

FINANCIAL INEFFICIENCY AND THE AFRICAN UNION

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 Araştırma 11

Introduction

The African Union is created in July 2002 taking the place of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was formed on 25 May 1963 in the Ethiopian capital city Addis Ababa. The OAU was formed in a period where African states were struggling for their independence. From 22 to 25 May 1963, 32 African countries took part in the conference in the Ethiopian capital, which set up the OAU, which marked the arrival of the first pan-African organisation. Article II of the ONU described the Purposes of the organization as follows:

- a. To promote the unity and solidarity of the African States;
- b. To coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa;

- c. To defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence;
- d. To eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and
- e. To promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In order to achieve these goals the member states would coordinate politically, economically and diplomatically. Moreover they would coordinate in educational, cultural, health, scientific, defence and security.

As such, African countries would have taken care of African issues. The main objective of the

organization was to free the remaining African countries that were under colonization. Thus, it strived for the independence of the rest states.

In 1990, all African states were independent. However, the African continent faced civil wars and border conflicts. There have been over 9 million refugees and internally displaced people from conflicts in Africa. Hundreds and thousands of people have been slaughtered from a number of conflicts and civil wars. Since 1960, the border disputes have appeared in more than 32 African states (Ikome, 2012, p. 6). The border dispute and the horrible civil wars that happened in Somalia, Ruanda, Burundi, Liberia, and Sera Leone were the major issues during the 1990-2002. Thus, the Organization was obliged to be reorganized and reshaped according to the changing trend of the Continent including HIV, malaria and other epidemic diseases.

In September 1999, the heads of the member states of the organization issued the Sirte Declaration, calling for the establishment of an African Union, with a view, inter alia, toward accelerating the process of unity among countries of the continent, enabling it to better participate in the global economy and to better address social, economic and political problems. Since 1999, three summits have been held to facilitate the implementation of the African Union.

The Lome (Togo) Summit (2000) adopted the Constitutive Act of the African Union, which specifies the objectives, principles, and organs of the African Union. The Lusaka Summit (2001) drew the road map for the implementation of the AU. Finally The African Union (AU) was launched in the Durban (South Africa) summit that was held in 2002.

The African Union

The African Union was officially launched on July 9 2002. It is a more comprehensive organization and has broad goals than the Organization of the African Unity. The organization has 13 organs (AU [African Union], 2014, p. 12-156). These are:

- **The Assembly**, which is composed of the heads of the states and government. It is the highest organ.
- **Executive Council**, which is Composed of Ministers or Authorities designated by the Governments of Members States. It coordinates and takes decisions on policies in areas of common interest to the Member States. It is responsible to the Assembly. It shall consider issues referred to it and monitor the implementation of policies formulated by the Assembly.
- **The Pan-African Parliament**, which a common platform for African peoples and their grass-roots organizations to be more involved in discussions and decision-making on the problems and challenges facing the continent.
- **The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights**, which is a continental court established by African countries to ensure protection of human and peoples' rights in Africa. It complements and reinforces the functions of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights.
- **The Commission** is the Secretariat of the Union entrusted with executive functions. It is composed of 10 Officials: A Chairperson, a Deputy Chairperson; (8) Commissioners and Staff member. The structure represents the Union and protects its interest under the auspices of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government as well as the Executive Committee. The AU Commission is made up of Portfolios. They are: Peace and Security; Political Affairs; Trade and Industry; Infrastructure and Energy; Social Affairs; Rural Economy and Agriculture; Human Resources, Science and Technology; and Economic Affairs.
- **The Permanent Representatives' Committee**, is Composed of Permanent Representatives of Member States accredited to the Union and other duly accredited plenipotentiaries of

Member States resident at the Headquarters of the Union. The Permanent Representatives Committee is charged with the responsibility of preparing the work of the Executive Council.

- **The Specialized Technical Committees**, they are composed of Ministers or senior officials responsible for sectors falling within their respective areas of competence. They are responsible for preparing projects and programmes of the Union and submit it to the Executive Council. They also have the duty to ensure the supervision, follow-up and the evaluation of the implementation of decisions taken by the organs of the Union and the coordination and harmonization of projects and programmes of the Union.
- **Peace and Security Council**, it is made up of fifteen Member States. In order to fully assume its responsibilities for the deployment of peacekeeping and quick intervention Missions to assist in cases of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, the Peace and Security Council could consult a Panel of the Wise comprising of five African personalities so as to take action on the distribution of the military on the field.
- **The Financial Institutions**, it is composed of 3 institutions and it is created to facilitate trade within the continent. They are: the African Investment Bank (AIB), the African Monetary Fund (AMF) and the African Central Bank (ACB).
- **The Economic, Social and Cultural Council** is established as an advisory organ to the AU composed of civil society organisations (CSOs). The principle of ECOSOCC is for civil society to organise itself to work in partnership with the AU.
- **African Union Commission For International Law**, it is an independent advisory organ.
- **The Advisory Board on Corruption**, it is a continent-wide forum for multilateral coop-

eration on intelligence and security matters. It facilitates dialogue, analysis, knowledge sharing, coordination and adoption of common strategies among intelligence and security organisations in Africa. Fifty African states are CISSA members.

- **African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child**

The Objectives of the African Union

- Achieve greater unity and solidarity between African countries and the peoples of Africa,
- Defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its Member States,
- Accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent, Promote and defend African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its peoples,
- Encourage international cooperation, taking due account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,
- Promote peace, security, and stability on the continent,
- Promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance,
- Promote and protect human peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments,
- Establish the necessary conditions which enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations,
- Promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies,
- Promote cooperation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African peoples,

- Coordinate and harmonise the policies between the existing and future Regional Economic Communities for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union,
- Advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, in particular in science and technology, and
- Work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent.

Financial Inefficiency as Major Obstacle to the AU Goals

The above mentioned goals of the African Union could only be achieved with efficient financial resources. Apparently the more than 60% of the AU budget comes from donor countries like China (which has built the new AU head quarter), EU, Japan and the US.

The Budget of 2013 of the AU was \$278,226,622,1 of which \$122,866,637 was assessed to Member States and \$155,359,986 sourced from international partners (AU, 2014, p. 160). The donor nations have contributed more than the African states. For the budget of 2014 a total of \$308,048,376, of which \$137,884,958 is for operating costs and

\$170,163,418 for programmes was approved by the commission. A total of \$137,949,831 is assessed to Member States and \$170,098,545 is from international partners (AU, 2014, 160). However, there is an increase on the budget of 2015 which was approved in June 2014, a total of US\$ 522,121,602.00, including US\$142,687,881.00

for operational costs and US\$379,433,721.00 for programmes. The lack of implementation capacity however, is mainly the outcome of the meager operational budget allocated to a commission that is supposed to attract the best of African intellectuals and run an integration of 54 states. Member states arrears are also a burden as seen by the fact that only 19 member states were totally paid up by the end of September 2013 as 8 nations (Libya, Sudan, Kenya, Cameroon, Senegal, Madagascar,

Tanzania, Uganda) with the biggest arrears while only 4 (Gabon, Zambia, Nigeria, Ethiopia) had substantive advances for 2014.

In a continent that peace is fragile drafting a budget of \$522 million is far from meeting the goals and objectives of the AU. For instance the annual budget of AMISOM (African Union Mission In Somalia) is \$600 million mainly funded by the EU. Thus, an African Union soldiers composed of 17 000 troops has more budget than the AU, which shows that member states shall consider their contributions to the organization.

In 2014 of the issues existing in Africa, 2 were major issues. The first one is the Ebola epidemic, the other one is the ongoing Libyan Civil war. In the next section I would like to emphasize how the financial inefficiency of the AU has been felt in the countries Ebola epidemic broke out and the escalation of the Libyan civil war and the interference of the UAE to the Libyan affair.

Ebola Crisis

The Ebola virus is a serious and deadly disease transmitted by animals and humans. Scientists initially detected the Ebola virus disease (EVD) in 1976 in Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Researchers named the disease after the Ebola River that flows in the Congo. Although the Ebola virus has been present for more than 35 years, an outbreak occurred in March 2014 that began in West Africa. This outbreak has proven more deadly, severe, and widespread than previous outbreaks.

Since the virus is discovered in 1976 there have 24 outbreaks. The last outbreak (March 2014) has been deadliest one, more than 21 000 cases were reported and more than 8, 400 people were killed by the virus in the West African Countries. Not only it claimed the lives of the people but also it affected the economy and politics of the region.

The recent outbreak of Ebola has tested the capacity of the AU to quick responses to catastrophic events. Although The AU reacted one month after the outbreak it seriously reacted only in

November. The total money that the World Health Organization demanded to fight the disease is \$600 million however the contribution of the AU has been only

\$28.5 million. The EU and the World Bank are the biggest contributors to the fight of Ebola. The EU contributed £147 million whereas the World Bank Contributed \$200 million, Bill Gates \$60 million. As it is seen clearly the AU needs sufficient financial resources to act quickly on the urgent matters the continent faces. The fight for the Ebola crisis costs more the budget of the AU. This is pointing out that much contribution is needed from the member states. Looking resources for the politics of the continent impedes also the political independence of the AU. Accordingly, the Ebola crisis must draw a lesson to the African Union and member states.

Libya Crisis

The current Libyan crisis has started with the Arab revolution or the so called Arab Spring that began in Tunisia in late 2010. The Tunisian uprising has encouraged other North African nations like Egypt and Libya and other Asian Arabs, like Syria, Yemen and Bahrein. The Libyan civil war started in February 2011 and continues till present. A deal was proposed by the AU; however, even if it was accepted by Gaddafi the deal was declined by the revolutionaries.

The peace effort of the AU in Libya was demolished by the intervention of NATO forces in March 2011. NATO started bombarding Libya and the peace maintenance which was one of the functions of the African Union has been disabled. After the bombardment of Libya by NATO forces, Gaddafi was captured in Sirte on 20 October 2011 (Libya) and killed like a street dogs.

The death of the Libyan leader has caused an outrage in Africa, at least he did not deserve to be killed on the street, he would have been brought in front of Justice. The outrage was caused because the South African president Jacob Zuma was making efforts to reach a peace talks and deal between the parties and had convinced Mr

Gaddafi to deal with the revolutionaries however, it was rejected by the revolutionaries.

The death of Muammer Gaddafi did not bring peace to Libya. The conflict that started with the revolution in 2011 has continued until today. Today, Libya is converted into a failed state. Since the fall of the Gaddafi regime there is no functioning government. The so called General National Congress and a defected general named Hafter (he was on the front fighting Gaddafi forces) are fighting in Libya. The African Union and the United Nations are making small effort to get solution for the Libyan crisis. In September 2014 the International Contact Group on Libya is established by the African Union Peace and Security Council however, in practice enough efforts are made by the AU.

In August 2014 the fighter jets of the UAE has bombarded Libya. This is deliberate breach to African Union sovereignty. The AU did not even investigate this issue. This shows how desperate AU is to adequate resources.

Obviously the African Union is the highest organization in the continent and it is supposed to be primary actor in the affairs of the continent. However, this has never been achieved. First, the NATO intervention in Libya did not bring peace, but escalated the conflict. Second the intervention took place while African States were seeking for peaceful talks between the groups. Third, NATO is an organization created against the Soviet Union threats, thus, how shall it intervene to African issues? This question is a question of the Sovereignty of the AU. But its answer lies here; financial dependence. The member states of NATO are at the same time EU members (not all but most). The EU is one of the biggest donators of the AU. Thus, the AU may have abstained from blocking the NATO intervention because of its financial resources of the NATO members.

The same problem exists between the AU and the International Criminal Court. Currently there are 21 cases at the ICC, all from Africa. This caused the ICC to be considered a “neo-colonial organization”. The Court is currently trying 2 sitting

African leaders; the Sudanese President (arrest warrant issued) and the Kenyan president Uhuru Kenyatta whose trying is going on even if acquitted temporarily. After an extraordinary summit in October 2013, the AU demanded the ICC not to persecute sitting leaders; however, this call was declined by both the ICC and the UN Security Council who has the authority to freeze ongoing ICC trials in order to prevent further escalation of conflicts. This has caused a rift between the AU and the ICC. The ICC is financed by the EU member (73% of the budget) who is at the same time the financers of the AU at the same time. Thus, financial independence and efficiency of the AU is the key for its adequacy and sovereignty.

Conclusion

The Organization of African Unity in established in 1963 in Addis Ababa. The most important objective of the organization was to help African states striving for independence. Later in 2002, the OAU took the name African Union and restruc-

tured it- self after all African states were freed and confront new challenges that were emerging. The AU has a more comprehensive activities comparing to the OAU. However, it is always short of financial resources and dependent foreign funds (more than 60%). This has caused the AU not to take care of the affairs of the continent as expected.

The last Ebola outbreak in West African states has confirmed the lack of ability of the AU to act quickly against such kind of disaster. The total money demanded for the fight of Ebola was \$600 million, but only the Au raised a fund of \$28.5 million. The rest was raised by international donors. The other issue is the Libyan crisis that is going on since 2011. The NATO intervention did not bring peace but fuelled the conflict. Maybe if there was no NATO intervention, a peace deal could have been achieved through African Union a peace effort which was aborted by the intervention. Today Libya is in a fierce civil war but the AU is doing little for the resolution of this war.

