



THINK • STIMULATE • BRIDGE

APSACO

African Peace and Security
Annual Conference

Second Edition

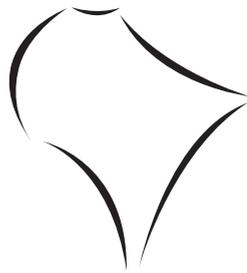
Peacekeeping Operations across Africa: Trends and Challenges

General Rapporteur

Pr. Rachid El HOUDAIGUI Senior Fellow

SYNTHESIS REPORT

June 18-19, 2018 - Rabat, Morocco



APSACO

African Peace and Security
Annual Conference

African Peace and Security Annual
Conference - APSACO

Second edition

**Peacekeeping Operations
across Africa:
Trends and Challenges**

SYNTHESIS REPORT

June 18-19, 2018

Rabat - Morocco

Preface

Over the first two decades of the third millennium, the United Nations (UN) launched a reform of peacekeeping by way of, *inter alia*, reports, doctrines, initiatives and institutional reforms. In the wake of this, Secretary-General António Guterres pledged to the Security Council on April 7, 2017 to improve United Nations Peace Operations (PKOs), confirming that UN action in this area was at a crossroads as, he conceded, PKOs “...often appear in distress, overwhelmed by the magnitude of the task.”

Peacekeeping (PK) certainly suffers from a variety of challenges due to both the political and legal constraints of mandates, the complexity of operational environments with the intrusion of asymmetric threats (terrorist acts and organized crime), as well as capacity-related deficiencies, both in terms of human and material resources. All this is in an international context of budget restrictions and staff downsizing.

Still, PK is, no delusion, particularly concentrated in Africa. For one, the UN model remains the best suited for this task due to the very nature of international relations, which are driven by the centrality of national interest and quest for power. At the same time, it is the legitimate model for protecting civilians, preventing conflicts and promoting stability. In the process, the Syrian crisis might not have generated the ongoing human tragedy it has if peacekeepers had been deployed, as was the case in the previous tragedies of Srebrenica and Rwanda where the inconsistencies of peacekeeping were identified.

Furthermore, PK is one of the foreign policy instruments by which States and international organizations, particularly the African Union (AU) and the European Union (EU), commit themselves to the international community. Contribution to PKOs is a constant feature of Moroccan foreign policy. Ever since the Congolese crisis of 1960, the Kingdom has taken part in about ten operations either under UN banner or in support of NATO and the EU, making it a constant contributor to the concert of nations. For its part, the AU seems to be embarking on a process of appropriating peacekeeping mechanisms in Africa, by strengthening its autonomy and establishing common frameworks with both the UN and the EU.

In light of all this, the second edition of the African Peace and Security Annual Conference (APSACO) focused on the prospects and opportunities of the “peace and security spectrum,” ranging from prevention to stabilization, while exploring ways to effectively protect the most vulnerable.

For Policy Center for the New South (formerly OCP Policy Center), this new edition of the Conference is a contribution to ongoing debates to strengthen the AU’s role in maintaining peace and stabilizing the African continent.

I. INTRODUCTION

For the second edition of its African Peace and Security Annual Conference (APSACO), entitled “Peacekeeping Operations in Africa: Trends and Challenges,” Policy Center for the New South brought together, on June 18 and 19, 2018 in Rabat, specialists from the defense and security sector, academia in addition to civil society actors from across Africa, America, Asia and Europe as well as diplomats representing international organizations.

The conference revolved around eight panels that this report intends to cover in its various chapters:

Policy Panel I: Political and Strategic Aspects of Peacekeeping Operations

- **Panel 1** : Ongoing Operations: Accomplishments and Challenges
- **Panel 2** : Security and Protection of Civilians
- **Panel 3** : Peacekeepers’ Protection and Capacity Building
- **Panel 4** : African Union’s Role in Peacekeeping
- **Panel 5** : Engaging Civil Society in Peacekeeping Operations

Policy Panel II : North-South Cross Perspectives on Peacekeeping Operations.

This report is a chronological summary of the work of the conference, including contributions and general discussions. By outlining the contributions, this document presents points raised and perspectives put forward for the future.

Additional information on participants, the conference agenda and statistics are also provided in an attached document.

II. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In his opening address, Dr. Karim El Aynaoui, Managing Director of Policy Center for the New South (formerly OCP Policy Center), pointed out that the Think Tank he heads is committed to contributing to the debate on African issues from a perspective that is both unencumbered and inclusive. He reiterated his conviction that African think tanks must organize themselves into a network to provide collective responses to the demands of peace and development.

Rachid El Houdaigui, Senior Fellow, Policy Center for the New South, presented the general framework of the Conference, with the overriding theme of recognizing multilateralism as a path to sustainable solutions to international challenges. Mr. El Houdaigui indicated that the Policy Center's activities, as an international civil society actor, are part of a multilateral approach.

El Houdaigui additionally noted that contradictions around Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs) and the challenges they face are the result of a combination of elements. He tackled the legal and political constraints of mandates, the complexity of operational environments, compounded by the rise of asymmetric threats, the scarcity of human resources and operational capacities, as well as structural and budgetary dysfunctions. While remaining optimistic, El Houdaigui stated that the concept of peacekeeping can be improved and that the UN model provides precisely the right framework for crisis resolution and, as such, needs to be consolidated.

Before inviting participants to a free, constructive and fruitful exchange, Rachid El Houdaigui reiterated that the main objectives of the second edition of APSACO are to address the underlying issues of peacekeeping, to analyze and share expertise in order to build consensus around peacekeeping reform, and to formulate pragmatic and actionable recommendations.

III. OPENING CONVERSATION

Moderated by Mr. Youssef Amrani, discussions by Mr. Mahamat Saleh Annadif and Mr. Miguel Ángel Moratinos, provided an opportunity to present the general context of Peacekeeping Operations in Africa.

- **M. Youssef Amrani**, Chargé de Mission, Royal Cabinet, Kingdom of Morocco

According to Mr. Youssef Amrani, Peacekeeping Operations have gone through major changes lately, and yet remain essential to Africa's stability. The emergence of new challenges, such as climate change, asymmetric conflicts, and border conflicts involving new non-state actors, destabilize and threaten the integrity of territories, which, in his view, are a major challenge requiring a re-think of peace-building concepts, peacekeeping and consolidation. He emphasized the great value of focusing on PKO empowerment and that of the various organizations working on the ground: How can Africa face all these challenges? Can the African Union manage both crises and the issue of its independence? Can Africa act alone or does it need its partners? Are military interventions and United Nations or African Union Peacekeeping Operations the only answer?

It is in this context that Mr. Amrani invited his two fellow diplomats to take the floor.

- **M. Mahamat Saleh Annadif**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chad, Special Representative for Mali and Head of MINUSMA

Mr. Mahamat Saleh Annadif opened his presentation by highlighting the role of the UN in conflict resolution, pointing out that no political actor can carry out a legitimate mission without the approval of the UN. The United Nations contribution to peacekeeping, he said, accounts for the evolution of this process. The other major focus of the Chadian diplomat's speech was the gradual engagement of the African Union in the United Nations peacekeeping decisions. He nevertheless voiced a downside to this, identifying the lack of funding as a major impediment. That said, he added, a cooperation framework between the United Nations, the African Union and the European Union could only bolster peace in Africa, as was the case in Somalia, where the UN and the EU funded the AU's mandate.

The Head of the MINUSMA also pointed out that mechanisms are such nowadays, that major UN decisions are no longer taken without consultation of the AU Commission, and the latter has the advantage of relying on Regional Economic Communities' reports. In his view, peacekeeping should focus on prevention, through the sharing of wealth, as well as the election of reliable governments. The original configuration of peacekeeping, he added, is obsolete in current circumstances.

Should enforcement operations replace peacekeeping operations, as in Somalia, Mr. Saleh Annadif asked? Knowing that an isolated security response is not enough, should we not question our models in favor of an integrated and inclusive approach? Finally, shouldn't the UN Security Council merit reform, given the changing challenges facing the world?

- **Miguel Ángel Moratinos**, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain

In his analysis of peacekeeping in Africa, Mr. Miguel Ángel Moratinos was quite critical of the EU's role. He stated that Africa had not been a matter of great concern for the EU in recent years. However, he argued, immigration flows from Africa to Europe, and kidnappings of European citizens, have led the EU to take an interest in the region.

For Mr. Moratinos, European achievements following these events, including the opening of embassies, the establishment and increase of cooperation budgets, while not insignificant, remain limited. As a result, the EU lacks a genuine common foreign policy towards Africa, a fact illustrated by an absence of interaction between diplomats and politicians, as well as between European and African defense ministers.

The former head of Spanish diplomacy stressed the need to establish a true common policy, based on a real agenda for both military and political responses. The EU should, for example, take inspiration from UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres' proposal to initiate a new UN organization on the ground, the United Nations Country Team, to develop responses to expectations of countries in crisis with effective monitoring. Morocco's role as a bridge between Europe and Africa should also be acknowledged as a model for peace and security, he indicated.

IV. PANEL SUMMARIES

Policy Panel I : The Political and Strategic Aspects of Peacekeeping Operations

The first Policy panel, moderated by Mr. Hugo Sada, on “Political and Strategic Aspects of Peacekeeping Operations,” brought together Mr. Fernando Aguilera, Irvine Ayitey-Aryeety, Robert Dossou and Yohannes Gebremeskel.

- **Fernando Aguilera**, Senior Analyst, NATO Strategic Direction South (NSD-S) Hub

NATO analyst Fernando Aguilera began his contribution by presenting the basic structure and doctrine of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in conflict resolution processes. For this process to be effective, he explained, it is necessary to understand mission mandates, goals and the environment in which they are set.

With regard to Africa, Mr. Aguilera said that NATO approved a framework to better address conflicts in the South, including those facing the continent. This, he explained, is the “NATO Southern Strategic Command Hub”. This framework synchronizes allies, partners, partner organizations and the international community on security issues. The framework, he continued, has three objectives: connect, coordinate and consolidate. Comprehensive collaboration between regional and international actors, citizens and local authorities also ensure effectiveness. According to this analyst, NATO’s approach should link local, regional, governmental as well as non-governmental levels.

- **General de Brigade Irvine Nil-Ayitey Aryeetey**, Deputy Commander of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KA IPTC)

The specific issue of concern to Brigadier General Irvine with regard to Peacekeeping Operations is the following: Why do African countries, with limited resources, provide military troops while rich countries finance operations and make key decisions? This brings us, he said, to the major challenge facing Peacekeeping Operations, namely the lack of coordination in interventions and its impact on the effectiveness of peacekeeping. This failure to coordinate, he argued, generally stems from poor command of the

environment by foreign forces. He also mentioned allocation distribution as another factor, considering that the United Nations pays more attention to certain countries and that this generates serious disparities. General Aryeetey emphasized this by adding that allocation budget restrictions reflect the ineffectiveness of the UN approach. As a result, he considered that the AU should take the lead, given that its reconciliation measures are stricter and less costly. In conclusion, General Aryeetey wondered why the peacekeeping process in Africa was slow.

- **M. Robert Dossou**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Former President of the Constitutional Court of Benin.

For Robert Dossou, insecurity in Africa has its roots in three problems. The first is the question of state and nation building. On one hand, he explained that there is no state in sub-Saharan Africa. The current form has sprouted in the West and is the legacy of colonialism. On the other hand, he adds that [these African] nations are not truly constituted. Borders established after the Berlin Conference separated communities and altered social structures, leading to war and conflict. The second problem is that of raw materials, considered by Dossou as the main source of conflicts, because of the contradictions surrounding these resources, both internally (concentration and confiscation of wealth) and externally (the role of multinationals and foreign powers). The third problem cited by the former diplomat are the asymmetric threats that, in their very methods, ignite and take advantage of everything. He noted that external intervention fuels internal conflicts. Military bases are targets of attacks by armed groups and terrorists.

- **General Yohannes Gebremeskel**, Head of Mission and Commander of the United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (FISNUA)

General Yohannes Gebremeskel uses a military approach to the implementation of mandates for Peacekeeping Operations. In his view, political aspects of PKOs, more than their strategic aspect, are a matter of leadership. The expert shared a number of questions with the audience. How are PKOs conducted? How are they adapted to the reality on the ground? Are results in line with expectations? Does the Security Council, through the issuance of mandates, resolutions and all forms of support and sanctions, demonstrate the will of the international community in crisis management?

The reality on the ground, he noted, reveals a huge gap between mandates and deployment. He highlighted that the gap between expectations and available resources is widening. He pointed out that regional and international institutions have made little effort, specifying that their primary concern is to survive and not to protect local communities. General Yohannes Gebremeskel made these few recommendations: Review mandates, prioritize the distribution of resources and authorize military intervention as a last resort. The critical question, he acknowledged, is how to establish realistic mandates and how to achieve them.

PANEL I : Ongoing Peacekeeping Operations: Achievements and Challenges Ahead

The first panel, entitled “Ongoing Peacekeeping Operations: Achievements and Challenges Ahead,” included Chris Alden, Samuel Gahigi, Deo Gumba and Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo, whose interventions were moderated by Mr. Ewan Lawson, Senior Fellow at RUSI.

- **Chris Alden**, Professor-London School of Economics

In his review of the theme chosen for the panel, Chris Alden discussed the perspective of China’s progressive involvement in major peace and security issues. He agreed that China, following a reserved attitude, has recognized the complexity and importance of greater involvement in peace issues in Africa, particularly after the advent of the “Arab Spring” in 2011. Out of all P5 members, China remains the largest contributor of military and police troops to peace missions. Additionally, China is also one of the leading arms suppliers to Africa. In 2015, Beijing built a naval base in Djibouti. Furthermore, he acknowledged that China is increasingly involved in strengthening UN security.

- **Samuel Gahigi**, Team Leader - West Africa and the Sahel, United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

Samuel Gahigi began his remarks by noting a positive development in UN peacekeeping missions, as noted in the latest report published in 2015. However, he added, the main challenge is to maintain the peace process while building strong institutions that can resolve conflicts at national levels. Since each environment has

its own specificities, the United Nations ought to be able to adopt recommendations adapted to each country. Besides, recent recommendations of UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres are in line with this, Samuel Gahigi stressed. Since the start of his mandate, Guterres had proposed strengthening regional partnerships in order to reduce the gap between the theoretical framework of Peacekeeping Operations and its challenges on the ground. This in order to eliminate the “Christmas Tree Mandate” effect. In order to avoid the recurrent debate on limited resources, Guterres’ proposals stress the importance of striking a balance between risk takers and financial contributors.

- **Ambassador Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo**, President of the NATO Defense College Foundation

Mr. Minuto-Rizzo’s presentation during the panel revolved around NATO’s strategic approach to PKOs. According to him, Africa is home to a large number of contributing peace actors. African peace operations should be highly successful, yet this is not necessarily the case on the ground, he noted. We are on the verge of recognizing that security governance needs to be reoriented towards management by Africa itself, for shared responsibility. For Mr. Minuto-Rizzo, it is imperative to revisit and reframe interventions for both African partner forces and NATO, in order to encourage and support missions, not initiate them. The need to extend stability requires coherent and effective coordination, he said. The NATO-AU strategic partnership was established in 2016, he said, adding that another example is NATO’s invitation to the Commissioners of the AU Security Council to take part in the 2018 international conference in Brussels, which is to serve as a platform for discussions between the two actors. Minuto-Rizzo stressed that NATO is never to be a leading actor in Africa, but its objective is to support forces there.

PANEL II : Protecting Civilians During Peacekeeping Operations

Devoted to the topic of “Protecting Civilians in Peacekeeping Operations,” and conducted by Badreddine El Harti, moderator, the second panel brought together Namie Di Razza, Sara Rendtorff-Smith and Frederik Rosen.

- **Namie Di Razza**, Research Fellow, Brian Urquhart Center for Peace Operations, International Peace Institute (IPI)Peace Institute

In Di Razza's view, mechanisms for protecting civilian populations are becoming less bureaucratic and more institutionalized and professional. The more professional structuring of mechanisms is in response to both the mandate/results gap and to the obvious challenges. As challenges, she mentioned the shortage of qualified staff as well as a traditional, one-dimensional security approach. She believes it is necessary to integrate the issue into the political debate and agendas at local, regional and international levels. More importantly, she stressed the need for a modular and tailored approach. This, she explained, means that a toolbox should be compiled as much as possible, using dialogue as a continuous posture across time, actors and regions. The modular approach to civilian protection in the case of Mali requires a rethinking of the protection of civilian populations in a context of violence.

- **Sara Rendtorff-Smith**, Formerly, Protection of Civilians Officer, DPKO, Interim POC Advisor, MINUSCA

Sara Rendtorff agreed with Ms. Di Razza on the institutionalization of civilian protection, noting that this policy has allowed UN staff to collaborate with counterparts in the humanitarian and human rights fields. This is why, she believes, a number of measures should be encouraged. These measures include continued dialogue and confidence-building, the promotion of a victim-centered approach by turning the debate around and, finally, collaboration between military and civilian components and coordination between what she refers to as major and minor policy.

- **Frederik Rosen**, Director of the Nordic Centre for Cultural Heritage and Armed Conflict

Sexual exploitation and abuse of power were the main topics addressed by Frederik Rosen in his contribution. He pointed out that this intolerable scourge is not new and that the UN bears responsibility for the victims. Frederik Rosen acknowledged the existence of certain initiatives to combat sexual exploitation, such as the establishment of a comprehensive leadership system and a victims' fund. Nevertheless, Mr. Rosen considers measures taken to be limited and insufficient. UN's actions, he said, remain

superficial. Other grievances he raised in this regard relate to the absence of a victim assistance policy.

PANEL III : Protection and Capacity Building of Peacekeepers

With Mr. Rachid El Houdaigui as moderator, this panel was attended by Issa Coulibaly, Jasbir Singh Lidder, Raul Rivas and Jair Van Der Ijn, who discussed “Protecting and Building Peacekeeper Capacity.”

- **Colonel Issa Coulibaly**, Director of the Alioune Blondin Beye Peacekeeping School

Colonel Issa Coulibaly presented the mission and objectives of the School he presides. He went on to describe the international environment of PKOs and changes in UN operations, while stressing the crucial issue of civilian protection. He additionally devoted considerable importance, in his speech, to Operation MINUSMA in Mali, describing it as the most important UN operation at the moment. Soldiers deployed as part of this operation are under constant threat, and are targets of terrorist attacks. In fact, this operation reported more than 100 deaths since deployment, a number that does not include deaths due to health problems (diseases), he added. In this context, Colonel Coulibaly explained, soldiers are compelled to protect themselves before thinking of civilians. They need to build strength against jihadists whose attacks are complex and brutal, he said.

Senior Officer Coulibaly welcomed MINUSMA’s adoption of new measures to address these threats. In this sense, he mentioned the use of drones and intelligence. He appreciated the fact that the United Nations supported the political process in the same way as the military component. An inclusive approach is essential, given women’s ability to participate in conflict resolution. It is also necessary to consider the continued training of soldiers by the UN.

- **General Jasbir Singh Lidder**, Former Force Commander and Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General to Sudan

General J. Singh conducted an analysis of PKO capabilities based on space strategy. Strategies that today consist of adapting the most appropriate approach should focus

on space control, he recommended. In this sense, he made a series of suggestions. First, he believes it is necessary to develop pragmatic and inspiring leadership: every commander must think operationally, in addition to acting technically and strategically. He also referred to the balance of security zones via risk and opportunity analysis, which, from his point of view, allows for a better offensive/defensive approach. Mobility is also required, not only on the ground but also in the air: the United Nations needs helicopters to provide comprehensive training. As a fourth measure, General Singh believes it is crucial to empower the field through the empowerment of civilians and the military on the one hand, and the training of all actors involved in peacekeeping activities on the other, to enable all to acquire internal protection techniques and the right reflexes. The former commander of UN forces in Sudan argued that the availability of resources and their intelligent management must be ensured: both the effective and regular supply and the adequacy between available resources and the qualification of officers, as they are not always sufficiently trained to use them. Lastly, he stressed the need for an inclusive approach, taking into account the protection of civilian populations and the gender approach, and joint patrols to gather the right intelligence.

- **Colonel Raul Rivas**, Chief of Plans and Strategy Division, US Africa Command

Colonel Raul Rivas focused his presentation on AFRICOM's ability to participate in Peacekeeping Operations in Africa. In his view, the risk of instability and conflict in Africa is dictated by various factors, while also amplified by environmental and governance challenges. The mixed nature of this command, namely military and civilian, is in keeping with the intention of being global partners to regional actors. In his opinion, AFRICOM is precisely strengthening this network of security partners; USARAF (United States Army Africa) is developing an African PKO Training Centre to promote interoperability as part of Minusca and Minusco, and to better set up a framework, providing facilities to be used in addressing the crisis. In conclusion, Colonel Rivas said that UN peacekeeping mandates have often blurred the lines between peacekeeping, counter-insurgency, counter-terrorism and state building. However, peacekeepers are rarely trained and equipped to deal with these problems. Given its growing interest in fostering a stable and prosperous Africa, the United States, he argued, has formulated a strategic approach to peace operations in Africa, and is investing in African partners who share the same objectives in conflict management and who strengthen sustainable

peacekeeping institutions at the local level.

- **Jair Van Der Lijn**, Director of the Peace Operations and Conflict Management Programme, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)

Jair Van Der Lijn highlighted the increasing participation of women in Peacekeeping Operations. While welcoming this development, Van Der Lijn deplored the fact that women are not taken seriously in this area.

Moreover, the rate of women's participation in the security and military environment remains very low, he added, before hammering out that "women are under-represented in Peacekeeping Operations, particularly in the military."

From Jair Van Der Lijn's point of view, the problem stems from the fact that enrolment must take place at the level of military academies. He added the shortage of equipment and training for some countries as another factor. The problem sometimes arises from where forces are deployed. He pointed out that women generally hold positions in hospitals or administrative departments, while they could take on leadership roles and get involved in the field, given he argued, that women are sometimes better able to communicate with local populations than their male counterparts.

PANEL IV : The Role of the African Union in Peacekeeping Operations

Michel Luntumbue, Michelle Ndiaye and Zhou Yuyuan made up the fourth panel to discuss the "Role of the African Union in Peacekeeping Operations," with Mohammed Loulichki as moderator.

- **Michel Luntumbue**, Researcher, Group for Research and Information on Peace and Security (GRIP)

Mr. Michel Luntumbue focused his reflection on the role of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), the African Union's body responsible for the management and resolution of crises and conflicts. This [focus] by highlighting the challenges facing APSA, starting with political differences between Member States and logistics issues.

In addition, the large number of members of this body leads to friction in the distribution of roles, while the situation of paralysis experienced by regional integrations, such as the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), triggers imbalances. Mr. Luntumbue, however, pointed out that despite these shortcomings, the AU must be recognized as the first regional integration in the world to have a conflict resolution mechanism. For him, APSA is a laboratory for new strategies.

- **Michelle Ndiaye**, Head of the Tana Forum, Director, Africa Peace and Security Programme, Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS)

Speaking on the issue of financial support and immediate response mechanisms, Michelle Ndiaye explained that these two aspects are major elements in AU crisis management. Just as they are crucial to the success of peace operations, she said. She considered it necessary to recognize that the AU's role in crisis management on the continent had evolved considerably. Even the discourse has changed, integrating the "African solutions to African problems" doctrine. The number of PKOs on the ground has also decreased. But is this really the end of failures? The continent's security institutions are struggling to keep pace with the complex and changing threats facing the continent. Despite notable exceptions, most security organizations in Africa, both military and civilian, lack resources and have minimal professional standards. As far as resources are concerned, financial constraints condition the AU's commitment to fulfilling its agenda, particularly on security. For Ms. Ndiaye, it is precisely here that the 0.2% tax, adopted by the AU, can be crucial. According to her, the "African solutions to African problems" model should not only constitute a change in doctrine, but also materialize in response mechanisms.

- **Zhou Yuyuan**, Senior Fellow, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS)

Zhou Yuyuan spoke from the perspective of the African Union's relations with China, with a focus on the role of both sides in conflict management on the African continent. After acknowledging that the African Union is both crucial and necessary in the maintenance and consolidation of peace in Africa, Zhou Yuyuan referred to the weakness of the Pan-African Organization in terms of "hard power," consisting in financing Peacekeeping Operations, but also "soft power," integrating cultural aspects

in conflict resolution. A solid China-Africa partnership, she argued, has the potential to improve the situation, including from an economic perspective, through China's commitment to job creation and human resource development in Africa.

PANEL V : How to Engage Civil Society at Large?

Moderated by Jalal Abdel-Latif, Senior Fellow, Policy Center for the New South (formerly OCP Policy Center), this panel brought together Gustavo De Carvalho, Christine Desouches and Ahmed Rhazaoui to provide some answers to the question of “how to massively involve civil society.”

- **Gustavo De Carvalho**, Researcher in Operations and Peace-building at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS)

In De Carvalho's view, civil society is not involved in Peacekeeping Operations. According to him, it is essential to understand the dynamics and specificities of each region and its local population. It is necessary to know the root causes of the conflict in order to establish effective long-term solutions, he opined.

- **Christine Desouches**, Professor, Panthéon-Sorbonne University

Christine Desouches, for her part, believes that a security solution goes hand in hand with the participation of civil society. For this academic, the mobilization of civil society in conflict resolution, reconciliation and state reconstruction also prevents radicalization through awareness campaigns and bridging the gap between actors. The gender dimension is undoubtedly one of the keys to success for peace missions. Tools, such as language, must be homogenized to ensure fluid communication and understanding of concepts, she said. For her, civil society provides a framework for prospective and joint research, such as think tanks and analysis centers, as well as expertise.

- **Ahmed Rhazaoui**, Former Deputy Special Representative of the UN SG and Director of the West Africa Office

Ahmed Rhazaoui focused his presentation on the integrated nature of a peacekeeping mission. He pointed out that Peacekeeping Operations are not limited to planning and financing. He believes that these operations are about sustainability. He pointed out

that, for years, the debate has been ongoing on the transition from consolidation to peacekeeping. He further added that integration is considered to be synonymous with subordination. He believes, however, that if necessary, planning can be done differently. Rhazaoui highlighted the prominent role of regional and international organizations in long-term peacekeeping.

Policy Panel II : North-South Cross Views of Peacekeeping Operations

This panel, moderated by Kristin De Peyron, brought together Birame Diop, Raul Rivas and Dominique Trinquand to discuss the main theme of the conference entitled: “Peacekeeping Operations: North/South Cross Perspectives”.

- **General Birame Diop**, Special Chief of Staff to the President of the Republic – Senegal

General Birame Diop began by indicating that peace and development are intrinsically linked. “They support each other,” he said. There is no region-specific culture of peace, as this is a widely shared concept that transcends borders. Peace, however, is a culture, a state of mind and a commitment to respect the rules and the rule of law. Democratic peace is referred to because democracies do not wage war against each other, they manage to get along through platforms of dialogue. While security, as a sector, needs to work for progress, the contradiction is that in Africa, the security sector fuels insecurity. It is therefore necessary to professionalize Peacekeeping Operations through think tanks. For General Diop, professionalization means acting neutral and impartial. It is also, he insisted, proper organization and training of soldiers, as they are responsible for their actions. In his opinion, the modernization of the army through technological and information tools contributes to the upgrading of actors.

He considers it essential to conceptualize and document organization, functioning and performance. He explained that sound theorization guarantees outcomes. Safeguarding documentation, he concluded, allows traceability and the establishment of a value chain.

- **Colonel Raul Rivas**, Chief of Plans and Strategy Division, US Africa Command According to Colonel Raul Rivas, any problem can be approached

in strategic steps: It is necessary to start by defining the problem (diagnosis, definition and identification). If the problem has been misdiagnosed, this must be corrected. Hypothetically, war is the extreme end of a spectrum of hatred, animosity, suffering and killing.

The last point raised by the AFRICOM representative is that of a comprehensive approach consisting of four main factors: training, financing, building on successful models, and government investment in development.

- **General Dominique Trinquand**, Former Head of the French military mission to the UN and NATO

General Dominique Trinquand presented the roles played by nations from the North and the South in the field of PKOs. He pointed out that it is difficult to speak of North/South, given China's current role in peace operations. However, the United Nations, far from being a perfect system, is the one with the least deficiencies. The UN system, he said, offers particular insight into the different implications of the various actors. This yields three main areas of contribution at the strategic level: financial, decision-making and physical. Decisions focus on the tactical dimension that integrates these three criteria: the use of force, national engagement rules and the chain of command. All these elements, he pointed out, also require the input of troop-contributing countries.

In conclusion, General Trinquand recalled that there is a North/South division of roles in strategy and tactics, which determines both budget and decisions.

V. CLOSING REMARKS

At the conclusion of this second edition of APSACO, Dr. Karim El Aynaoui, Managing Director of Policy for the New South, said in his closing address that "grievances expressed by the different stakeholders on Peacekeeping Operations in Africa leave us frustrated at inadequacies observed, but the key is our determination to do better in the future."

VI. CONFERENCE STATISTICS

- Number of participants (contributors and audience): **150**
- Number of contributors: **34**
- Nationalities represented (contributors): **20**
- Institutions represented (contributors): **30**
- Regions represented (contributors):

| | |
|--------------------|------------|
| Sub-Saharan Africa | 35% |
| Europe | 35% |
| MENA | 15% |
| North America | 9% |
| Asia | 6% |

- Sectors represented by contributors:

| | |
|-----------------------------|------------|
| Think Tanks | 32% |
| International Organizations | 25% |
| Academic Institutions | 18% |
| Public Administration | 14% |
| Government Agencies | 7% |
| Civil Society | 4% |

