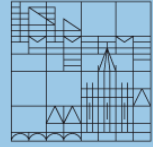


# **The AU and its fight against internal and external challenges**

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**University of Pretoria, 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2013**



## Some of the AU's challenges

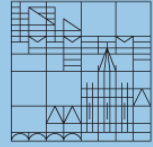
### Internal challenges

- Sovereignty
- Lack of unity

### External challenges

- Sidelined by P3 and their allies
- Dependent on resources/capabilities



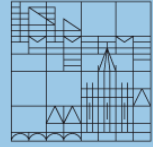


# 1. Sovereignty

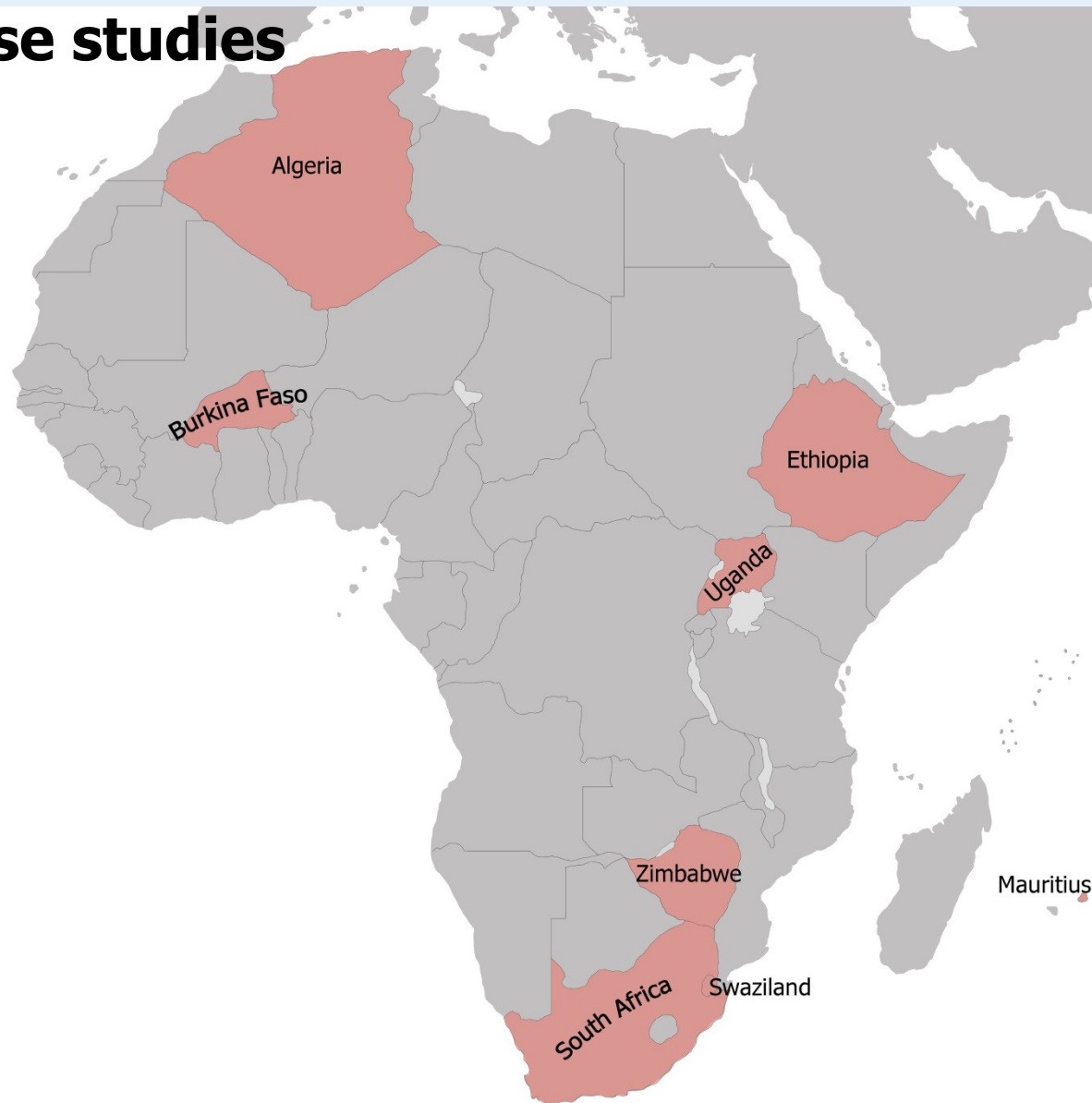
- 1963-2002: Sovereignty (and non-interference) a core principle of the OAU
- Since 2002: Sovereignty, non-interference, but also „non-indifference“

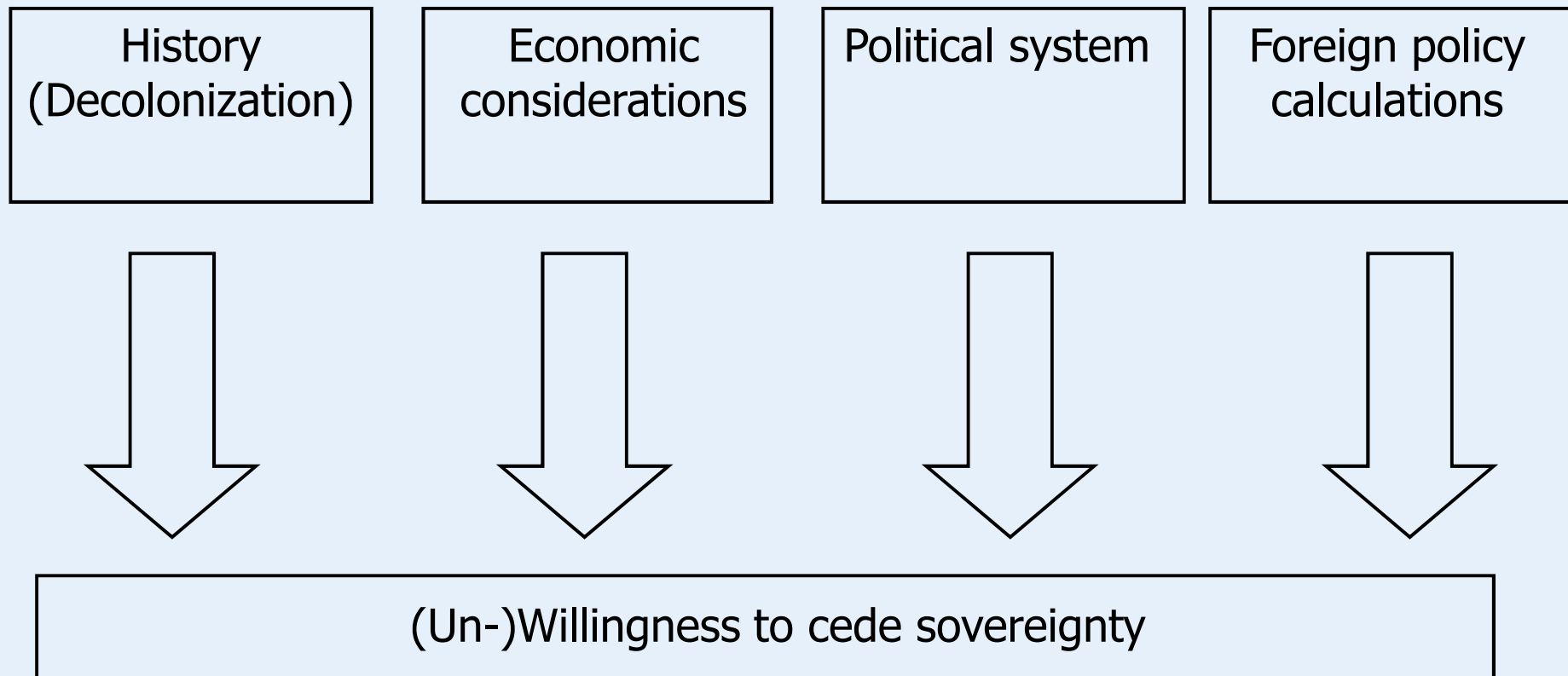
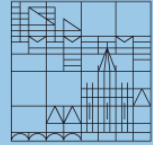
→ Why are states unwilling to cede sovereignty

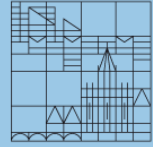
→ Goal: Finding an answer by analysing it from the AU member states' perspective



## Eight case studies

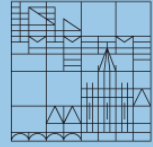






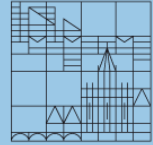
## Sources

- Official documents of OAU/AU and of eight selected countries
- Scientific literature and think tank reports
- Local and international newspapers and magazines
- 106 interviews with decision makers, experts, bureaucrats, diplomats and military



## Findings I

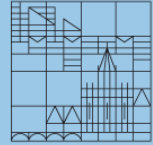
- Great reluctance to cede sovereignty and to get deeply involved in the AU
- Several case study specific reasons for unwillingness to cede sovereignty



## Findings II

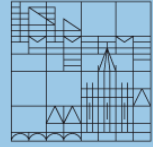
- Legacies of the liberation struggle play a central role, if the country had to fight for its independence (Algeria, South Africa and Zimbabwe); Liberation fight narrative is used by governments (Algeria, South Africa, and Zimbabwe)
- Tradition and culture serve as justification for unwillingness to cede sovereignty (Ethiopia und Swaziland)





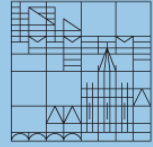
## Findings III

- Foreign policy decision making is personalized (exceptions: Mauritius and South Africa)
- AU serves as platform to gain legitimacy for rulers
- Level of democratizations influences willingness to cede sovereignty
- Regional Economic Community considered as more important than AU
- Economic considerations play a subordinated role



## 2. Lack of unity

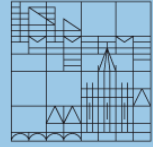
- ICC al-Bashir case
  - Libya
  - Discussion on UN Security Council reform
  - Exception: Climate Change Summit in Copenhagen
- normative congruence missing
- difficulties to change governance beyond Africa



### **3. Lack of capabilities and capacities**

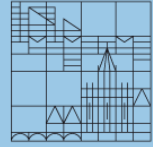
- Failed to act in Tunisia and Egypt (was busy dealing with Côte d'Ivoire)
- Mali
- AU Secretariat
- Understaffed AU office in New York
- Member states miss to pay their fees

→ Dependence on donors



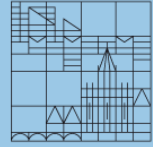
## 4. Sidelined by P3 and allies

- UN Security council reform
- Libya
- Mali



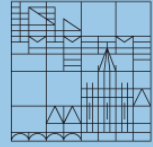
## **The AU's (missed) chances during Arab Spring**

- Proof functioning of APSA
- Chance to replace OAU-style leaders
- Chance to support democratic development
- Gaddafi's ousting helped AU as it can concentrate on important issues to be solved



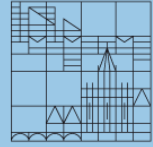
## 4. The way forward – some thoughts I

- adopt realistic positions (e.g. economic integration plans, Union Government for Africa)
- speak with one voice
- Use APSA and prove its functioning and Africa's ability to solve crises on its own
- invest in military capabilities (in ASF context) and provide the human resources (no dependency on West and China)



## The way forward – some thoughts II

- democratize
- apply rule of law
- follow a functional logic to integration and work on those policy fields first where agreement is possible
- think carefully about future of AU and its relations with the regional economic communities



# **Thanks for your attention**

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