CONCEPT PAPER FOR A POLICY SEMINAR

“BUILDING AN AFRICAN UNION FOR THE 21ST CENTURY:
RELATIONS WITH REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES (RECs), NEPAD AND CIVIL SOCIETY”

THE VINEYARD HOTEL
CAPE TOWN, 20-22 AUGUST 2005
1. Introduction

The Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), based in Cape Town, South Africa, will hold a three-day policy seminar on 20-22 August 2005. The seminar will take place at the Vineyard Hotel in Cape Town on the theme of “Building an African Union (AU) for the 21st Century: Relations with Regional Economic Communities (RECs), The New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) and Civil Society”. This is a follow-up meeting to a successful policy advisory group meeting, which was held in Johannesburg in December 2004, on the theme of “The AU/NEPAD and Africa’s Evolving Governance and Security Architecture”. The December 2004 meeting was organised by CCR in partnership with the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) in Johannesburg. The meeting was attended by senior officials of the AU and subregional organisations. Professor Ibrahim Gambari, the current United Nations (UN) Under-Secretary General for Political Affairs delivered the keynote address at the meeting.

The August 2005 Cape Town seminar will critically examine the significance and progress of the African Union, which was officially launched in Durban, South Africa, in July 2002. The seminar will also assess the AU’s institutions and its relationship with Africa’s regional economic communities and civil society, so as to provide a platform for debate and to review the work of key actors working in these organisations. Senior officers from the AU, the NEPAD secretariat, and subregional organisations have confirmed their attendance.

This seminar will bring together about 50 participants from the AU, subregional organisations such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU); government officials and other policymakers; members of civil society; and academics. Several key participants have confirmed their attendance, including Professor Adebayo Adedeji, former Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and a member of the Eminent Panel of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM); Professor Francis Deng, former Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons; Professor Margaret Vogt, Deputy Director in the UN’s Department of Political Affairs and former Director of the Bureau of the Chairperson of the AU Commission; Dr. Winnie Byanyima, Director of the Department of Gender, Women and Development of the AU Commission; Dr. Hesphina Rukato, Deputy Chief Executive of NEPAD; and Mr. Charles Mwaura, Coordinator of the Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). In order to stimulate debate and discussion among participants, both experts and practitioners will present 23 policy-oriented and academically rigorous papers. A report of the seminar proceedings will be produced; and an edited book, based on revised seminar papers, will be published in 2006.

The following themes will be the basis of presentations and discussions during the CCR policy seminar:

- Africa’s New Pan-Africanism
- The AU’s Advancement of Gender Equality
- Humanitarian Intervention
- Peacemaking, Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding in Africa
- The New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD)
- The Pan-African Parliament (PAP)
- The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)

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1 See the report by the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) and the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS), *The AU/NEPAD and Africa’s Evolving Governance and Security Architecture*, Johannesburg, South Africa, 11 –12 December 2004. (Available at: http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za).
2. Objectives of the Seminar

The AU and its programme for economic recovery - the New Partnership for Africa’s Development - and Africa’s subregional organisations have outlined strategies and committed themselves to addressing Africa’s complex governance, socio-political, economic, and developmental challenges in the twenty-first century. However, as these actors embark on this necessary and urgent mission, they continue to face major challenges including limited capacity in terms of requisite financial and human resources to implement socio-economic programmes to address impoverishment, conflict, inadequate health and education.

The Cape Town seminar seeks to provide insights into the individual and collective initiatives that are being undertaken by the AU, NEPAD, the RECs, and civil society actors. In this regard, the meeting will provide a forum for key actors to interrogate the objectives and programmes of these organisations and to generate concrete policy proposals on how to achieve the common objectives of Africa’s evolving security and governance architecture. Specifically, this policy seminar aims to:

• Create a platform for intellectual engagement with the security and governance objectives and functions of the AU, NEPAD, the RECs and civil society;
• Assess the progress of the AU, NEPAD, RECs and civil society, focusing on the extent to which they have achieved their aims and objectives;
• Contribute towards policy debates about how further to develop Africa’s security and governance architecture;
• Produce policy recommendations and promote an informed discussion on the most appropriate division of labour among the AU, NEPAD, RECs, and civil society in achieving their common objectives; and
• Establish the capacity needs of the AU, NEPAD, RECs, and civil society as well as devise effective strategies to strengthen these institutions and actors.

3. Background

The transformation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) into the African Union in July 2002, at the heads of state summit in Durban, South Africa, generated a great sense of optimism. This optimism was further reinforced by the adoption of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) as the AU’s framework for development. NEPAD is due to be integrated into the AU as a specialised agency by 2006. In parallel, Africa’s subregional organisations including SADC, ECOWAS, ECCAS, and IGAD, are continuing to strengthen their own governance and security mechanisms. Civil society actors are also actively working across the continent to address the challenges faced by Africa’s 800 million people.

The challenge of achieving peace, security and development in Africa has been affected by global, continental and subregional events. Historically, the primary threats to security in Africa emerged predominantly from the conflicts generated and perpetuated by the Cold War, as well as internal governance malpractices by African military and civilian autocrats. After the Cold War, the continent’s promise of peace and development remained unfulfilled. Instead, Africa was confronted with an increase in intra-state conflict in places like Liberia, Somalia and Sierra Leone, culminating in the tragic genocide in Rwanda in 1994. Today, security and stability remain a key challenge in all regions of the continent. In addition, the nature of threats has expanded to include social issues like poverty, impoverishment and public health issues like HIV/AIDS.

As Africa enters the twenty-first century, it has become increasingly clear that the continent must build and operationalise its own effective security and governance architecture. The AU has adopted a proactive and interventionist stance to security challenges, placing the creation, by 2010, of an African Standby Force (ASF) at the core of its peace and security agenda. The AU has also outlined a Strategic Plan of Action (SPA), 2004-2007, to create an Africa-wide security regime. To take these efforts a step further, the NEPAD framework has launched an African Peer Review Mechanism, which 23 countries have signed up to. The APRM will monitor and assess the compliance of African governments with the norms of governance and human rights which are articulated in the AU’s Constitutive Act of 2002. This innovative mechanism of voluntary, self-imposed assessment seeks to raise the standards of governance and economic management in Africa so as to improve the livelihood of African people by promoting a climate that will encourage investment and development.

AU member states have also recognised that they cannot achieve their governance and security objectives without the participation of, and collaboration with, Africa’s civil society organisations. The Conference for Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa has been the mechanism through which to harness civil society participation with the AU on development and security issues. To complement the CSSDCA, the AU’s Economic, Social and Cultural Council and its Pan-African Parliament have also been established to enable individuals and civic associations to contribute towards formulating and assessing AU policies.

Impunity during times of civil unrest and conflicts in Africa has proved to be a central concern for the AU. Within this context, security is no longer an issue confined to the demands and requirements of nation-states. Increasingly, people have to be placed at the centre of efforts to bring about security. This is why the notion of people-centred “human security” has taken on greater prominence in Africa. On the continental level, this approach is being strengthened by the already established African Court of Human and People’s Rights, as well as the proposed African Charter of Justice (ACJ). In addition, the AU established a 15-member Peace and Security Council (PSC) which can sanction military and diplomatic intervention in the affairs of African countries. This is a radical departure from the OAU’s obsession with non-intervention and non-interference in the affairs of its member states. The PSC has identified four situations that would warrant AU intervention: genocide; gross violations of human rights; instability in a country which threatens regional stability; and unconstitutional changes of government.

The initiatives, institutions and programmes of the AU and its flagship economic development programme, NEPAD, are complimented by the efforts of subregional organisations such as SADC, ECOWAS, ECCAS and IGAD to improve governance, economic development, and conflict management in their respective regions. For instance, both ECOWAS and SADC have established subregional parliaments and legal tribunals for arbitrating disputes between member states. As part of a comprehensive strategy to speed up development and to promote continental integration, the AU, NEPAD and the RECs must find ways to reinforce each other in their efforts to promote peace, security and development. The AU’s mandate to coordinate the RECs must be carefully crafted, since several RECs like ECOWAS and SADC feel that they have more conflict management experience than the AU which is a much younger institution by comparison.

4. Seminar Themes

The seminar will focus on the following six broad themes:

- From the OAU to the AU: Human Security and the New Pan-Africanism
- Peacemaking, Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding
- NEPAD, the African Peer Review Mechanism and the Pan-African Parliament
- The CSSDCA, ECOSOCC and Africa’s Courts
- Human Security and HIV/AIDS
- The AU, Regional Integration and External Actors

The six themes will address the following issues:

1) From the OAU to the AU: Human Security and The New Pan-Africanism

The transformation of the OAU into the African Union demonstrated the persistence of the spirit of Pan-Africanism, which historically has animated the struggle for freedom, human security and self-determination among Africans on the continent and their Afro-descendants in the Diaspora. The existence of the AU is an expression by Africans of their desire for greater solidarity and collaboration in order to address the domestic and global challenges that confront the continent. One of the ways in which this solidarity is now being challenged is in how to address human security challenges, conflicts and complex humanitarian situations which are currently afflicting the continent. The true expression of Pan-Africanism will be achieved only when member states and societies in Africa regard the security and well-being of their neighbours as fundamentally related to theirs. The necessary political will is then required to undertake humanitarian interventions in crisis situations. The notions of “sovereignty as responsibility” and “the responsibility to protect” must become firmly enshrined in post-Cold war Africa.

The African Union is the sum total of its 53 member states and people as well as the institutions which have been created to achieve its objectives. The AU Commission, under the leadership of Alpha Konare, is the executive branch of the organisation. It

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implements the programmes and decisions made by the African Council of Ministers and Assembly of Heads of State. The Commission is comprised of 10 commissioners responsible for a range of social, economic and political issues. The Cape Town meeting will examine the progress that has been made by the Commission as well as other AU organs and institutions in advancing the ambitious goals of the organisation. The seminar will also assess some of the major challenges of implementing the AU’s programmes and initiatives.7

Innovative social movements for the emancipation of Africa’s people conceptually bind the continent’s new Pan-Africanism. The African women’s movement has worked, for over three decades, to build a consensus around the idea that development and democracy in African societies cannot be achieved without gender equality and the empowerment of women. The AU Constitutive Act’s emphasis on the promotion of gender equality signals that the importance of this issue has been recognized at the highest political level. Moreover, during the AU’s inaugural summit in Durban, in 2002, a decision was taken that all posts in the Commission adhere to the principle of gender parity: five of the ten AU Commissioners are women. The promotion of gender equality also aligns with the AU’s new vision of building partnerships between governments and all segments of civil society. Various organs of the AU are mandated to support processes that increase women’s access to decision-making in peace processes; political participation; economic empowerment; education; and health services.

Furthermore, Article 12(3) of the Constitutive Act provides for the establishment of a special unit in the Office of the Chairperson of the AU Commission to coordinate gender issues across all departments of the organisation. The unit - now entitled the Women, Gender and Development Directorate - is positioned to liaise with various AU organs and the Commission’s departments; RECs; African civil society; the private sector; and external partners, to accelerate gender mainstreaming, and to support the harmonisation of legislative processes across the continent. In 2004, the Directorate, together with a number of civil society actors, organised a Special Heads of State and Government Debate on Gender Equality during the AU summit in Addis Ababa in July 2004. The session addressed a number of issues including: human rights and gender-based violence; trafficking in women and girls; child soldiers and the abuse of girl children as wives and sex slaves; lack of participation and representation of women in peace processes; the need for gender-specific economic, social, and legal measures aimed at combating the HIV/AIDS pandemic; women’s land, property and inheritance rights; and the education of girls and literacy of women. This special debate resulted in the adoption of a Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality, whereby African leaders promised to hold each other accountable through a reporting mechanism on gender mainstreaming at the national and regional levels.8

2) Peacemaking, Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding

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8AU, Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality, Assembly of Heads of State, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 6-8 July 2004 AU/Decl.12 (III); and AU Permanent Representatives’ Committee Report of the Tenth Ordinary Session of the Permanent Representatives’ Committee, 28 – 29 June 2005, Sirte, Libya, PRC/Rpt (X).
In his landmark *An Agenda for Peace* published in 1992, the former UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Gali, argued for humanitarian intervention and advocated the use of regional security arrangements like the AU and RECs to achieve this objective. The current UN-Secretary General, Kofi Annan, has also been a vocal advocate of humanitarian intervention and a people-centred approach to security. Since the Rwandan tragedy of 1994, it has become clear that Africa has to develop its own humanitarian intervention capacity. In this regard, the AU needs to rethink its intervention strategies and train its civilian and military personnel to respond effectively to conflict and post-conflict situations.

The AU, NEPAD and RECs recognise that peace, security and democratic governance are the preconditions for sustainable development. It is in this context that the AU’s protocol relating to its Peace and Security Council, NEPAD’s peace and security proposals, and the RECs security mechanisms advocate the creation of a more robust Africa-wide system of peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. In this regard, the AU has placed an emphasis on four key areas:

- The prevention, management and resolution of conflict;
- Peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding;
- Post-conflict reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction; and
- Combating the illicit proliferation of small arms, light weapons and landmines.

By enhancing its capacity to achieve effective peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding, the AU can help to avoid the complex humanitarian situations that are currently afflicting the continent in Darfur, the Mano River basin, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and Somalia. As a result of ineffectual mechanisms for building peace, the AU and RECs are confronted with major challenges in the area of post-conflict peacebuilding. Africa must now contend with the challenges of conducting the demobilisation, disarmament, and reintegration of ex-combatants into local communities as well as implementing security sector reform. In addition, the deleterious effects of these situations are being felt in various regions of the continent. In particular, refugee flows and the increase in internally displaced persons (IDPs) continue to have a major impact on the stability of the continent.

The peacekeeping missions in Sierra Leone and Liberia have largely relied on a Nigeria-led ECOMOG (ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group). IGAD is currently planning to deploy peacekeepers in Somalia. The South African-led AU mission in Burundi and the current Darfur mission represent the AU’s new political commitment to conduct peace operations. As noted earlier, the AU has put in place a proposal to establish an African Standby Force by 2010. The force will be comprised of five brigades from each of Africa’s subregions. At the operational level, the AU Standby Force needs further to be developed so that it can enhance its capacity to conduct mission planning, budgeting and mission management. The ASF can also only be effective if there is much closer coordination and cooperation between the AU’s defence and foreign affairs ministries, and if a stable source of funding is found. The AU envisages an annual budget of $62 million for peace and security (out of a total budget of $158 million). But it is unclear whether members will pay their dues, and whether external donors will contribute sufficiently to this fund.

3) NEPAD, the African Peer Review Mechanism and the Pan-African Parliament

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In order for the AU and NEPAD to integrate successfully by 2006, they need to address three critical challenges:

- Reinforce the commitment to democratic governance as enshrined in the NEPAD document;
- Promote and institutionalise deeper coordination and collaboration between the AU, NEPAD and Africa’s subregional organisations, and civil society actors; and
- Address the financial and infrastructural weakness of Africa’s social, political and security institutions.

A key institution created by the AU to enable the effective participation of civil society in Africa’s evolving governance and security architecture is the Pan-African Parliament. The PAP was inaugurated in South Africa in March 2004. The objective behind its creation is to provide a vehicle through which African citizens can contribute towards deliberating and providing advice on how to deepen democratic governance on the continent. Among its current functions, the PAP debates the budget of the AU and the reports of the AU’s Peace and Security Council, while its president attends the twice yearly meetings of the Assembly of the AU heads of state. The PAP is expected to become more effective after five years, when it becomes an elected body and assumes full legislative powers. This will serve as another platform for civil society to influence policy formulation and to monitor implementation through the AU and NEPAD frameworks.

The African Peer Review Mechanism is one of the positive innovations of the NEPAD programme. This mechanism represents a commitment to African self-monitoring and accountability by relying on a system of peer pressure through which governments can monitor each others’ political and economic performance. The APRM’s review process is essentially a performance assessment of key governance indicators (political, economic and corporate), thereby promoting the values and outcomes of democratic governance and constitutional government. Some experts have criticised the APRM for lacking the “teeth” to bite offenders, because it is voluntary. However, 23 African countries have already signed up to the process, supporting the views of the APRM’s proponents that a peer review mechanism can only succeed if it is voluntary. The APRM strives to enhance African “ownership” of its development and governance agenda; to identify, evaluate and disseminate best practices; as well as to monitor progress towards previously agreed governance goals. Ghana, Kenya, Rwanda and Mauritius agreed to be the first countries to be reviewed in 2004, and the reports from these reviews are currently being finalized. The structures for implementing the APRM were established in May 2004, and the Panel of Eminent Persons has made progress in popularising the integrity of the process. The APRM must be respected in order to ensure that governance audits are properly conducted. The mechanism represents a potentially innovative effort to increase the accountability of African governments to their citizens.

4) The CSSDCA, ECOSOCC and Africa’s Courts

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14 The members of the APRM Eminent Persons Panel are: Professor Adebayo Adedeji from Nigeria; Ambassador Bethuel Kiplagat of Kenya; Dr. Graça Machel from Mozambique; Dr. Dorothy Njeuma from Cameroon; Ms. Marie-Angelique Savané from Senegal; and Dr. Chris Stals from South Africa.
The African Union’s Constitutive Act created various organs to coordinate and implement its objectives. The AU has a standing Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa. The CSSDCA was initiated by the OAU in 1991 and subsequently incorporated into the structures of the AU. The initiative recognises that there must be a unified strategy for development that addresses security, stability, development and cooperation in a comprehensive and integrated way. This is based on the recognition that none of these issues can be addressed separately; rather, they must be approached in an inter-dependent manner. The CSSDCA process identifies the key performance indicators which would demonstrate whether each AU member state is fulfilling its commitment to the CSSDCA process.

In part, the establishment of a civil society organ of the AU emanates from the conceptual vision of the CSSDCA. Article 22 of the AU’s Constitutive Act notes that “the Economic, Social and Cultural Council shall be an advisory organ composed of different social and professional groups of the member states of the Union”. ECOSOCC was launched in March 2005 in Addis Ababa and provides a vehicle for civil society – NGOs, professional groups, trade unions and other stakeholders – to establish formal relations with the AU and to take part in its initiatives and work. Its overall aim is to provide a forum for civil society to influence the formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of AU policies and programmes. Dr. Wangari Maathai, Kenya’s Nobel laureate and environmental campaigner, was chosen as ECOSOCC’s interim president.

To ensure and promote the rule of law in Africa, the AU has also established an African Court on Human and People’s Rights. The Court will complement other AU institutions by ensuring the protection of human and minority rights. The body is empowered to act both in a judiciary and advisory capacity. Article 2 of its Protocol states that: “the Court shall, bearing in mind the provisions of this Protocol, complement the protective mandate of the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights conferred upon it by the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights”. In terms of its judicatory power, the Court can assess cases submitted to it by member states or citizens who have been victims of human rights violations. It will be important to ensure that the Court is not undermined by political interference so that it can serve as a genuine arbitrator and mechanism to check excesses of state power.

At the fifth ordinary session of the AU Assembly of Heads of State, held in Sirte, Libya, in July 2005, a decision was taken to merge the African Court on Human and People’s Rights with the proposed African Court of Justice (ACJ). African leaders authorised the drafting of a legal instrument relating to the establishment of the merged court, and also decided that the seat of the court will be in Eastern Africa. Many African civil society groups have criticised the merging of both courts, arguing that each one should have performed separate functions.

5) Human Security and HIV/AIDS

The AU’s ambitious agenda transcends state-centric security, and aims to bridge the gap between the sovereign rights of states and the human rights of citizens. In that context, the new AU has adopted a people-oriented vision, articulated most clearly through some of its newest organs such as ECOSOCC, the Pan-African Parliament, and the Peace and Security

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Despite this implicit focus on people, the concept of human security has yet to take root explicitly among African policymakers. Human security emphasises freedom from fear and from want. The term was first used in a 1994 UN Human Development Report, and encompasses economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security. Measurements for human security are yet to be properly defined. However, efforts to ensure sustainable development; to alleviate absolute poverty; to provide basic social services structures; to establish the rule of law; to protect and promote human rights; to nurture democratic governance and institutions; and to inculcate the peaceful resolution of conflicts, are useful avenues for building and strengthening human security.

As the leading killer of adults in Africa, HIV/AIDS represents a considerable threat to human security: an estimated 25 million adults and children are currently living with the virus which has killed nearly 20 million Africans in the last two decades. HIV/AIDS has orphaned over 12 million children under the age of 15. The AU Commission notes that “the life expectancy of African populations has been slashed down by 20 years, and the GDP of the continent is losing billions of dollars annually”. Africa’s own response to the pandemic has been mixed. However, in 2001, African leaders declared AIDS as a state of emergency on the continent and in the Abuja Declaration, committed to allocating at least fifteen percent of their annual national budgets to the improvement of the health sector. Eight leaders, led by Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo, also established AIDS Watch Africa (AWA) and subsequently instituted it within the new AU Commission during the AU summit in 2004. As a further follow up, president Obasanjo announced that the AU will convene a summit on HIV/AIDS, Malaria, Tuberculosis and related infectious diseases, in 2006, to review progress made in the last five years. African governments, during the summit in Sirte in July 2005, also supported the integration of HIV/AIDS into the APRM and NEPAD.

The AU’s Commissioner of Social Affairs, Ms. Bience Gawanas, has been mandated to address the HIV/AIDS pandemic within the Commission. The Department of Social Affairs has prepared –together with civil society, national AIDS commissions and the UN – a continental strategy to heighten and enhance Africa’s response to the pandemic. In this strategic document, the Commission stressed that HIV/AIDS should be addressed as a multi-dimensional security and governance challenge. Because the Commission is burdened with a number of other urgent priorities such as institutional transformation and other integration and peace and governance issues, its role on the AIDS issue has had to be carefully developed. The current strategy focuses on advocacy, including ensuring that African governments adhere to the Abuja declaration’s commitments to increase health spending.

19 Ibid. p.2.
6) The AU, Regional Integration, and External Actors

The AU has set for itself the challenge of building, by the year 2025, “a united and integrated Africa that is imbued with ideals of justice and peace; an inter-dependent continent underpinned by political, economic, social and cultural integration; and an Africa that is capable of making use of its human and material resources.” Such an ambitious vision requires a shared consensus backed by a genuine political commitment towards regional integration. Major challenges remain in terms of fulfilling this objective, including weak state structures and fragile economies. However, through the AU and NEPAD frameworks, the blueprint is now in place, the challenge now will be to transform this vision into reality.

Another challenge facing Africa is harmonizing and building the capacity of Africa’s infrastructure (roads; rail and air links; vital bridges; and telecommunications): a major focus of NEPAD. The Group of Eight (G8) industrialised countries meeting in Gleneagles, Scotland, in July 2005, committed themselves to assisting Africa with its efforts to develop its transport infrastructure. One rationale behind the creation of the AU was to rationalise, and perhaps even consolidate, the significant number of continental and subregional organisations, as agreed in Abuja in 1991. For instance, in the economic field alone, the AU has inherited a dozen or so regional and subregional economic organisations with overlapping mandates, which inevitably results in confusion and a duplication of tasks.

The AU has also designated the African Diaspora as its sixth subregion. The African Diaspora is a generic term referring to people of African descent who live outside the African continent. Historically, the Diaspora communities came about as a result of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. This gave rise to new African-descended nationalities in the western hemisphere: Afro-Cubans, Afro Brazilians, African-Americans and Afro-West Indians. The African Diaspora also contributed towards the establishment of several nation-states including Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Grenada, the Dominican Republic and Haiti. The Diaspora is further composed of African expatriate communities of nationals from existing AU member states who are either citizens or otherwise residing in countries outside Africa. The AU defines the African Diaspora as “peoples of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union.” The Diaspora will largely engage with ECOSOCC.

The AU is modelled on the European Union. However, critics have noted that AU institutions and mandates will have to be adapted to the specific political and socio-economic conditions in Africa. Given the limited capacity that the organisation has to transform its objectives into practical action, the AU will need to continue collaborating with other organisations and will require support in terms of resource mobilisation from partners like the EU and the UN. The EU has agreed to contribute $250 million annually to an African Peace Support Facility. With regards to the urgent reform of the UN, which will culminate in a summit of world leaders in New York in September 2005, the AU adopted a common position in terms of its demand for greater representation on the UN Security Council. The “Ezulwini Consensus”

demands “the allocation of two permanent seats to Africa with all the privileges including the right of veto, and five non-permanent seats on the UN Security Council”.

Ezulwini also defined a common African position on sustainable development, collective security, conflict prevention and the use of force.

The AU further called for the strengthening of the UN General Assembly as the UN system’s most democratic organ and advocated for increased representation for Africa in the UN secretariat. Negotiations have occurred between the AU and the Group of Four - Brazil, Japan, Germany and India - in order to produce a mutually-agreed resolution for reform of the Security Council. UN reform will be vital to establishing a proper division of labour among the UN, the AU, NEPAD, the RECs and civil society in order to build an effective continental security architecture for a new century.

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25 AU, Decisions, Declarations and Resolutions, Assembly of the African Union, Fifth Ordinary Session, Sirte, Libya, 4-5 July 2005, AU/Dec.73-90 (V),
ANNEX

General Guidelines for Presenters/Authors of Chapters to the Edited Volume:

The presentations at the forthcoming seminar will be collated and published in an edited volume for wider public dissemination.

Presenters/Authors are requested to focus their papers on the theme of what is necessary in terms of strengthening the African Union and NEPAD and its collaboration with Regional Economic Communities (RECs), civil society, the Diaspora and external actors.

Specifically, authors are requested to address the following points:

- Does the establishment of the AU provide an opportunity to enhance efforts to promote peace, security and development in Africa?
- If so, how does it do this?
- If relevant to your paper, what are the strategies that the AU/NEPAD can adopt to effectively collaborate with its partners organizations, civil society, the Diaspora and external actors?
- All authors are requested to please provide 1-2 pages of concrete recommendations to assist the AU/NEPAD, RECs and civil society in their work.

Authors are requested to please send in their papers to CCR by Monday 8\textsuperscript{th} August 2005, so that they can be photocopied and placed in folders prior to the seminar (approximately 5,000 words). If there are any questions please contact either one of the following CCR staff members: Dr. Tim Murithi, Senior Researcher (tmurithi@ccr.uct.ac.za;) or Angela Ndinga-Muvumba, Programme Manager (amuvumba@ccr.uct.ac.za); Tel: +27-21-4222-512; Fax: +27-21-4222-622.

CCR looks forward to welcoming you at the August seminar.