85 million designated for the *African Union Transition Mission in Somalia*, and an additional EUR 25 million allocated for the Somali National Army.

EU civilian and military missions currently operational:

- *EUTM-S - Training Mission* in Somalia
- *EUTM RCA - Training Mission* in Central African Republic
- *EUTM Mozambique - Training Mission* in Mozambique
- *EU RACC Sahel*
- *EU Naval Force Operation ATALANTA*
- *EUCAP Somalia - Capacity Building Mission* in Somalia
- *EUCAP Sahel Mali* (suspended)
- *EUBAM Border Assistance Mission* in Libya
- *EUAM RCA Advisory Mission* in the Central African Republic
- *IRINI (EUNAVFOR MED) Mission* to Monitor Libya's UN arms embargo
- *EUTM Mali - Training Mission* in Mali (suspended)

- AU's initiatives

- In January 2023, a new *High Representative* was appointed to the *AU Silencing the Guns by 2020 Initiative*, Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas. The campaign promotes prevention, management and resolution of conflicts in Africa to achieve a conflict free Africa, prevent genocide, make peace a reality for all, and rid the continent of wars, violent conflicts, human rights violations, and humanitarian disasters.
- In May 2021, AU's HoSGs adopted the *AU Roadmap on Practical Steps to Silence the Guns* in Africa with a Monitoring and Evaluation Mechanism for the implementation of the Roadmap.

- AU's *Peace Support Operations* have been deployed to combat terrorism and violent extremism, including the *Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF)* to combat Boko Haram, and the *G5 Sahel Joint Force* deployed in the Sahel region.
 - » The *AU Peace Fund* was revitalised and \$230,226,851.51 was received from 52 AU Member States (as of August 2021) but funding sustainability for this program remains a challenge.
 - » In late November 2023, following military coups, Burkina Faso and Niger announced their withdrawal from the *G5 Sahel Joint Force* following Mali's move in 2022. Mauritania and Chad, with backing from France, remain invested in the *Sahel Joint Force*.

III. Supporting African-led operations and human rights compliance

Examples of progress to date:

- Support of the *AU Human Rights Compliance Framework* operationalisation through the mobilisation of EUR 10 million;
- Launch of the *Tripartite AU-EU-UN compliance and Accountability Framework (AUCF)* project in November 2022.

IV. Cooperating on security and cybersecurity

Examples of progress to date:

- The *AU Peace and Security Council (PSC)* and the *EU Political and Security Committee (EUPSC)* convened in June 2022 in the new geopolitical context following Russia's aggression against Ukraine. Topics included the situation in Libya, Somalia, the Sahel, the Lake Chad Basin, and the Great Lakes, ongoing *AU Peace Support Operations* and ways to enhance their sustainability. Efforts to increase convergence in multilateral fora and address governance challenges by working on preventive diplomacy were discussed.
- *CyberSouth* project in North African region, and the Tunisia programme on border management.
- The first *Cyber Resilience for Development hub* was launched in Mauritius in May 2022. It was established in cooperation with Mauritius, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, the Gambia and Rwanda, to support the development of national cyber strategies, implement cyber awareness campaigns, and develop critical infrastructure prevention frameworks. Since its launch, the project has delivered training exercises to Congo-Brazzaville, Gambia, and Seychelles.

- The AU Agenda 2063 Flagship *Cyber Security* aims to incorporate emerging technologies into African development plans while ensuring data protection and online safety. The AU *Convention on Cyber Security and Personal Data Protection* guides this project. 11 Member States out of the required 15 have ratified the *Malabo Convention on Cyber Security and*

Personal Data Protection. Key developments include:

- *Data protection guidelines* developed and launched in 2018.
- An *Africa Cyber Security expert group* established in 2019.

V. Promoting the rule of law

Examples of progress to date:

- Support to the development of African election observation capabilities; electoral observation missions
- The *EU-AU Human Rights Dialogue*;
- The *AU Strategic Plan on Protection of children affected by armed conflict (CAAC)*;
- The *EU Youth Action Plan*.
- The *Africa Governance Architecture (AGA)* established as the platform for dialogue between the various stakeholders mandated to promote good governance and strengthen democracy in Africa is supported by the EU through a contribution of EUR 25 million.
- The EU has launched new Actions supporting the *AU Transitional Justice* as well as its *Election Observation and Assistance* work. Building on long-standing cooperation premised on African solutions to African problems, a Senior Officials Meeting under the *Memorandum on Peace, Security and Governance* was held in the margins of the Commission-to-Commission Meeting in November 2022.
- The EU has committed to support the harmonisation of pan-African electoral capacities by strengthening both institutional capacities of continental (AUC- Political Affairs, Peace and Security), regional (RECs) and national authorities, as well as the capacities of civil society organisations.
- Establishment of thematic programmes and flagships contribute to enhancing respect for the rule of law, in legal and judicial reform, the elaboration of sector strategies, institutional capacity development, support to legal aid, access to justice and criminal justice.
- Implementation of the *Youth and Women in Democracy initiative* which contributes to good governance.

VI. Complying with human rights and international humanitarian law

Examples of progress to date:

- Cooperation centres around the follow-up of the annual *Human Rights Dialogue*;
- Actions under *NDICI-GE's thematic programme on Human Rights and Democracy*;
- EUR 10 million for the Human rights and international humanitarian law compliance, applicable to African-led and mandated peace and security operations.

Additional comments:

- In crisis management and peace support across Africa, EU-Africa collaboration is evident, marked by heightened collaboration and EU backing such as the EU support for Mozambique's fight against terrorism. The EU remains actively engaged in training the police and military forces of various African nations, like the Central African Republic and Somalia, contributing to their enhanced security.
- Despite these initiatives, challenges loom large. The aftermath of military coups in Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger led to a reduction in EU cooperation in some areas; notably, the expulsion of French forces, which played important role in combating terrorist and criminal armed groups in the Sahel region. Nevertheless, efforts persist in countering piracy, particularly in crucial areas such as in the North-West Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Guinea.
- The EPF flexibility allows direct financial assistance, including funding for weaponry. While this flexibility is advantageous, it carries inherent risks. Operating outside established AU frameworks may undermine the AU's authority in this domain and impede fundraising efforts. Striking the right balance between flexibility and adherence to agreed-upon processes is imperative for sustaining effective cooperation.