

UGAMUNC XXI

African Union, Background Guide



UGAMUNC XXIII  
AU



Image from: <http://bamendaonline.net/blog/au-summit-approves-creation-of-african-monetary-fund/>

UGAMUNC XXIII  
AU

Dear Delegates,

Welcome to UGAMUNC XXIII and the Committee on the African Union. I am Matthew Gannon, and I will be your Chairman. I am a first-year student at UGA and originally from Valdosta, Georgia. I am pursuing a degree in Finance. This is my first year on the Model United Nations team, and first year chairing a committee. I am also President of the Mell-Lipscomb Community Council.

My co-chair, Romello Robinson, is currently a 1st year student at the University of Georgia. He is a dual-major student majoring in history and political science, with a minor in philosophy. He is on the pre-law track here at UGA, and aspires to become a criminal/defense attorney. This is his first year ever doing Model United Nations. Other clubs that he is affiliated with is the Black Male Leadership Society and Georgia Dazes, as well as part of the freshmen council for the United Black Student Legal Association. Outside of university interest, he enjoys to work out at the student fitness center.

While the topics discussed will not be sensitive or highly controversial, you are expected to conduct yourselves in a mature and professional manner. Do your best to represent your countries, but also understand that there is a line between role-play and prejudice. Sexism, racism, or any other breaches of decorum outside of the bounds of role-play will not be tolerated. That being said, I hope your experience in this committee will be one that intrigues, engages and rewards you as you learn more about the diverse African community and how they approach issues. If you have any questions about the this committee or background guide, please do not hesitate to email me at the address below. Welcome again to UGAMUNC XXIII!

Regards,  
Matthew A. Gannon  
Chairman of the Committee on the African Union  
mag26515@uga.edu

## UGAMUNC XXIII AU

### **Background: The Formation of the African Union**

In 1963, the 32 African states that had achieved independence at the time agreed to establish the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The charter of the OAU represented a compromise between two major factions: the "Casablanca Group," consisting of the more liberal states demanding immediate unity, and the "Monrovia Group," consisting of more conservative states supporting gradual unity. An additional 21 members gradually joined, reaching a total of 53 by 2002, when the African Union (AU) was formed in its place.

The goals of the OAU were to promote the unity and cooperation of the African states, work together towards achieving better lives for the peoples of Africa, along with ridding the continent of colonization and apartheid. Also, the OAU strived to work with the United Nations and harmonize the policies of member states.

The major organs of the OAU were the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the Council of Ministers, the General Secretariat, and the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration; there was also the Economic and Social Commission, the Educational, Scientific, Cultural and Health Commission, and the Defense Commission.<sup>1</sup>

Following the end of colonization and apartheid in South Africa, new challenges faced the OAU. Issues such as government corruption, crushing debt, Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS), genocides in Rwanda and Burundi, and other local conflicts called for a re-tooled organization with a more unified approach to continental development. This became more apparent after the groundwork for an African economic zone similar to the North American or European economic zone was laid in 1991. In 1999, the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the OAU met at a special summit in Sirte, Libya at the invitation of Muammar al-Qaddafi.<sup>2</sup> The Sirte Declaration calling for the establishment of a new African Union was adopted soon after.

The vision of the Sirte Declaration is to expand upon the OAU's work by accelerating the integration of Africa and facing the diverse issues facing the countries of the continent. Four summits were held from 1999-2002 to design what became the AU and launch it. While many OAU structures still exist in the AU today, the AU introduced many new structures built to tackle the changing global scene, particularly from a technological standpoint. Many of these are still under development today.<sup>3</sup>

Celebrating the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the OAU's conception in 2013, the AU adopted Agenda 2063, a strategic framework for transforming the African continent over a period of fifty years. Agenda 2063 has seven major aspirations to achieve by the year 2063:

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<sup>1</sup> African Union. "HISTORY OF THE OAU AND AU." <http://www.au.int/en/history/oau-and-au>

<sup>2</sup> 2016. "African Union." *Funk & Wagnalls New World Encyclopedia* 1p. 1. *Funk & Wagnalls New World Encyclopedia*, EBSCOhost (accessed November 6, 2016).

<sup>3</sup> African Union. "HISTORY OF THE OAU AND AU." <http://www.au.int/en/history/oau-and-au>

## UGAMUNC XXIII

### AU

1. A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth, sustainable development; eradicate poverty in one generation
2. An integrated continent, politically united, based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism and the vision of the African Renaissance
3. An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law.
4. A peaceful and secure Africa, with mechanisms for peaceful prevention and resolution of conflict.
5. An Africa with strong cultural identity, common heritage, values and ethics.
6. An Africa with people-driven development, relying on the potential of African people.
7. A strong, resilient, and influential Africa on the global scene.<sup>4</sup>

While laying groundwork for resolutions, it is recommended that delegates keep Agenda 2063 and its goals in mind to avoid passing resolutions contrary to them.

The African Union recognizes the English, Portuguese, Arabic, French, Kiswahili, Spanish, and any other African language as its official languages. The working languages of the African Union are Arabic, French, English and Portuguese.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> "Agenda 2063." Home. Accessed November 10, 2016. <http://www.au.int/en/agenda2063>.

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## I. Achieving Regional Economic Integration

### Introduction

Ever since Africa declared itself an independent continental-nation in the 1960s, the prerogative that followed was to create a stable and functional economic system in order to be taken seriously in the global economic market. The economic foundation of the African nation has been premature for quite some time causing a huge delay in the overall progress and efficiency of the continent as a whole. For a stable economy to be achieved, it was widely understood that full continental integration was a necessary and an extremely beneficial step towards that goal. The task of integration was left to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963, but due to a lack of power and enforcement, integration proved to be more difficult than anticipated. The OAU attempts at integration ceased after its succession by the African Union (AU) in 2002, but they provided a foundation to build towards full continental integration with the 1991 Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community (AEC), also known as the Abuja Treaty.<sup>6</sup> The Abuja treaty was the initial step towards stabilizing poor economic conditions in regions that were ill structured and poorly maintained throughout the battle for African countries independence. Although the Abuja treaty took initiation, its overall progress has come to a halt due to a divergence in the economic conditions of African states.

To continue, the increase in the world economy was by a growth of 2% annually from 1960s to 2002, yet the economic development in Africa proceeded to decline sustainably. Due to this decline, half of the African continent lived below the poverty line which translates too approximately 360 million people as poor Africans. With such poor living conditions, the life expectancy of an average African citizen is a little over 40 years and an overall primary school enrollment of about 42 percent. The depletion in the health care and education of the citizens puts into perspective the challenges and overall collective dilemma the African continent faces as a whole due to a depletion in wealth. Opening up to the global market would help improve the overall condition of economy and help Africa receive financial aid, such as investments and trade, from other countries that are well developed.<sup>7</sup>

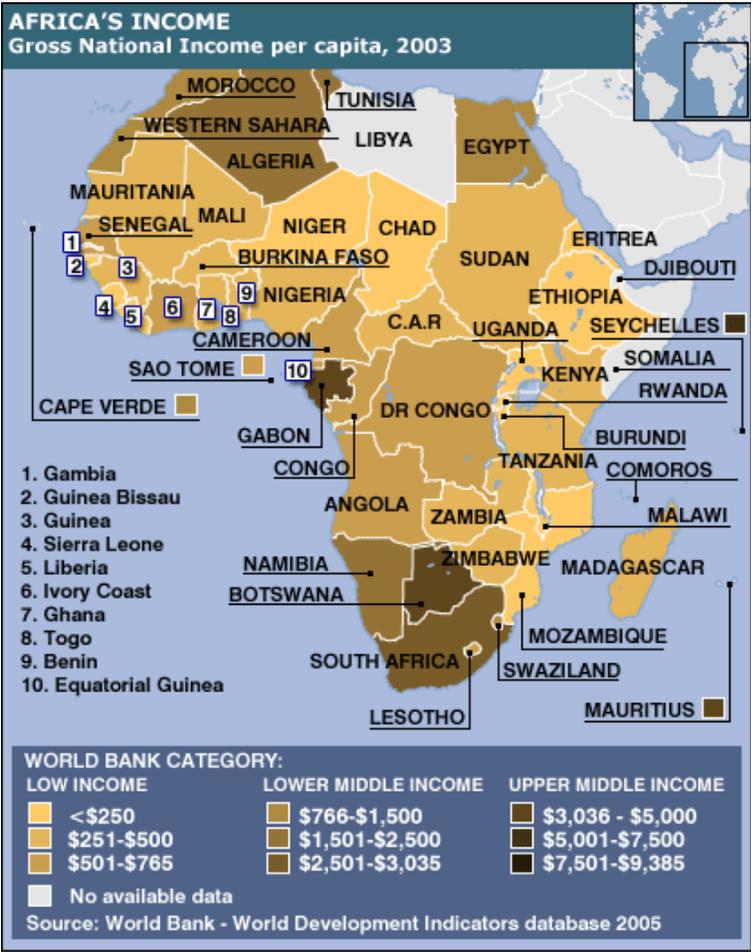
Given the very present problem with the delay in full continental economic integration and the depleting poverty condition of the African nation, the African Union is currently trying to find a solution around the collective dilemmas opposing integration.

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<sup>6</sup> "The African Union and Regional Economic Integration." *Leander*. N.p., n.d. Web. 25 Oct. 2016. <<http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/african-union-and-regional-economic-integration>>.

<sup>7</sup> "The Economic Decline in Africa." *The Economic Decline in Africa*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 Nov. 2016. <<http://www.nber.org/digest/jan04/w9865.html>>.

Figure 1<sup>8</sup>



Based on the most recent assessment of Africa’s gross national income per capita from Figure 1, it appears that the countries living in poverty fall in the middle section while the more wealth of countries are near Morocco and South Africa with the exception of Gabon. By having an understanding of the countries with a better economy it becomes quite clear which regions would be in support of economic integration and who wouldn’t. Aside from the differences between countries with higher and lower incomes, across the board the average income is relatively low compared to neighboring countries outside of the African Continent.

**Regional Economic Communities**

The Abuja Treaty led way to the development of the African Economic Community (AEC) on the African continent. The AEC was designed to be the central basis for the regional

<sup>8</sup> "Africa Economy." *BBC News*. N.p., n.d. Web. 9 Nov. 2016. <[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/africa/05/africa\\_economy/html/poverty.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/africa/05/africa_economy/html/poverty.stm)>.

## UGAMUNC XXIII AU

economic communities (RECs) that harbor economic integration between member states of the individual regions. Regional economic communities were to viewed as separate operations to help regulate the economic transactions between neighboring countries. The goal of the REC's was to help restore and rebuild the economic conditions of the African nation, by focusing on specific sections. In doing so, when a substantial amount of progression was made with each REC, full continental economic integration would be the next step. A layout of how regional economic and continental integration would be achieved in greater detail is specified in the Abuja treaty and it consist of stages:

1. Stage 1: creating new RECs and strengthening existing RECs (by 1999)<sup>9</sup>
2. Stage 2: liquidating barriers to regional trade (by 2007)<sup>10</sup>
3. Stage 3: establishing a free-trade area (FTA) and a customs union for each REC (by 2017)<sup>11</sup>
4. Stage 4: coordinating tariff and non-tariff systems among RECs (by 2019)<sup>12</sup>
5. Stage 5: establishing an African Common Market and common policies among RECs (by 2023)<sup>13</sup>
6. Stage 6: establishing an African Central Bank, creating a continental monetary union and electing the first board<sup>14</sup>

To continue, the sole purpose of RECs is to establish and ensure peace and stability throughout the regions, and managing the economic integration is crucial to maintaining that peace.<sup>15</sup> Alongside working with the African Economic Community, RECs coordinate with the African Union in serving as the building block for the Union. The seven RECs include: Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and Community of Sahel Saharan States (CEN-SAD)<sup>16</sup>

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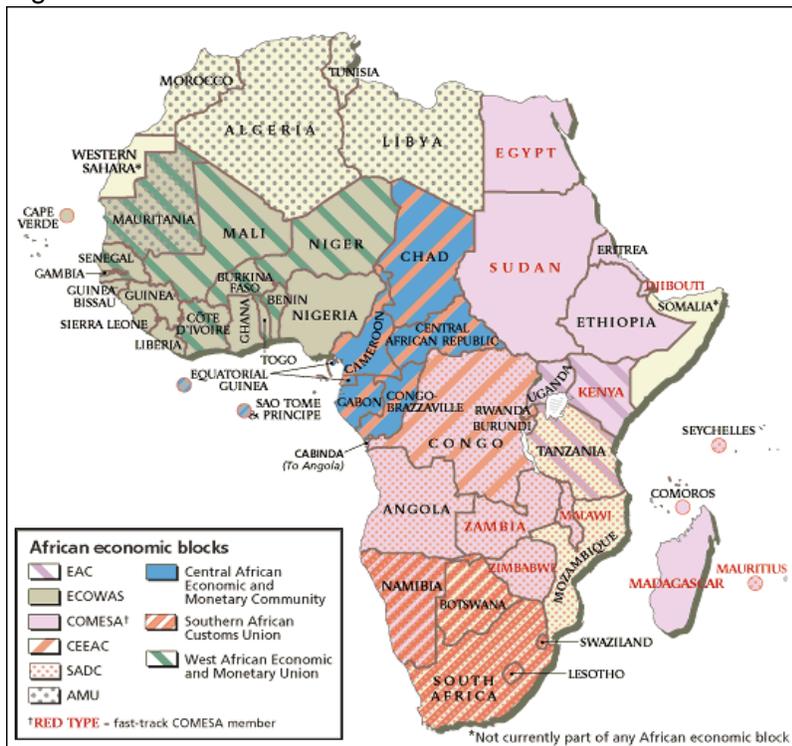
<sup>13</sup> “

<sup>14</sup>“

<sup>15</sup> OSAA, Africa, UN and Africa, United Nations and Africa, Special Adviser, UN, United Nations, NEPAD, African Union." *UN News Center*. UN, n.d. Web. 25 Oct. 2016.  
<<http://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/peace/recs.shtml>>.

<sup>16</sup> Geda, Alemayehu, and Haile Kebret. "Regional economic integration in Africa: A review of problems and prospects with a case study of COMESA." *Journal of African Economies* 17.3 (2008): 357-394.

Figure 2<sup>17</sup>



While there may be eight RECs in this photo, the EAC is not as much of a building block towards economic integration as the others. Despite this, every state within the African continent belongs to one regional economic community

### The African Union Challenges with Economic Integration

Although the African Union has been appointed the responsibility to integrate RECs to create a central economic system, multiple dilemmas have arisen. The OAU's limited range of power and inability to supersede decisions and actions of the regional countries within Africa have followed to the African Union, leaving the AU practically powerless over the RECs. The Abuja Treaty's limited detail of the relationship between REC, and the AU brings into light that the RECs are not heavily bound by the treaty, therefore some committees do not feel required to cooperate with the last stages of the Abuja Treaty. With that being said, the need to integrate must be a collective rational by all of the countries in Africa, unfortunately that isn't the case due to power struggle and economic conditions.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> "Afrabet Soup." *The Economist*. The Economist Newspaper, 10 Feb. 2001. Web. 25 Oct. 2016. <<http://www.economist.com/node/499878>>.

<sup>18</sup> "The African Union and Regional Economic Integration." *Leander*. N.p., n.d. Web. 25 Oct. 2016. <<http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/african-union-and-regional-economic-integration>>.

## UGAMUNC XXIII AU

Furthermore, RECs with high gross national products would find integration to be unbeneficial due to the fear that they would have to bear the financial burden of the economy. This is one of the major reasons why they refuse to integrate.<sup>19</sup> There is an inadequacy of mechanisms for regional integration to ensure there is benefits across the board for all member states. The inadequacy of the integration comes from the poor design and sequencing of the arrangements, in other words the layout specified in the Abuja Treaty doesn't provide a smooth transition from separate regional economic communities to a conjoined structure of neighboring RECs. Some of these gaps include the disregard for regional infrastructures like communication and transport to control market integration or a system to handle issues pertaining to human rights, good governance, accountability and transparency, key elements to maintaining stability and peace throughout economic objectives.<sup>20</sup> Weaker RECs with a low gross domestic products fear influences outside their boundaries would force them to naturally fall into economic hegemony (while the smaller states suffer the burden of economic integration, the bigger states with bigger economies are reaping the benefits).<sup>21</sup>

To continue, alongside the many other problems with integration the inability to relinquish sovereignty presents itself as major challenge. If economic integration is being successful, states would be giving up the ability to control resources and personal rule has been acquired conformability by the African leaders who have government their regional economic community for the past 40 years. Because of the issue of power political indifference arises as a dilemma because of the issue of foreign aid and aid dependence. RECs would rather receive support from foreign nations integrating with their neighboring states.<sup>22</sup> While these may be a few road block in the sluggish process of full economic integration, there more subliminal conflicts yet to be addressed.

### Questions to Consider

- 1) Examine the possible benefits and failures with whether a successful economic integration is achieved or not.
- 2) How could the AU address the concerns of the stronger states and weaker states to ensure equal benefits if economic integration occurs?
- 3) What are some possible alternatives that allow the African Nation to be taken seriously on the global economy, besides continental integration?

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<sup>20</sup> Sako, Soumana. *Challenges Facing Africa's Regional Economic Communities in Capacity Building*. Harare: African Capacity Building Foundation, 2006. Web. 11 Nov. 2016.  
<<http://elibrary.acbfact.org/acbf/collect/acbf/index/assoc/HASH01e6.dir/doc.pdf>>.

<sup>21</sup> "The African Union and Regional Economic Integration." *Leander*. N.p., n.d. Web. 25 Oct. 2016.  
<<http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/african-union-and-regional-economic-integration>>.

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## UGAMUNC XXIII

### AU

- 4) How should the limitations of the African Union be addressed, should the goal be to increase sovereignty or manage the little power it already has?

#### **Recommended Reading**

- Investigate some of the limitations of the African Union, specifically as it relates to the Regional Economic Communities
- Research possible benefits or failures of economic integration in other unions and compare outcomes
- Look closely at the some of the weak states and strong states in Africa and examine their relationship with each other

#### **Required Vocabulary**

- AEC – African Economic Community
- REC – Regional Economic Community
- AMU – Arab Mahgreb Union
- COMESA – Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
- ECCAS – Economic Community for Central African States
- ECOWAS – Economic Community of Western African States
- SADC - Southern African Development Community
- IGAD – Intergovernmental Authority on Development
- CEN-SAD – Community of Sahel Saharan States

## II. Inclusion to the UN Security Council

### Introduction - The UN Security Council (UNSC)

Ever since its inception in 1945, the United Nations has entrusted questions of global peacemaking to the Security Council. With the power to authorize unilateral military action, the Security Council has played a role in significant world events over the last 70 years, ranging from the Korean War to the latest Gulf Wars. Despite criticism, a seat on the fifteen-member Security Council is coveted by U.N. member states. Five of the fifteen seats are held by permanent members with veto (the “Power Five” - the United States, Russian Federation, France, United Kingdom, China), the other ten seats are held by member-states elected to two-year terms. The competition for these ten seats can be very intense.<sup>23</sup>

The ten non-permanent member-states who are elected to Security Council enjoy several benefits of being a member of the Security Council. The most notable are diplomatic and financial favors; member-states trade their votes away for these. For example, in 2003, the United States promised rewards to temporary UNSC members in exchange for their support of the invasion of Iraq. It should be of interest that rotating members see a 59 percent increase in U.S. aid and 8 percent increase in UN aid during the course of their rotation. Studies show that these numbers tend to rise during key diplomatic years, which are when the United Nations receives a large amount of media coverage, or when a major international event occurs.<sup>24</sup> It can be debated that some countries are fortunate enough to arrive on the global scene at a time where their Security Council vote is more valuable, therefore directly leading to their benefit.

The demand for an expanded Security Council has grown with the UN itself. When the Security Council was established in 1945, there were only 51 member-states with fifteen UNSC members; today, there are 193, with the disproportionate UNSC representation remaining at fifteen member-states. These calls for reform increased following the thawing of Cold War tensions.<sup>25</sup> Each permanent member has proposed its own plan for expanding the Council; however, none have passed, frustrating the rest of the global community who support such reforms.<sup>26</sup> The support for reform is there. However, the common ground that all countries can agree upon is not.

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<sup>23</sup> Kuziemko, Ilyana, and Eric Werker. "How Much Is a Seat on the Security Council Worth? Foreign Aid and Bribery at the United Nations." *Journal of Political Economy* 114, no. 5 (2006): 905-30.

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<sup>25</sup> Okhovat, Sahar. *The United Nations Security Council: Its Veto Power and Its Reform*. Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, The University of Sydney, 2012.

<sup>26</sup> “

### **Africa and the Security Council: The Quest for Representation**

The current ten non-permanent UNSC members are Angola, Egypt, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Senegal, Spain, Ukraine, Uruguay, and Venezuela.<sup>27</sup> Out of 54 nations on the African Continent, and 53 African Union (AU) member states, only three have temporary Security Council representation. The AU called for more representation with the 2005 Ezulwini Consensus, which demands for two permanent seats with veto and two non-permanent seats on the Security Council.<sup>28</sup> However, the AU remained quiet as to *who* occupies the four seats, particularly the two permanent seats with veto.<sup>29</sup> This sets the stage for a potential hegemonic showdown between AU member-states, as was seen between South Africa and Nigeria when they shared time together on the Security Council as temporary members in the years following the Consensus.<sup>30</sup> Both countries have since emerged as frontrunners for the two seats in a scenario where the UNSC is expanded to accommodate the Ezulwini Consensus.

Nigeria has since received the backing of the AU in its quest for a permanent seat, with its endorsement by the AU Executive Council at its 2015 Golden Jubilee Summit in Addis Ababa.<sup>31</sup> This comes from Nigeria's continued commitment to achieving peace in troubled areas of Africa, contributing troops and other resources to UN peacekeeping efforts.<sup>32</sup> Considering the activity of the terror group Boko Haram, which remains at large in the Western Africa region, a seat on the Security Council could be very beneficial to Nigeria in securing foreign aid and assistance in the fight against terror. There is a long road ahead, however; in a 2015 speech, Edem Kodjo, the former Prime Minister of Togo, said that in order for Nigeria to achieve this goal, it needs to prove to the world that it can unite the African continent as a whole. Nigeria is a leader of democracy on the continent, as evidenced by its successful 2015 general election, but is still very poor despite its natural resources.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, tackling the poverty in the country, Boko Haram, *and* uniting the entire diverse African continent is a very daunting task for Nigeria to undertake alone, one they certainly don't have the resources for.

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<sup>27</sup> "Members of the United Nations Security Council," United Nations, accessed 24 October 2016. <http://www.un.org/en/sc/members/>

<sup>28</sup> Maseng, Jonathan O. "UNSC Reform and the Dilemmas of African Integration ..." Pambazuka News. Accessed October 24, 2016. <http://www.pambazuka.org/governance/unsc-reform-and-dilemmas-african-integration>.

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<sup>31</sup> Bamidele, Oluwaseun. "Nigeria: A Quest for a Permanent Seat in the United Nations Security Council.”

<sup>32</sup> “

<sup>33</sup> @vanguardngrnews. "UN Security Council: How Nigeria Can Get Permanent Seat-Kodjo, Former Prime Minister of Togo - Vanguard News." Vanguard News. 2015. Accessed November 11, 2016. <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2015/09/un-security-council-how-nigeria-can-get-permanent-seat-kodjo-former-prime-minister-of-togo/>.

## UGAMUNC XXIII AU

The United Nations has not made any movement in the direction towards reform. However, the African Union should develop a plan accounting for who takes the two permanent seats to strengthen its case for expanded UNSC representation.

### **The U.N. and Africa**

The biggest roadblock to AU involvement in the Security Council is the prominence of African issues on the UNSC agenda, which could be a conflict of interest between the AU members and other members of the Security Council. While the AU and UN have made significant strides in cooperating in Africa, the AU still cannot achieve true sovereignty in handling its interior problems due to significant capability gaps.<sup>34</sup>

One example of UNSC and AU intertwinement and its complications is Somalia. Following independence in 1960 and overthrow of the first post-colonial era government a few years later, a military government led by General Siad Barre took over. After the northern section of Somali (formerly British Somaliland), "seceded" (the separate country was never recognized by the rest of the world), Barre remained in the south (formerly Italian Somaliland) with his armed supporters, effectively turning southern Somalia into an armed camp. As most of Somalia was basically lawless, the stage was set for a conflict between power-hungry clan lords Mohamed Farah Aidid, Ali Mahdi Mohamed, and President Barre himself. Resistance to his regime erupted into full-blown civil war in 1991. The fighting devastated the south, particularly Mogadishu, along with the agriculture and food distribution. Famine followed, resulting in the deaths of up to 300,000 people. Alarmed, the UN authorized a limited mission in Somalia, United Nations Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM I). However, UNOSOM was forbidden to engage any use of force outside of self-defense, and achieved little. The United States then took the lead in organizing the coalition United Task Force (UNITAF) in 1992, which successfully restored order and alleviated the famine. In 1993, however, UNITAF withdrew and was replaced with the second UNOSOM mission. This mission was a catastrophe, as Aidid saw UNOSOM II as a threat to his power and ordered his forces to attack. In 1995, UNOSOM II withdrew after having taken heavy casualties, its mission to restore the rule of government incomplete. Following the breakdown of another attempt at provisional government, the UN Security Council approved an AU peacekeeping mission to Somalia in, African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) in 2007. AMISOM has since been successful in working closely with the transition government in place, along with maintaining the peace.<sup>35</sup>

While the African Union has been successful in their peacekeeping missions, take note that its missions must first be approved by the UN Security Council itself. An expansion of the Security Council to include four AU member states would perceivably create a conflict of

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<sup>34</sup> Boutellis, Arthur, and Paul D. Williams. "Peace operations, the African Union, and the United Nations: Toward more effective partnerships." *IPI Policy Papers* (2013).

<sup>35</sup> "AMISOM - Brief History." Accessed November 10, 2016. <http://amisom-au.org/about-somalia/brief-history/>.

## UGAMUNC XXIII

### AU

interest for the Council, but expansion would also be perceivably beneficial to Africa *as a whole* because UNSC members tend to receive more aid and funding. However, this can come at the cost of AU sovereignty in Africa.

#### Questions to Consider

- 1) Should the AU synchronize its objectives with that of the UNSC to pave the road for AU inclusion to the Security Council? If so, how will this best be achieved? How will the AU maintain its sovereignty in Africa?
- 2) How can the AU overcome its capability handicaps in handling African issues, which will presumably help the AU gain credibility as a suitor for two permanent UNSC seats with veto?
- 3) How can the AU facilitate compromise among the permanent Security Council members, along with the rest of the United Nations, to break the deadlock on reform that has lasted for years?
- 4) Who should occupy the seats of the two permanent members with veto, assuming the African Union be granted two permanent seats on the Security Council? Who gets left out, and what do they receive?

#### Recommended Readings

- Research the history of the UN, the Security Council, and reform attempts. (The UNSC website is <http://www.un.org/en/sc/>)
- An interesting, and possibly helpful case study to consider would be Japan's multiple attempts to land a permanent seat with veto on the UNSC. (A wealth of resources can be found on the website for Japan's Permanent Mission to the United Nations website, [http://www.un.emb-japan.go.jp/topics/security\\_council\\_reform.html](http://www.un.emb-japan.go.jp/topics/security_council_reform.html))
- Read on past attempts at collaboration between the AU and UN. Pay close attention to what went right and wrong, and think of how the AU can improve its coordination of these responses. (Here's an official overview, courtesy of the UN: <http://www.un.org/undpa/en/africa/un-au-cooperation>)

### III. Securing a Ceasefire in Darfur

#### Introduction: The War in Darfur

In the years following independence from British colonial rule, Darfur, the westernmost region of Sudan and roughly equivalent to the size of France, has been engulfed in on-and-off conflict. Several factors have contributed to this broken peace, namely the Islamist government of Omar al-Bashir, located in Khartoum; drought resulting in famine and migration, a breakdown of a traditional land-tenure system put in place by the British, and the diverse ethnic makeup of Sudan's population, which includes Arab-descended groups in the north and native tribal groups such as the Furs, Masalit and Zaghawa in the south. It is also important to note the religious divisions among the Sudanites; the northern Arabs follow Islam, while the southern tribes followed Christianity and their own animist religions.<sup>36</sup> Finally, Darfur is destitute, with very poor infrastructure (such as roads, clean water, and schools) and social services; Darfur's inhabitants felt excluded by the Khartoum government, which also abolished the tribal councils that settled disputes peacefully or with minimal bloodshed.<sup>37</sup> Al-Bashir's oppressive Khartoum regime provoked two ethnic wars between the Arabs and tribes, one in the 1980s and another in the late 1990s. These conflicts pushed Sudanites to form multiple militias, ranging from the Arab Janjaweed in the 1990s to the Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA) in 2003.<sup>38</sup>

In 2003, full-blown war erupted once again when insurgents shot down a government helicopter and began launching assaults on government forces. Al-Bashir's government acknowledged the grave situation it was in, particularly after losing 32 of the first 34 battles to the insurgency; however, a powerful government counter-offensive in the summer retook the initiative, with the Janjaweed following up with murder, looting and rape. The SLA and its allies returned the favor whenever possible; these war crimes began to garner the attention of the international community, namely the United Nations and African Union.<sup>39</sup>

In 2005, peace was on the horizon in Sudan. Mediated by the United States and the United Nations, a ceasefire agreement was reached between the two sides. The agreement, known as the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), called for the establishment of a semi-autonomous government in South Sudan, division of Sudan's oil revenue between the north and south, and multiparty elections in 2009 and a referendum by 2011 on whether South Sudan

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<sup>36</sup> Natsios, Andrew S. "Beyond Darfur-Sudan's Slide toward Civil War." *Foreign Aff.* 87 (2008): 77.

<sup>37</sup> Foundation, Thomson Reuters. "Darfur Conflict." Darfur Conflict. Accessed November 07, 2016. <http://news.trust.org/spotlight/darfur-conflict/>.

<sup>38</sup> Reyna, Stephen P. 2010. "The Disasters of War in Darfur, 1950-2004." *Third World Quarterly* 31, no. 8: 1297-1320. *Business Source Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed October 25, 2016).

<sup>39</sup> “

UGAMUNC XXIII  
AU

should secede from Sudan or not.<sup>40</sup> Since then, South Sudan has voted to secede and has become its own nation, and became the African Union's 54th member in 2011.



Darfur is about one fourth the size of Sudan altogether. South Sudan is now a separate country, but the final border between Sudan and South Sudan has not been finalized. The oil-rich Abiyei region is still hotly contested between both nations. Notice that Chad shares a long border with Darfur; lots of refugees have fled into Chad.

Image from: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Darfur>

<sup>40</sup> Natsios, Andrew S. "Beyond Darfur-Sudan's Slide toward Civil War." *Foreign Aff.* 87 (2008): 77.

## UGAMUNC XXIII AU

### **The African Union and the Shaky Peace in Sudan**

The AU played a role in bringing peace to Sudan, starting in June 2004 with a military mission and culminating with the signing of the aforementioned peace agreement in 2005.<sup>41</sup> This was a far cry from the original UN plan to send in an autonomous peacekeeping force; this hybrid force was known as the United Nations African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID).<sup>42</sup>

The situation in Sudan remains far from ideal. Even though South Sudan has achieved its clean release from Sudan, disputes over land still remain. The most controversial of these areas is Abyei, an oil-rich province that is currently under special protection by the United Nations. The chances of tensions between the two nations boiling over into armed conflict remain high. Risk factors include Sudan's ruling political faction, the National Congress Party (NCP), a descendant of the former Islamist government and led by Omar al-Bashir himself, along with local military commanders on both sides who can incite local hostilities that can escalate into full-blown war.<sup>43</sup> Sudan is effectively the powder keg of Africa.

### **The Humanitarian Crisis**

The United Nations has declared Darfur one of the world's worst ongoing humanitarian crises. More than 2.3 million people have been displaced, with many of them living in unsanitary refugee camps in Darfur and neighboring Chad. Relief efforts and UN peacekeepers have restricted access; meanwhile, the displaced refugees are vulnerable to attacks and further displacement during flare-ups of violence.

Khartoum has been accused of arming Arab tribes who employ scorched-earth tactics against rebel communities. Khartoum has denied these allegations. In 2009, the International Criminal Court (ICC) issued an arrest warrant for President al-Bashir for war crimes and crimes against humanity. Al-Bashir dismissed these charges, and thirteen relief agencies were soon expelled from the country. In 2010, the ICC issued another arrest warrant for al-Bashir for charges of genocide.<sup>44</sup>

Especially alarming is the use of children in the conflict. The UN has verified 159 incidents of recruitment and use of child soldiers in the conflict, with an estimated 2,596 children being involved. The majority of these incidents are attributed to the rebel armies, particularly<sup>45</sup><sup>46</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Abass, Ademola. "The United Nations, the African Union and the Darfur crisis: of apology and utopia." *Netherlands international law review* 54, no. 03 (2007): 415-440.

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<sup>43</sup> Natsios, Andrew S. "Beyond Darfur-Sudan's Slide toward Civil War." *Foreign Aff.* 87 (2008): 77.

<sup>44</sup> Foundation, Thomson Reuters. "Darfur Conflict." Darfur Conflict. Accessed November 07, 2016. <http://news.trust.org/spotlight/darfur-conflict/>.

<sup>46</sup> "South Sudan." *United Nations Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary General for Children and Armed Conflict*. Accessed 11 November 2016.

### **Neighboring Countries**

Directly bordering Darfur, Chad has experienced an influx of refugees fleeing from the hostilities, along with occasional intrusions by Janjaweed forces pursuing them. Janjaweed operations in Chad ranged from stealing food and cattle to committing heinous massacres and razing refugee settlements. A Chadian rebel group, the United Front for Democratic Change (UFDC), also attacked Darfurian populations. President Idriss Déby, a Chadian citizen and member of the Zaghawa tribe who rose to power in Chad with the help of friendly Zaghawa militias in Darfur, further retaliated against Sudan by declaring a "state of belligerency" with Chad in 2005, accusing Sudan of supporting the UFDC and allowing the Janjaweed to freely carry out operations in Chad. (The UFDC is opposed to Déby's rule because he manipulated them to carry out his power-seizing coup in 1990, forgetting them soon after).

Hostilities ceased in February 2006 when, with the sponsorship and mediation of Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi of Libya, Presidents Déby and al-Bashir signed the Tripoli Agreement. The agreement required both governments to immediately cease funding and support of rebel groups, along with ending Janjaweed attacks in eastern Chad. However, the UFDC was not invited, so no agreement was reached with them, undermining the entire agreement. Janjaweed and UFDC attacks intensified, reaching as far as the Chadian capital of N'Djamena. Negotiations have been virtually nonexistent between Chad and Sudan. Janjaweed attacks also target specific ethnic groups in Chad, increasing tensions and the chance of an ethnic side-conflict erupting in Chad.<sup>47</sup> These groups remain at large, threatening to undermine peace efforts and the stability of the region.

### **Questions to Consider**

1. Many autonomous militias, ranging from the Janjaweed to UFDC, remain at large in the region. How can the AU disarm these groups once and for all?
2. How can the African Union collaborate with the United Nations to effectively pacify Sudan and South Sudan and achieve a lasting peace in the region?
3. How can the African Union settle the dispute over Abyei?
4. Should Omar Hassan al-Bashir, indicted multiple times by the International Criminal Court, be brought to justice, and how?
5. How can the AU assist refugees in Sudan, South Sudan, and Chad?
6. What should the AU do in regards to protecting children exposed to sexual violence and recruitment into militias at an early age?

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<sup>47</sup> "Chad and the Darfur Conflict." *Enough Silence*. Accessed 11 November 2016.  
<http://www1.american.edu/faculty/singerman/enoughsilence/Sudan%20101/Chad%20and%20Darfur/chad.html>

## UGAMUNC XXIII AU

### Recommended Readings

- Read about Sudan since the end of British rule and the conflicts over the years. Sudan, particularly Darfur, has a long and bloody history of ethnic conflict. (Good places to look are the Sudan profile on Insight on Conflict at <https://www.insightonconflict.org/conflicts/sudan/conflict-profile/> and this Thomas Reuters's insight at <http://news.trust.org//spotlight/Darfur-conflict>)
- Read about past UN and AU attempts to mediate peace between the warring factions in Sudan. (Google this, or look it up on the UN website.)
- Familiarize yourself with the multiple ethnicities, militias, and political parties in Sudan. A firm knowledge of these entities will aid you when you write your position papers and when you are in committee. A small glossary has been included below.

### Glossary of Terms/Figures

- **Omar al-Bashir:** the leader of the Muslim Khartoum government since 1989.
- **Furs, Masalit and Zaghawa:** some of the southern Sudanese tribes. Followers of Christianity and other Animist religions, they are hostile to the Arab Sudanites to the north.
- **Janjaweed:** Arab militia that backs al-Bashir; have been accused of multiple war crimes and crimes against humanity through actions ranging from looting to massacre.
- **Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA):** insurgent army that opposes al-Bashir, they, too, committed war crimes against Arab noncombatants/civilians in return for Janjaweed crimes.
- **Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA):** ceasefire that ended the conflict in 2005, providing for a South Sudan referendum on independence from Sudan in 2011. Also provided for the division of oil revenue between the north and south, and for democratic elections in 2009. Mediated by the United States and United Nations.
- **United Nations African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID):** UN peacekeeping mission in Darfur.
- **Abiyei:** oil-rich province located on the border between Sudan and South Sudan; hotly contested, it currently belongs to neither country and is under UN special protection. Ownership is yet to be determined.
- **Khartoum:** Capital of Sudan, and seat of al-Bashir's government.
- **Idriss Déby:** President of Chad, in power since overthrowing the previous government in a 1990 coup. Declared a "state of belligerency" with Sudan in response to Janjaweed and UFDC attacks.
- **United Front for Democratic Change (UFDC):** Chadian rebel group opposed to Déby's rule who also attacked Darfurian civilians.