

CHAPTER 1: THE AFRICAN UNION/UNITED NATIONS HYBRID PEACE OPERATION IN AFRICA – A NEW APPROACH BY THE UNITED NATIONS TO MAINTAIN INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

1.1 ORIENTATION

In Enlightenment thinking, violence and conflict (seen as the greatest evil in history) are ascribed to a disorderly world, according to Jeong (2000:8). Jeong (2000:8) argues that political philosophers, such as John Locke in the 17th century and Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the 18th century, viewed war as unnecessary and believed that social contracts could prevent violence. Liberal reformists in the 19th century proposed institutionalised mechanisms to oppose the conquest of organised violence, namely inter-state war (Jeong, 2000:8). Covell (1998:3) quotes Immanuel Kant who considered that the realisation of lasting peace required “*the submission of men to a lawful form of government within states, the establishing of the lawful form of government within states itself presupposed the acceptance by men and states of the constraints of law and constitutional order in the international sphere, and, hence, their acceptance of the obligation to act for peace therein through basing their rights in law rather than in mere force of power*”.

The United Nations has its roots in the League of Nations, the first attempt at a world peacekeeping organisation, which could be seen as a contemporary realisation “*of the acceptance by men and states of the constraints of law and order in the international sphere*”, according to Kant, as quoted by Covell (1998:3). The League of Nations, created in the aftermath of World War I, failed to prevent a second world conflict and was discredited as ineffective. According to Hildebrand (2009) the groundwork for a new world organisation was laid by the governments of the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States of America (USA) early in World War II.

The Charter of the United Nations (UN Charter) which was signed on 26 June 1945 and came into force after it was ratified on 24 October 1945 (Hildebrand, 2009), lays

the foundation and sets out the purposes and principles for the United Nations. Weiss (2012) points out that the central purposes of the UN Charter - the maintenance of international peace and security, the promotion of human rights, and the improvement of economic and social development have been the focus of United Nations' activities since its creation. In Article 1 of the UN Charter, the United Nations Security Council (UN Security Council) is given primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security (UN, 2009d). In fulfilling this responsibility, the UN Security Council may adopt a range of measures, including the establishment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation (UN DPKO, 2008:13). The legal basis for such action is found in Chapters VI, VII and VIII of the UN Charter. The UN Security Council, however, does not need to refer to a specific Chapter of the UN Charter when passing a resolution authorising the deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation (UN DPKO, 2008:13-14).

In regard to working with regional organisations, the UN Charter states in Chapter VIII, Article 52 that: *“Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations”* (UN, 2008a).

However, prior to 1990, there were no references in UN Security Council resolutions to regional organisations. From 1991, references to regional organisations' engagement in the prevention and resolution of conflicts became common. While most of the references pertain to attempts at peaceful settlement of disputes, in 1992 the UN Security Council for the first time authorised the use of force by a regional organisation by passing Resolution 770 (1992) regarding the former Yugoslavia (UNSC, 2008a:6). On 29 August 2005 the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, said during the sixth High-Level meeting between the United Nations and regional and other intergovernmental organisations, that: *“On international peacekeeping, the needs remain great. The demands of war stricken countries often outstrip the United Nations capacity to deal with them. Moreover, other organisations such as the African Union may be better suited to respond to*

certain situations. For example, the African Union is trailblazing a leadership role in Darfur” (UN, 2005a:7).

According to the United Nations Department of Political Affairs (UN DPA, 2008) the United Nations has been pursuing stronger partnerships with regional organisations, such as the African Union, believing regional organisations have a growing role to play in the maintenance of international peace and security. The United Nations acknowledges there is a need for the support of regional organisations to address conflicts around the globe, and that regional organisations may be best positioned to understand and to influence crises due to their regional involvement (UN DPA, 2008). This sentiment echoes the statement made by the UN Security Council during its presidential statement of 28 March 2007 (UNSC, 2007b:2): *“The Security Council recognises that regional organisations are well positioned to understand the root causes of many conflicts closer to home and to influence the prevention or resolution, owing to their knowledge of the region.”*

In its presidential statement of 28 March 2007, the UN Security Council reaffirmed its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (UNSC, 2007b:2). This included establishing relationships with regional organisations as depicted in Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations.

1.1.1 Peacekeeping in Africa and UNAMID

Although nearly half of the 50 United Nations peacekeeping missions in the post-Cold War era have been in Africa (CCR, 2006:12), not all of them have been undertaken in cooperation with the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) or its successor the African Union. Chingono and Lamb (2004:10) note that the United Nations’ peacekeeping experience in Africa and its interaction with the OAU/African Union and Africa’s sub-regional organisations is a relatively recent phenomenon.

Between 2008 and 2010 Africa has hosted eight of the 18 United Nations peacekeeping missions in the world, and nearly 90% of peacekeepers deployed

globally are currently in Africa. United Nations peacekeeping operations have been deployed in Sudan, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia/Eritrea, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Burundi and Western Sahara (CCR, 2006:12).

In the first 45 years of the United Nations' existence, there was only one UN peacekeeping operation in Africa (in the DRC from 1960-64). The United Nations only returned to Africa approximately 25 years later in 1989, when it oversaw South Africa's military withdrawal from Namibia and supervised the country's first democratic election (Chingono & Lamb, 2004:10). From 1989 to 1999, a further 17 peacekeeping operations were undertaken by the United Nations in Africa, but Bergman (2000:19) points out that the number of peacekeepers which served worldwide in 1993 which was more than 75 000 declined to be less than 12 000 in June 1999. Bergman further points out that in Africa during the same timeframe the number of peacekeepers declined from 40 000 to less than 1 600. Coincidentally from 1989 to 1999, there were relatively few successes, notably Namibia (United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG)) and Mozambique (United Nations Operations in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)), but there were also failures such as Somalia (United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM)) and Rwanda (United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR)) (Chingono & Lamb, 2004:10).

On 31 July 2007 the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1769 authorising the establishment of UNAMID (African Union/United Nations Hybrid operation in Darfur) under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, for an initial period of 12 months (UN, 2007a:1). This was the first *hybrid* peace operation and arrangement between the United Nations and a regional organisation.

1.1.2 Events leading to the deployment of UNAMID

Since early 2003 Sudanese government forces and militia called "Janjaweed" had been engaged in an armed conflict with rebel groups called the Sudanese Liberation Movement/Army and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) (HRW, 2008). As of April 2008, some 2.5 million displaced people had been living in camps in Darfur and

more than 200 000 people had fled to neighbouring Chad, where they were living in refugee camps (HRW, 2008). The BBC (2007) reported that in addition to the people displaced by the conflict, at least two million additional people were considered “conflict-affected” by the United Nations and many needed some form of food assistance because the conflict damaged the local economy, markets, and trade in Darfur. At the time, it was estimated that between 200 000 and 300 000 people had died in the conflict (BBC, 2007).

In April 2004 the Sudanese government and the two rebel movements signed a humanitarian ceasefire agreement mediated by the Chadian government with support from the African Union. This led to the establishment of an African Union peacekeeping mission, the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS), which was mandated to provide military observers to monitor and report on the ceasefire, and protect civilians and humanitarian aid workers, while an unarmed civilian police force and support teams were added later (HRW, 2007:30).

Though AMIS proved to be successful in providing initial stabilisation and reducing large-scale organised violence in Darfur (US Department of State, 2006), it was unable to resolve the conflict. It further had several critical operational challenges, such as command and control disparities, weak logistical support and little operational practice (Kamidza *et al.*, 2005:52). Due to being unsuccessful in reducing large scale violence in Darfur and suffering from operational challenges, AMIS was replaced by UNAMID when its mandate ended on 31 December 2007 (UNSC, 2007a:2). Paragraph 5 of Resolution 1769 (2007) required that UNAMID assume authority from the AMIS with a view to achieving full operational capability and force strength as soon as possible. Accordingly, UNAMID assumed authority from AMIS on 31 December 2007 (UNSC, 2008b:6).

1.1.3 UNAMID

Jane Holl Lute, the former Assistant Secretary-General of the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN DPKO), said in an interview with the Council on Foreign Relations on 2 August 2007 that: *It [UNAMID] is an unprecedented*

operation. Never before in the history of the United Nations has the United Nations and peacekeepers worked explicitly with another international organization—in this case, the African Union—in a single integrated operation that is fully funded by the United Nations assessment mechanism and under the integrated command structure and the rules, procedures, and processes of the United Nations (Hanson, 2007).

UNAMID was mandated to incorporate all of the AMIS personnel (AMIS strength was authorised to be 7 936 personnel) (Kamidza *et al.*, 2005:52), and the UN Light and Heavy Support Packages to AMIS (UNSC, 2007a:3). According to Resolution 1769 (UNSC, 2007a:3) UNAMID would consist of 19 555 military personnel, including 360 military observers and liaison officers, and an appropriate civilian component including up to 3 772 police personnel and 19 formed police units comprising up to 140 personnel each. Hanson (2007) indicated that UNAMID had a unified command structure and functioned in effect as a single mission through a single force commander and a single senior representative in an integrated chain of command to both the United Nations and the African Union.

UNAMID, described as a ‘hybrid operation’, differs from co-deployment and joint (multi-national) operations. Aboagye (2007:4) points out that co-deployment and joint (multi-national) operations differ in terms of their particular command and control arrangements. In the case of co-deployment, there exists a separate strategic authority, as well as command and control, while in the case of joint operations there is a greater degree of integration of operational command and control resources.

The Darfur Integrated Task Force (DITF), as quoted by Aboagye (2007:2), defined a ‘hybrid operation’ as “a combined/joint operation in a particular area of responsibility conducted by forces from different organisations (in this case the United Nations and AU) under a common command and control arrangement, for the purposes of achieving a common objective or end state, with each force retaining its organisation’s identity throughout the operation”. Thus, the differences between a joint or multi-national operation and a hybrid operation lie in the degree to which the participating organisations can retain their identity and the locus of control of the operational command.

The UN Charter gives the UN Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security (UN DPKO, 2008:13) and provides for the role of international/regional organisations in the maintenance of international peace and security in Chapter VIII (UN, 2008a). Though regional organisations, such as the African Union, have deployed peacekeeping missions in the past, there has never been a joint/hybrid peacekeeping mission accountable to both the United Nations and the regional organisation.

Furthermore, the criteria stipulated for UNAMID, referred to in resolution 1769 (UNSC, 2007a:2) and the Security Council Report 759 (UNSC, 2007c:4) which call for “*a balanced force that would unquestionably meet the “African character” and whose impartiality would be beyond reproach*” point to at least two potential elements which warrant further investigation. The first is the apparent loss of the international United Nations character and the second is the underlying implication that if the United Nations alone conducted a peace operation, its impartiality might be in question.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The problem under investigation was the unprecedented peacekeeping partnership between the United Nations and the African Union to address the conflict in Darfur, Sudan. By partnering with regional organisations (such as the African Union) in hybrid peace operations (such as UNAMID), the United Nations followed a new approach to maintaining international peace and security. This was brought on by political pressure from United Nations member states, and could have created a precedent to continue to limit the lead role of the United Nations as maintainer of international peace and security. Based on this, the hybrid peace operations model used by UNAMID was not an optimal mechanism for the United Nations to maintain international peace and security.

1.3 KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Against the background of the above analysis, the following research questions form the focus of this research:

- a. What does the concept “international peace and security” imply?
- b. What are the United Nations’ and regional organisations’, such as the African Union, mandates for maintaining international peace and security?
- c. Which political factors prompted the need for an AU/UN hybrid operation (UNAMID) to maintain peace and security in Darfur, Sudan?
- d. What are the unique elements and characteristics of a hybrid operation, such as UNAMID?
- e. Is a hybrid peace operation such as UNAMID an optimal mechanism for the United Nations to use to maintain international peace and security?
- f. What are the possible political consequences for future United Nations efforts to maintain international peace and security, especially on the African continent, following UNAMID?

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The aim of this research was to understand and describe the political motivations/reasons why the United Nations formed a hybrid peace operation with the African Union; how this impacted on future efforts of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security, especially on the African continent; and based on this, to determine whether or not hybrid operations are a viable alternative for the United Nations to use to maintain international peace and security.

In order to achieve the above aims, the objectives of the research were:

- a. To analyse and determine the concept of ‘international peace and security’.
- b. To identify and analyse the mandate that lays the foundation and sets out the principles for the United Nations and regional organisations, such as the African Union, to maintain international peace and security.
- c. To investigate and identify the political factors which prompted the need for an African Union/United Nations hybrid operation in Darfur, Sudan.
- d. To identify, impart and describe the unique elements and characteristics of a hybrid operation such as UNAMID.
- e. To determine whether or not a hybrid peace operation such as UNAMID is an optimal mechanism for the United Nations to maintain international peace and security.
- f. To identify the possible political consequences for future United Nations efforts to maintain international peace and security on the African continent following UNAMID.

1.5 HYPOTHESIS

The approach of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security through hybrid partnerships with regional organisations (such as the African Union) in peace operations (such as UNAMID), was based on the United Nations’ submission to political pressure from member states aimed to limit the United Nations’ lead role in peace operations; this diminished the authority of the United Nations to take the lead in maintaining international peace and security, especially on the African continent; and was therefore not an optimal mechanism for the United Nations to use to maintain international peace and security.

1.6 METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

This study was primarily a case study of UNAMID to determine whether or not the United Nations had deviated from regular peacekeeping practice by participating in a hybrid peace operation and what were the implications for the United Nations of being associated with a hybrid operation. To conduct the research, qualitative methods (primarily the analysis of documents and conducting individual focused interviews) to collect data and information on UNAMID as a single, instrumental case study, were used. The full method of investigation used for the study is discussed in Chapter Seven.

1.6.1 Literature study

The research took into consideration and reviewed a variety of published books, magazines, academic articles and international documentation reporting on United Nations peace operations, especially those in Africa, as well as the changing role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security. Due to the focus on the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, most of the literature (such as UN Security Council reports, Resolutions, Reports from the UN Secretary-General, Mission Assignment reports and other official United Nations documents) was sourced from the United Nations database hosted by the Department for General Assembly and Conference Management. Historic records and other official United Nations documents available in the Dag Hammarskjold Library at the United Nations Secretariat in New York City, United States of America (USA), were also accessed and used. The information was used to lay a foundation for the research of the thesis and for use during triangulation.

1.6.2 Empirical study

With regard to case studies, McNabb (359:2004) noted that case studies are critical in the development of a theory of government planning processes and quoted Van Evera (1997) who proposed five different situations for when the case study method is a particularly appropriate design: a) the researcher wants to establish a theory of

theories; or b) for testing theories that already exist; or c) they can be used for identifying a previous condition or conditions that lead or contribute to a phenomenon; or d) when the researcher wants to establish the relative importance of those contributing conditions; or e) they can be used to establish the fundamental importance of the case with regard to other potential examples. In this study proposals (c), (d) and (e) were the most applicable. Accordingly, individuals who were leaders or experts on the subject/phenomenon were identified for possible interviews. Such interviews, according to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:147), are typically labelled as “*elite interviews*” which normally include people in powerful positions who are known to be difficult to gain access to. Therefore, even though there were many (hundreds) of United Nations and African Union officials involved with UNAMID who could be considered to be experts on the phenomenon in one way or another, the researcher had to carefully identify those practitioners and decision-makers who were cardinally involved with the establishment and operational aspects of UNAMID. As a result, the individual focus group interviews consisted of 11 individuals or respondents. Certain respondents were interviewed more than once (for instance Respondent A was interviewed three times, and Respondent I was interviewed twice). Respondents were from the UN Department of Safety and Security, UN Department of Political Affairs, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, the Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, and the Sudan Integrated Support Team.

Information was collected from the focus group based primarily on the method of ‘purposeful sampling’. There were two primary types of ‘purposeful sampling’ that were relevant to this study (Mugo, 2004): ‘critical case sampling’, and ‘snowball or chain sampling’. By using these two methods, logical generalisation and maximum application of information were applied to other cases such as “*If it is true for this one case, it is likely to be true of all other cases*”, and good interview subjects could be identified (Mugo, 2004). Where possible, all interviews were crosschecked and compared with the literature to ensure utmost validity and trustworthiness. Following this approach the hypothesis of the thesis was thoroughly explored, resulting in a new theoretical proposition.

1.7 CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

UNAMID, as a hybrid peace operation, was the first of its kind. The study aimed to discover the political motivation for the United Nations to participate in a hybrid peace operation and to question whether this reduced its leading role in maintaining international peace and security. This study also aimed to determine if hybrid operations are indeed an effective tool to use to maintain international peace and security.

It was the first empirical/critical study of African Union/United Nations hybrid operations and of the consequences/future implications such agreements may have for the maintenance of international peace and security by the United Nations. It significantly expanded on the international knowledge base of international peace and security; cooperation between the United Nations and regional organisations; and hybrid peace operations specifically.

The study furthermore provides a political analysis of the reasons why the United Nations opted to pursue the maintenance of international peace security through ‘third parties’ (such as international and regional organisations). Such an analysis brought new insight into the ongoing political debate of the United Nations’ relevance in world politics to maintaining peace and security. The conclusions in this study could serve as a basis for future studies on United Nations cooperation with regional organisations and the changing concept of maintaining international peace and security.

1.8 CHAPTERS IN THE STUDY

The chapters in the study contain research and analysis on the theoretical and historical underpinnings of the study (Chapters Two, Three, Four, Five), a description of the phenomenon (Chapter Six), an explanation of the research design and methodology used (Chapter Seven), and the conclusion of the study (Chapter Eight):

- i. *Chapter 1: Orientation and problem statement* provides an orientation and a description of the problem statement of the thesis. It deals with the concepts underlying the study, acronyms which are used throughout the chapters, as well as the research questions and the objectives of the study. The (methodological) method of investigation is described and the contribution of the thesis to the body of political research is highlighted.
- ii. *Chapter 2: Peace and security: a literature study* provides a historical and theoretical overview of the concept of ‘peace’ and ‘security’ and the pursuit of peace among states. A fundamental understanding of what is meant by the task of the United Nations being to ‘maintain international peace and security’ is provided. The relationship between violence and peace is also clearly pointed out. The chapter furthermore contains descriptions of concepts used in the thesis, such as ‘peacekeeping’, ‘human security’, and ‘conflict prevention’.
- iii. *Chapter 3: Maintaining international peace and security: the mandate of the United Nations and regional organisations* delivers a fundamental understanding of the legal aspects of the collective security systems of the United Nations and the African Union. Not only are the two systems and organisations compared but descriptions of how they are interlinked and/or opposed to one another are provided. The principles directing the maintenance of international peace and security which are enshrined in both the UN Charter and the African Union Constitutive Act, along with the envisioned supporting organisational security architectures, are also discussed.
- iv. *Chapter 4: Background to the Darfur conflict: the theatre of play* contains historical information on the origins of the Darfur conflict. It is pointed out how the conflict in Sudan affected the Darfur conflict and what measures and actions have been taken by the international community to address the conflicts. All the key role-players are discussed and the Darfur conflict is brought into context with the regional political arena, including the interplay of Libya, Chad, the GoS, and South Sudan.

- v. *Chapter 5: Key political events in the Darfur conflict from 2003 until 2007 (the establishment of UNAMID)* is an account of the timeline of key political events from the beginning of the Darfur conflict in February 2003 to 31 December 2007 which is when the UNAMID took over peace operations from AMIS. All the applicable UN Security Council resolutions and entities (such as the Panel of Experts investigating breaches of UN Security Council imposed sanctions) are discussed. Specific attention is given to AMIS and the regional security situation.

- vi. *Chapter 6: The African Union-United Nations Mission in Darfur (UNAMID)* provides insight and facts on UNAMID. The chapter is divided into three parts: in the first part, the meaning of ‘hybrid’ in the UNAMID context is construed; in the second part, the mandate of UNAMID is discussed; and in the third part, the major external factors which impacted on the Darfur conflict and/or UNAMID, such as the indictment of al-Bashir by the ICC, the Chad/Sudan conflict, and South Sudan’s secession, are highlighted. An account is given of all the applicable UN Security Council resolutions which were adopted from the time when UNAMID was set up to the time of writing (June/July 2011). The aim of this chapter is to provide as much information as possible relevant to the phenomenon being studied: UNAMID.

- vii. *Chapter 7: Research design and methodology* is a description of the empirical process followed in the study. The overall aims of the study are provided as well as justifications for the specific methods used to obtain information and data. Finally, the process followed for the qualitative comparative analysis of the information gathered through individually focused, semi-structured interviews, is described.

- viii. *Chapter 8: Empirical findings: results and conclusions* is the final chapter. By means of a comparison of theory, reality, observations, and experiences a new theoretical proposition is provided in response to the problem statement of the thesis. Recommendations for further research are also provided.

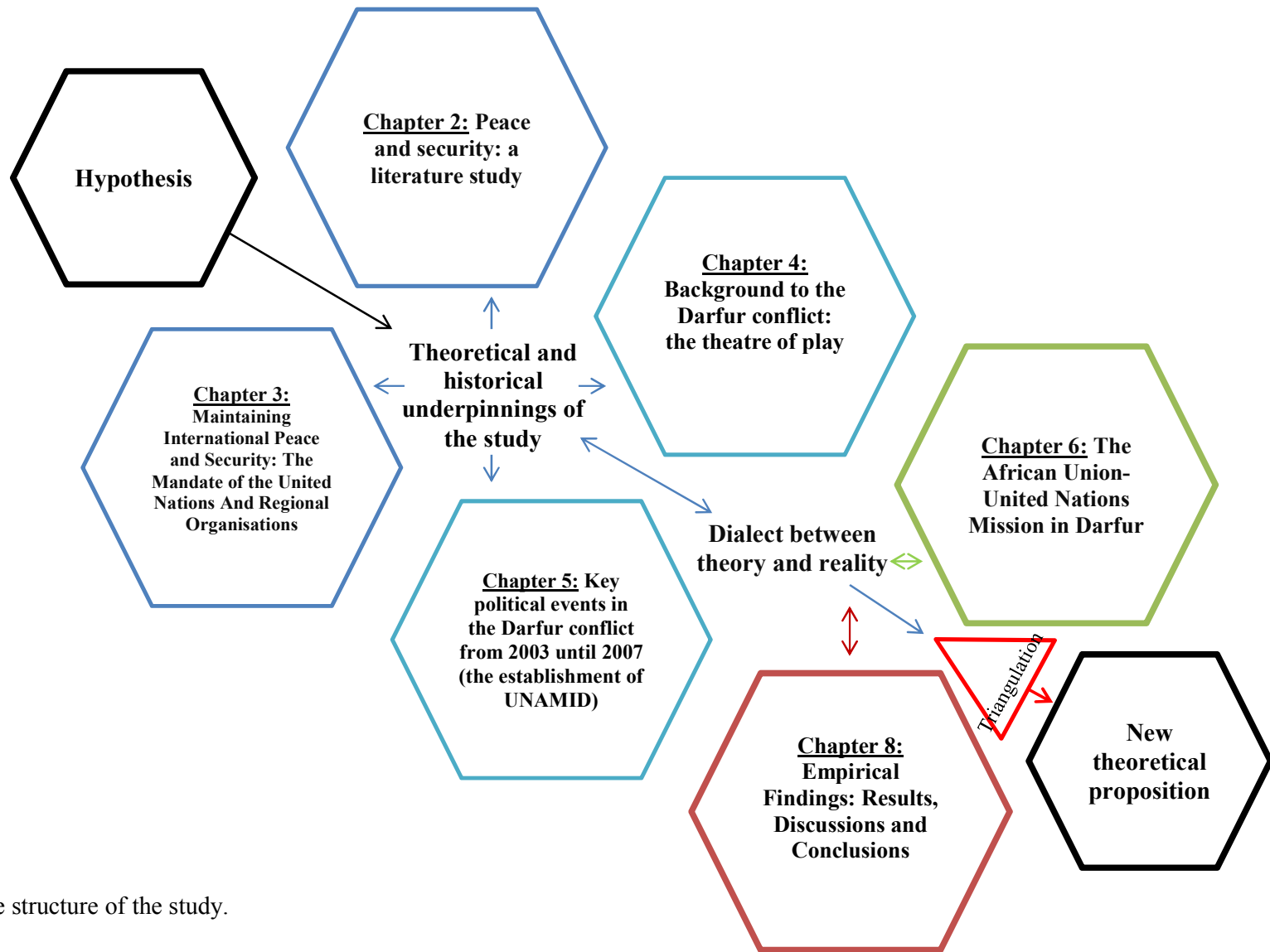


Figure 1.1: The structure of the study.

1.9 CONCLUSION

In this first chapter, a basic orientation and introduction is provided on the phenomenon investigated. The key research questions and objectives, as well as the central theoretical statement underlying the thesis, have been provided. The aim of this chapter was to offer an overview of the method of investigation used in the thesis, including the sources of information which were used during the literature and empirical studies. Overall, the chapter has provided a synopsis of the thesis and served as an introduction to the study. The literature study starts in Chapter Two with an analysis of the concepts of ‘peace’ and ‘security’. These concepts sit at the very foundation of the phenomenon and underline the focus of the study: ‘international peace and security’.