

## 論文の英文要旨

論文題目 : On the Mechanism of Sequential Process of UN and AU Cooperation under the International Peace and Security System ~Why African Peace Operations call for UN intervention?~

氏名 : Shuichi Yamashita

This thesis focuses on sequential transition from the African Union (AU) missions, which have a strong compulsory aspect, to the United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operation based on the three basic principles, in dynamics of two organizations. An African operation deployed in the region calls for the intervention of the UN, and in response to that demand, a UN peacekeeping operation (UNPKO) takes over it. Paying attention to this sequence, the purpose of this thesis is to clarify the cause of such time-series division of labor and to examine mechanism for the dynamics that occur between the two institutions from the perspective of international politics. It is already clear from previous studies that the cause of such division of labor is the chronic financial problems of the AU. However, in the latter half of the 1980s to the 1990s, African regional organizations sent their troops in conflicts by self-financing, and some member countries have shown high economic growth rates in recent years. Therefore, it is insufficient to take up only the fiscal problem and cause it to takeover. Therefore, in this thesis, based on the hypothesis that the state of African countries may have a great influence on the division of labor of peace operations, AU actively participates in peace operations to acquire resources from the outside and "politicalization of peace operations" is taking place.

In the 90s, many African countries experienced civil wars involving neighboring states, and the international community responded ineffectively. Clarified and expanded the role and the scope of activities of the UN PKO, the expenditure of missions allocated in Africa exceeds 70% of the UN peacekeeping budget and it became a heavy burden to UN. The limits of UN peacekeeping operations became visible again. On the other hand, the AU established a peace and security architecture which is characterized by having the right to intervene without the consent of the conflict parties when admitting "serious situations" such as war crimes, genocide, or crimes against humanity. Based on these rights, the AU, which aims at Africa's solution to Africa's problems, has actively conducted peace operations. It is also considered that since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the view of security as a prerequisite for development has been globally prevailed, and the interest of the international community have been gathering in African security issues. However, many challenges remain in Africa's security architecture, and, its financial weakness has seriously affected all aspects of AU's security policy. Therefore, although African countries were willing to participate in conflict, they had

no choice but to demand the UN, the EU, or the United States, the United Kingdom, and France for assistance in the event of a serious humanitarian crisis.

While the developed countries showed willingness to support AU, these countries were hesitant to send their troops in high-risk situations. While the dispatch of the UN peacekeepers must meet various conditions, AU is possible to quickly deploy a standby force of its subregional organizations. This encourages sequential process of cooperation in which AU mission is deployed as an initial response before UNPKO. However, the actual situation of such sequential process was created by the political compromise between the two institutions, and the international community that accepts the compromise. The AU appealed for financial help, though an indifferent international community and the UN that were reluctant to intervene. As a result, African peace operations have been sometimes confused by being used for political bargaining. Below is a summary of the causes of the take-over and the international environment that allows it.

(1) Causes of taking over

- ① Although the AU has the security architecture, it has no choice but to rely on the UN for regional conflict resolution because of the weak financial base that supports it.
- ② African peace operations in nature tend to assume the taking over to the UN as an ad-hoc emergency response measure.

(2) International environment that allows taking over

- ① Reluctant to send their troops to Africa, the international community would accept the taking over to the UN as a risk hedge, which would also reduce the financial burdens.
- ② When problems arise such as the fight against terrorism that go beyond the scope of the UNPKO, International community expects AU to play a role in compensating for the shortcomings of the UN.

Hypothetically, the reason why takeover is likely to occur in Africa would be closely related to the state of African countries. The driving force of the independence of African countries from colonial rule is that the idea that all people should enjoy basic human rights under a sovereign state became popular in the international community and supported the decolonization movement, even if it is not accompanied by legitimacy and function to prevent a state from human rights repression and corruption. However, after the Cold War, developed countries were no longer able to support Africa without paying attention to human rights repression and corruption, as the assistance to Africa would be carried out in line with the policy of " democratization."

It is considered that some African states still have a strong social structure in which the characteristics of neo-patrimonialism remain rooted even after democratization. One of the

characteristics of the neo-patrimonial state is described as "obtaining resources for internal governance from the international community." This feature means that resources invested by the superpowers remained patron-client relationships during the Cold War. However, even after the era, the feature never disappears by receiving assistance for consolidation of democracy and development from the international community. Since democratization in the 1990s, the Africa has tended to use its active intervention attitude to conflict as a leverage to obtain support from external donors. African states see the peace operations as an opportunity to acquire resources from the international community and "politicalization of peace operations" has occurred. It can also be concluded that the international environment that allows such politicalization has led to the takeover.

The sequential process in peace operations can be a temporary "solution" with immediate effect, but it cannot be an "improvement" to the underlying problem of AU. Despite the establishment of the African continent-wide security architecture, AU's efforts to operate it are limited. African countries, leaving long-standing problems of the AU untouched, have prioritized temporary "solutions" because it was effective to use troop dispatch as a political leverage to obtain resource from outside. This is exactly the reason why "takeover" occurs. However, such a tendency may make the peace operations of regional organizations more focused on military aspects. In addition, the UN that takes over it would strengthen its tendency to have 'robust' operations to protect PKO personnel and citizens. This tendency needs to be closely watched as it may be in a direction to allow an expanded interpretation of the threat to peace.