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Background

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African Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping

African states and organizations have played key roles in mediating the end of two African conflicts:

- Rwanda. Under OAU auspices, in August 1993 Tanzania brokered an agreement ending the civil war in Rwanda. To monitor the ceasefire established to permit peace negotiations, the OAU fielded a Neutral Military Observer Group (NMOG), comprised of ten military observers each from Nigeria, Senegal, Mali and Zimbabwe. NMOG subsequently has been augmented by Congo and Tunisia, while the Zimbabwean troops have been withdrawn. Following the signing of the peace accords, the OAU and both Rwandan factions called for a United Nations peacekeeping force to monitor the encampment, disarmament and demobilization of the Rwandan Armed Forces and insurgent Rwandan Patriotic Front, and the integration of a new national military. The transition period during which a peacekeeping force would be required, as agreed to in the peace agreement, is 22 months. A UN peacekeeping assessment team has returned from its mission in Rwanda, but has not yet disseminated its report. The issue, which is being discussed informally by UNSC members, remains under review by the USG.

- Liberia. ECOMOG forces (currently Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Gambia, and Mali; Senegal participated during 1991-1992) have been in Liberia since August 1990. ECOMOG military pressure on Charles Taylor's NPFL was instrumental in moving the rebel group to negotiate an end to the conflict. The Organization of African Unity co-chaired the negotiations (with the UN Special Representative) that resulted in the peace agreement of 25 July 1993. Additionally, the President of Benin, as Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States for the past 15 months, played a key role in brokering the peace accord.

Development of a Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping Capability

During the 1992 OAU Summit in Senegal, Secretary General Salim Salim broached the idea of the OAU establishing a conflict resolution capacity within the Secretariat, but no action was taken on the matter at that time. The concept was endorsed, however, during the 1993 OAU Summit in Cairo. The Clinton Administration requested \$1.5 million in FY 94 ESF funding to assist in the establishment of an OAU peacekeeping center to study causes of conflict in Africa and to undertake proactive diplomatic intervention in the initial stages of a conflict to resolve it as early as possible.

IS/FPC/0 RLS Date: 12/12/96

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Traditionally, an African conflict has to reach horrific levels of human suffering and physical destruction before the international community and UN have felt compelled or able to intervene. If the OAU possessed the ability and will to intervene with peacekeeping forces at an earlier stage, it is quite possible that the violence could be contained far sooner, thereby minimizing the magnitude of suffering and reducing the humanitarian assistance costs borne by the international donor community. During 1992, the OAU dispatched military observers to Rwanda to monitor the ceasefire there. The USG provided \$1 million in FY 92 end-of-year funding (\$500K FMF and \$500K ESF) to assist the OAU in this effort. The Administration has also requested \$3.166 million in FY 94 Peacekeeping Funding to provide continuing support to the development of a credible OAU peacekeeping capability. To date, the OAU has procured mine detectors, but still needs to purchase light transport vehicles and long-range radios for future peacekeeping deployments.

OAU Structure

The OAU has not established a military peacekeeping planning cell as part of the permanent Secretariat structure. Rather, it has two officers (one Congolese and one Tanzanian) assigned to Addis Ababa on a TDY basis in conjunction with the Rwandan operation. We believe that the OAU should establish a small military cell to capture the lessons learned from the ongoing observer mission in Rwanda, to procure and maintain accountability of materiel for possible future operations, plan future OAU PKO's as needed, and coordinate efforts with the UN Peacekeeping Office.

Liberian Peace Agreement

The Liberian peace accords were signed 25 July and went into effect August 1, 1993, ending three and one-half years of civil war in that West African country. The agreement calls for UN military observers and an expansion of the existing ECOMOG peacekeeping force. The UN observer operation (UNOMIL) was approved by the UNSC September 22 and will be an assessed operation. Its mandate is to monitor the ceasefire and demobilization. ECOMOG is to conduct peacekeeping (it also has a mandate for peace enforcement, if necessary) and to carry out demobilization. The ECOMOG operational plan calls for it to be augmented by four non-West African battalions which will be deployed to the hardcore NPFL areas of Liberia to meet the demand of rebel leader Charles Taylor that his force not disarm to Nigerian troops.

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The UN Special Representative in Liberia, the President of Benin in his capacity as ECOWAS Chairman, and the President of the Interim Government of Liberia (which we do not recognize) have all called on the USG to equip, transport and sustain the additional battalions of peacekeepers required by the agreement. The U.S. sent a joint State-DoD team to Liberia to assess the ECOMOG operational plan and survey the situation on the ground. Part of the team then continued to the three countries that had indicated a willingness to send troops to augment ECOMOG, in an effort to determine their logistics requirements for the operation: Uganda, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe.

The key findings of the joint assessment team are that the operational plan is militarily feasible but will be very resource intensive. None of the three potential troop contributors are willing or able to send battalions of peacekeepers without the initial provision of virtually all required equipment and guarantees of logistics support for the duration of the operation. Although the peace agreement calls for a duration of seven months, the assessment team believes that it could last twelve months.

AF has identified approximately \$27 million in FY 93 and prior year funding that could be used to support the ECOMOG expansion. AF also hopes to receive up to \$12 million in FY 94 Peacekeeping funding requested for ECOWAS for use in Liberia. In addition to those funds, some level of DoD drawdown will probably be required to carry out the expansion of ECOMOG. The Deputies' Committee is expected to make a decision concerning U.S. support for Liberian peacekeeping within the next few weeks.

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