

3) the perceived political weight of missions sent to deal with the problem.

In these turbulent times, looking for a hard bottom line on the sovereignty issue might be like pursuing the Holy Grail. At issue should be whether there is a duty rather than a right to intervene. We already know there can be a *droit d'intervention* under certain conditions.

***Organization, finances and decision-making processes: boring but crucial***

Organizational and financial aspects of regional bodies have an obvious impact on their effectiveness and constitute a major determinant of their conflict management potential. Rather than being secondary issues financial considerations act as a major determinant of the type of activities regional bodies can plan for and undertake. The critical state of the OAU's finances gives an idea of the problems some of these organizations face. Out of a 1994/1995 OAU regular budget of US \$26.7, million a sum of only \$3.5 million had been received from member states by the OAU secretariat by December 1994. Moreover, as of December 1994 the sum of arrears of contributions due from member states represented more than two consecutive assessed regular budgets of the organization.<sup>10</sup> Even if the OAU's financial situation has since improved somewhat, the fact remains that any discussion of a potential OAU role in conducting peacekeeping operations has a distinctly academic flavour given the considerable costs of such operations.

Adequacy of financial or logistical resources is not the only issue. Regional leadership, expressed through the stabilizing influence of a few important and responsible countries, also constitutes an objective condition of success. Needless to say, decision-making processes and institutional power of initiative are extremely significant in this respect. Many regional bodies have slow, sometimes byzantine decision-making processes and some advocates of stronger regionalism have lamented the absence of regional security councils or more executive form of decision-making bodies within regional bodies. There can be two sides to this issue. The consensus rule in the OSCE, for example, can be cumbersome, but on the other hand, once a decision is taken, no member state can claim that it was taken against its will. This has helped the OSCE in looking into intra-state conflict since no state can deny that it consented to that role. On the other hand the absence of more executive decision-making processes means that regional bodies are often slow to react effectively to emerging situations requiring political imprimatur and urgent action.

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<sup>10</sup> Salim Ahmed Salim, OAU State of the Continent Address to the Council of Ministers, Addis Ababa, 23-27 January 1995.