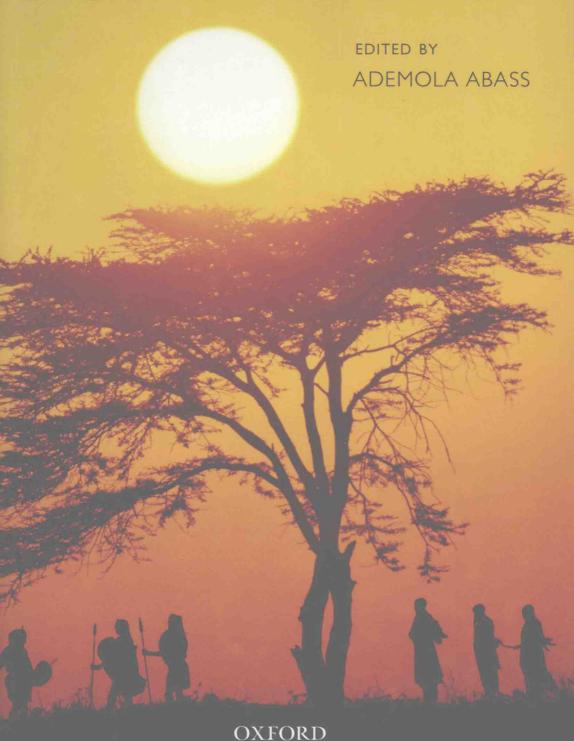
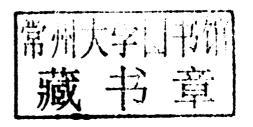
PROTECTING HUMAN SECURITY IN AFRICA



Protecting Human Security in Africa

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To Nuru Ribadu and John Githongo, Chairmen of the Economic and Financial Crimes (EFCC) in Nigeria and the Kenya Anti Corruption Commission (KACC) respectively for their courageous fight against corruption in Africa

Preface

The last Millennium was a wasted one for Africa, as it was, indeed, for a large chunk of the human race. However, while the last two centuries of that millennium saw the redemption of humanity largely in Europe, North America and, to a reasonable extent, Asia, Africa wallowed in the vicious cycle of slavery, colonialism, self-destructive governance, the looting of collective resources by governments, military adventurism in politics, authoritarianism and general retrogression.

The new Millennium revived the hope for Africa, just as the attainment of political independence from European powers between the late 1950s and 1960s, once did. Across the African continent, momentous developments are currently unfolding which make Africans dare hope again: the wanton plundering of Africa's natural resources by rulers and warlords alike is today being vigorously challenged by an increasingly vocal civil society; the culture of graft and corruption is being confronted by daredevilry across many African countries, as best typified by the vigorous campaigns led by Nuru Ribadu and John Githongo, the former heads of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in Nigeria and the Kenyan Anti-Corruption Commission (KACC) respectively. The international law principle of non-intervention in internal affairs of States, which many member States of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) hijacked to shield their reigns of terror from international scrutiny, has now been replaced by a policy of 'no indifference' by the African Union. As a principle, the African Union is now able to intervene in a member State once a situation therein crosses certain thresholds. The International Criminal Court's issuance of an arrest warrant against President Bashir in Sudan in relation to crimes committed in Darfur, if nothing else, serves as a serious symbolic gesture that the era of impunity is fast coming to an end.

Of course, that is not to say that corruption, violent conflicts, theft and mismanagement of natural resources and extensive looting of national wealth will all suddenly cease in Africa. Quite the contrary, the ongoing situations in Darfur, Somalia and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) clearly show that today's violent conflicts in Africa are as nasty as those of yesteryears. Grand embezzlement of public funds still occurs daily across the continent, while the 2007/8 post-election crises in Kenya and Zimbabwe demonstrate the gory determination of political leaders to steal their peoples' democratic victories at all costs. The greater the resolve of the African people to fight HIV/AIDS, the less, it seems, the enthusiasm of multinational pharmaceutical corporations to make antiretroviral drugs available at affordable prices.

viii Preface

This book investigates the various ongoing efforts to address the threats to human security in Africa. Threats, such as environmental insecurity, food insecurity, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, endemic corruption, labour exploitation, repression of women's rights, refugees, piracy, natural resource-fuelled conflicts, are commonplace in Africa. The contributors to the book are, in their own right, leading academics and practitioners in the various themes of their commentary. In the first part, each chapter analyses the legal and policy frameworks available for dealing with specific human security threats. The second part focuses on the African institutions and mechanisms for advocating, protecting, and vindicating human security in Africa. The African Union, the African Commission of Human and Peoples' Rights, the African Court of Human Rights and Justice, Non-Governmental Organizations and the civil society all play crucial and significant roles in this respect, and as such, receive great attention in this book.

For the various assistance received from the start to the finish of this book, I thank the Oxford University Press team of John Louth, Merel Alstein and Fiona Stables for their support and cooperation. For their assistance with proof-reading the manuscripts, I thank especially Edefe Ojomo and Ife Ogbona, and Dominique Mystris. For tolerating my frequent escapes from home and punching away at my laptop at ungodly hours, Eche and Kobi, my wife and kid.

Ademola Abass Uxbridge June 2010

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List of Abbreviations

ABHS Advisory Board on Human Security

ACDEG African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance

ACHPR African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
ACHPR African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights

AFDL Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire

AIDS Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

AMIS African Union Mission in Sudan

APSA African Peace and Security Architecture

APSOG Association of Private Security Operators in Ghana

ARBA Ashanti Region Blacksmiths Association

ARVS Anti-retroviral Drugs ASF African Stand by Force

AU African Union

CAADP Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme

CASDP Common African Security and Defence Policy

CCEM Committee against Modern Slavery

CCPCI Chad-Cameroon Pipeline Consortium Initiative
CDF Comprehensive Development Framework

CDF Comprehensive Development Framework
CDM Clean Development Mechanism

CEDAW Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against

Women

CEN-SAD Community of Sahel-Saharan States

CERD Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
CESCR Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
CEWARN Conflict and Early Warning Response Mechanism

CEWS Continental Early Warning System
CHS Commission for Human Security

COMESA Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

CPR Civil and Political Rights
CSO Civil Society Organizations

CSSDCA Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in

Africa

CTF Combined Task Force

DDI Diamond and Development Initiative

DDR Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DFID Department for International Development (UK)
DPKO Department for Peacekeeping Operations (UN)

DRC Democratic Republic of the Congo ECHR European Convention on Human Rights

ECOMOG ECOWAS Monitoring Group

ECOWAS Economic Community of West African States

ECOSOCC Economic Social and Cultural Council
EITI Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative

ENVSEC Environmental Security

ESCR Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

ESF ECOWAS Standby Force

EU European Union

EUNAVFOR European Union Naval Force FAO Food and Agricultural Organization

FGM Female Genital Mutilation FLC Forced Labour Convention

FOSDA Foundation for Security and Development in Africa

GDP Gross Domestic Product

GEMAP Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program

GHG Greenhouse Gases
GPS Ghana Police Service

HDR Human Development Report
HIPC Highly Indebted Poor Countries
HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HRC Human Rights Committee
HSTF High Seas Task Force
ICC International Criminal Court

ICCPR International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICERD International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial

Discrimination

ICESCR International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights ICISS International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty

ICJ International Court of Justice

ICRC International Convention on the Rights of the Child

IDP Internally Displaced Person

IFAD International Fund for Agricultural Development IGAD InterGovernmental Authority on Development IHI International Human Rights Institutions

ILC International Labour Code
ILC International Law Commission
ILO International Labour Organization
IMF International Monetary Fund
IMO International Maritime Organization

IRTC Internationally Recognised Transit Corridor

ITCZ Intertropical Convergence Zone

IUU Illegal Unreported and Unregulated Fishing

JDA Joint Development Authority
JDZ Joint Development Zone

KACA Kenya Anti-corruption Authority
KACC Kenya Anti-corruption Commission

LOSC Law of the Sea Convention
LPA Lagos Plan of Action

LRA Lord's Resistance Army

LURD Liberia United for Reconciliation and Democracy

MDC Movement for Democratic Change
MDG Millennium Development Goals
MODEL Movement for Democracy in Liberia
MoU Memorandum of Understanding

MPLA Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola

MSC Maritime Safety Committee
MSC Military Staff Committee
MSPA Maritime Security Patrol Area
NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEPAD New Partnership for Africa's Development

NGO Non-governmental Organization NHRI National Human Rights Institution

NJC National Judicial Council
NLC Native Labour Code

NPFL National Patriotic Front of Liberia

NPP New Patriotic Party

NRCD National Redemption Council Decree

NSA Non-state Actor

NTLG National Transitional Government of Liberia

OAS Organization of American States
OAU Organization of African Unity
ODM Orange Democratic Movement

OECD Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and

Development

OSCE Organisation for Security and Cooperation for Europe

Resistência Nacional Moçambicana

PLWHA People Living with HIV and AIDS

PMAD Protocol on Mutual Assistance and Defence
PNDC Provisional National Defence Council
PRSP Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
PSC Peace and Security Council
PSC Private Security Companies
REC Regional Economic Communities

RoE Rules of Engagement
RPG Rocket Propelled Grenades
RRF Rapid Reaction Force (EU)

RENAMO

SADC Southern African Development Community

SALW Small Arms and Light Weapons
SAP Structural Adjustment Program
SARS Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome
SEWS Sub-regional Early Warning System
SPLA Sudan People's Liberation Army

SSR Security Sector Reform
SUA Suppression of Unlawful Acts

List of Abbreviations

TCN Troops Contributing Nations

xxvi

TFG Transitional Federal Government of Somalia
UDHEM Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger
UDHR Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Malnutrition

UNAIDS United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNDP United Nations Development Programme
UNDPKO UN Department for Peacekeeping Operations
UNEP United Nations Environment Programme
UNFCC UN Framework Convention on Climate Change

UNGASS United Nations General Assembly Special Session on HIV and AIDS

UNHCR United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNITA Union for the Total Independence of Angola

WHO World Health Organization
WTO World Trade Organization

ZANU-PF Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front

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