



**AFRICA CENTER
FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES**

Emerging Security Sector Leaders Seminar

SYLLABUS

Washington, D.C.

23 October – 9 November 2017



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Introduction

“The role of leadership needs to be clearly understood, appropriate modalities of nurturing and appointing dynamic leadership have to be developed, and also critical is the need to foster accountability and transparency in the exercise of leadership functions. A major challenge is to transcend the notion of leadership being a personalized preoccupation to the building of a culture of leadership as being an institution.” (Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, former Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity)¹

“Good leaders develop through a never-ending process of self-study, education, training, and experience.”(Brigadier General (ret.) Daniel K. Frimpong, former Commander of the Ghana Military Academy)²

About The Africa Center

The Africa Center for Strategic Studies supports the United States’ Africa policy by working with African countries to enhance security and promote democracy in Africa. The Africa Center pursues its mission by fostering enhanced professionalism and democratic principles in Africa’s security sector through programs that focus on harmonizing views on common security challenges, educating on the role of security in civil societies, and by denying ideological support to terrorism and extremism. Africa Center programs also seek to promote productive interaction among senior military and civilian leaders and establish viable professional networks.

Since its inception in 1999, the Africa Center has fostered democracy and enhanced professionalism in Africa’s security sector through programs that promote productive interaction among senior military and civilian leaders and establish viable professional networks. It has provided an academic-style forum for Africa’s security-related professionals to identify and evaluate current and emerging security threats, agree on strategies and shared responsibilities for national and regional security, and reinforce internationally-recognized best practices in their various spheres of activity. The Center’s Community Chapter program promotes peer networking among over 8,000 former participants who have participated in its programs by affording them an opportunity to continue the dialogue and collaboration on key security issues upon return to their home countries.

Why Conduct This Program?

There is a general consensus among African leaders, scholars and practitioners that effective and ethical leadership is central to the continent’s success. You have already received a considerable amount of instruction on professionalism, ethics, and leadership/decision-making through formal military education and non-academic experiences. Furthermore, your nomination by your government to attend this

program indicates that your past performance and your potential in these areas are held in high regard. We will honor these accomplishments and seek to build upon them in a meaningful and useful way.

The overarching objective of the program is to provide practical and effective tools you can draw upon to contribute toward your nation's security and development. Additionally, we seek to:

- Investigate current ideas on leadership (of people and institutions), decision-making, military professionalism, and ethics vis-à-vis the context of Africa.
- Enhance your awareness of issues concerning appropriate strategic responses to current and emerging security threats across Africa.

Methods

To achieve the overall objective of providing tools participants can draw upon toward the development of their national security strategy, ACSS will use the following methodology throughout the three-week program:

- A focus on ethical leadership;
- Extensive dialogue and interaction with well-known senior leaders and leadership institutions;
- Emphasize practice over theory and upon critical thinking;
- Prioritize peer-to-peer learning
- Emphasize ACSS' policy of non-attribution to encourage frank discussions
- Conduct discussions English, French, and Portuguese to ensure participants can freely express themselves and understand each other.

Program Overview

Leadership, ethical decision-making and standards of behavior at the strategic level will serve as the program's central topics. This theme will run through the following three modules: Challenges in Leadership and National Security Strategy, Resolving Security Challenges, and Leveraging External Security Partners. The modules are inter-related and mutually reinforcing. Each module will be reinforced with a relevant fieldtrip and case study exercise, highlighting the key themes of the sessions. Participants will conclude each module with a brief back exercise identifying the main issues discussed.

- *Challenges in Leadership and National Security Strategy*
This module sets the stage for the concepts of ethical leadership that frame the three-week program. It explores the impact of effective leadership in Africa's security sector and discusses ethical principles essential for good leadership. It also includes sessions on key concepts of developing a national security strategy, the management of security sector resources, the impact on Africa from systemic shocks to U.S. national security.
- *Resolving Security Challenges*
The second module comprises of plenaries that address critical security threats facing Africa. It focuses on the relationship between governance, rule of law, and security; security sector reform; and civil-military relations; transnational threats; maritime security strategy; and gender perspectives on security. The module concludes with a set of forums on different security threats and peacebuilding challenges, including countering violent extremism in the Horn of Africa; governance and peacebuilding in the Democratic Republic of Congo and South Sudan, and transnational threats and state-building in the Sahel-Sahara.
- *Leveraging External Security Partners*
This final module provides an overview of key external partners impacting Africa's security sector: the United States, European Union, Turkey, China, India, and the Gulf States. Sessions on leveraging security assistance and Africa's international security relations provide context to understanding how to effectively manage external partnerships.

Topics are introduced by a guest speaker or panel of experts, followed by discussion group sessions. The group discussions will be moderated by facilitators who are highly-qualified and experienced experts. Roughly, half of them are Africans and the other half are Europeans or Americans. The facilitators' purpose is not to lecture or to insist on any one "correct" solution, but to ensure smooth dialogue and to provoke thought. Take advantage of the facilitators' wealth of expertise and experiences, but also feel free to challenge them. In addition, you will receive computer instructions early in the program, including an introduction to MERLN (Military Education Research Library Network), which provides access to a wealth of academic and policy resources to deepen your knowledge of topics of interest to you.

During the last week of the program, participants will be required to complete an interactive simulation exercise designed to reinforce concepts analyzed during the course and encourage you to think strategically about how best to apply them.

The Syllabus

This syllabus provides an overview of academic material and key policy questions related to ethical leadership in Africa's security sector. The document is organized along the lines of the four modules for this program. For each module, the syllabus gives a brief introduction and frames questions for discussion. We provide selected articles, whose primary purpose is to ensure that you and your colleagues may take maximum advantage of the presentations. We realize that the syllabus probably covers more issues and materials than can be sufficiently discussed in the available time. We hope that you use these materials as resources even after the program concludes. You will notice that there will be some repetition in the discussion questions that relate to the plenary sessions and the roundtables and there are some similar-theme questions that recur throughout the various modules as well. This has been done intentionally to reinforce key concepts and present you with a rich range of ideas on professionalism, ethics, leadership, and decision-making.

We encourage you to bring questions and suggestions about the materials and the course in general to our attention. The quality of our programs and courses has greatly benefited from the enthusiastic willingness of past participants to offer constructive criticisms and suggestions. The planners and facilitators of this course are quite willing to discuss specific topics with you. We encourage you to call upon them, as we also encourage you to read the assigned material and actively participate in your discussion groups.

The benefits of this program should continue after you have returned home. The discussions and written materials as well as the friendships formed over the next three weeks should help you cope with the sometimes unpredictable challenges you will face in your profession.

Map of Africa



Opening Ceremony and Course Overview

Format: Plenary presentation

Objectives:

- To understand the academic objectives, organization, and requirements of this program

Background:

Effective leadership is crucial to the creation and sustainment of a professional military. Leadership is the ability to influence peoples and actions. Long-term acceptance of such leadership depends on a shared set of ethical norms. Security sector leadership has three general levels—senior, midlevel, and junior—each with their separate functions and responsibilities. The Emerging Security Sector Leaders program will emphasize the responsibilities of, and the tools for, effective senior leadership.

This course maintains that effective leadership is not a stand-alone topic; rather, it runs through the modules comprising the program. Various speakers on each of the three modules will spotlight leadership challenges.

1. *Challenges in Leadership and National Security Strategy:* This module will address the challenges inherent to exercising leadership at the strategic level. It will emphasize the importance of effective leadership in security sector governance, and analyze Africa's experience (both military and civilian) throughout history. The discussion seeks to highlight key principles of effective leadership and will examine how they could be applied in African countries. This module also introduces participants to the design, implementation and evaluation of national security strategies that are directly aligned to the threats African countries face. The module includes a group exercise that would encourage participants to critically evaluate and utilize the principles of ethical leadership. The field trip to Mt. Vernon is meant to reinforce the challenges leaders can face at critical junctures. The module ends with a brief back on key issues in the development of national security strategies and its implications for leadership.
2. *Resolving Security Challenges:* This module will highlight current and emerging security challenges facing Africa. The module will also address the role of the security sector in meeting these challenges and describe opportunities for ethical leadership and strategic interventions. The primary aim of this session is to provide the context within which effective strategies are developed and executed, and ethical principles are applied. The module ends with a brief back on civil-military relations in times of crises.

3. *Leveraging External Partnerships*: This module will explore the roles that international partners play in enhancing security in order to assist the continent in achieving peace and stability. It will help assess various actions that the international community is undertaking to reach that end. The module will provide African officers with the opportunity to discuss Africa's role on the international scene. The module ends with a brief back on key points on Africa's relationship with external partners.

Simulation Exercise:

This exercise will use a fictitious case study to challenge participants to use the principles of effective leadership at the strategic level, discussed in module 1; to address an array of collectively-reinforcing security threats, similar to those analyzed in module 2; and to bring to bear external leverage and assistance to resolve a conflict, as explored in module 3. This exercise has two broad aims. First, participants will be given an opportunity to collaborate on a problem-solving exercise. Second, participants will demonstrate the centrality of effective leadership in bringing about transformational reform in Africa.

Plenary Session 1: Effective Leadership in Africa's Security Sector

Format: Plenary presentation
Discussion groups

Objectives:

- To examine the evolving political and security environment in Africa
- To evaluate how these changing patterns may affect future military leadership
- To consider the wider definition of “security”

Background:

The challenges are immense and are likely to grow even more complex and diverse in the years ahead. What can the security sector professional do to provide the necessary leadership and direction to address these issues?

It is well known that Africa faces enormous political, social, and economic problems; it is also known that African governments' record in addressing these issues is a mixed one. The changing nature of African security challenges—from stemming regional conflict and small arms proliferation to alleviating poverty, combating crime, and assisting in infrastructure development—require civilian and military leaders to rethink the roles and missions of African militaries in enhancing national security and development. African militaries increasingly are acting as peacekeepers and peace enforcers in other countries: the proposed Africa Standby Force of five regional brigades is part of this increased emphasis. Democratization—the process leading to democracy—is expanding throughout Africa. Will this democratization help the emerging leaders of Africa's security sector meet current and future security challenges? Increasingly, defense planners are considering “human security,” which promotes the protection of the individual – e.g. human rights, housing, and food – over regime security. To what extent should the security sector involve itself with assisting human security?

Leadership/decision-making, legitimacy, military professionalism, ethics, and civil-military relations are five concepts discussed throughout this course.

- Leadership, the art of influencing people by providing them direction, purpose, and motivation, is effective in the long term only if it adheres to its associated professional and ethical norms. This last statement alludes to the interdependent nature of military professionalism, military ethics, and military leadership, which you might think of as components of a road which leads to legitimacy and operational effectiveness.

- Legitimacy refers to a government's popular support, usually stemming from its proven ability to protect and assist its citizens according to international laws and standards.
- Military professionalism refers to the armed forces' loyalty to a constitutionally-based elected government and to the forces' operational capabilities.
- Ethics, a prerequisite for any profession, are the specific expected values and behaviors of the members of a profession.
- Civil-military relations reflect the balance of power between civilians and the armed forces. This balance will influence a country's national security strategy, its military ethics, and the processes of defense economics. During the course, consider how authoritarianism vs. democratization influences the factors of leadership, professionalism, and ethics.

Discussion Questions:

- What types of leadership/decision-making challenges do you and your peers routinely face in your country?
- Are leadership/decision-making principles changing in your military? If yes, why? How are they changing?
- Has political change, e.g. democratization, directly or indirectly affected your military? If yes, how?
- What skills and techniques do you sense to be more effective in solving operational-level leadership/decision-making challenges in your country?
- Who are the stakeholders, and why do they matter?

Recommended Reading:

Emile Ouédraogo, "Advancing Military Professionalism in Africa," Africa Center for Strategic Studies, Africa Center Research Paper No. 6, July 2014, (Also available in French and Portuguese).

Discussion Group Case Study Exercise: Applying Ethical Leadership Principles in Africa

Format: Discussion group exercise
 Exercise brief back

Objectives:

- To provide an opportunity for participants to apply ethical leadership concepts to real-world challenges in Africa
- To identify strategies to overcome ethical challenges facing Africa's security sector leaders
- To demonstrate the centrality of ethical leadership frameworks to transformational security sector reform in Africa

Background:

During this session, participants will work on the dilemmas in the case study to unpack ethical leadership principles in Africa. Each discussion group will then have the opportunity to brief the entire plenary.

Teams developing more effective leadership strategies for the security sector across Africa can draw on many domains, which may help influence their decisions or serve as a starting point. Although approaches will have to be adapted based on context and culture, security sector leadership strategies can be guided by effective African business or political leadership methods, security sector leadership strategies from other regions, and best practices from other African countries. While some ethical principles, such as limited use of force against civilians are unique to the security sector, others -- such as anti-corruption, upholding the rule of law or constitution, prioritizing services to citizens, and operating in a professional capacity -- apply broadly across society. When applying ethical principles to create more effective leadership in the African security sector, participants can therefore draw on both their personal and professional experiences.

Discussion Questions:

- Is there a situation that warrants stopping the vote count?
- When might military officials support stopping the count?
- Are there situations when the military should take power from civilian governments?
- What were the implications if Chris Hani had made a different decision? Is there a downside to the decision Hani made?

- Does professional military education (PME) help in developing ethnical leadership? If so, how?

Required Readings:

Africa Center for Strategic Studies, “When Military Leaders do the Right Thing,” Africa Center *Spotlight*, Africa Center for Strategic Studies, October 28, 2015. <https://africacenter.org/spotlight/military-leaders-right-thing-three-lessons-ethical-leadership-africa/>.

Africa Center for Strategic Studies, “Lorsque les dirigeants militaires font le choix de l’éthique professionnelle,” Africa Center *Spotlight*, Africa Center for Strategic Studies, October 28, 2015. <https://africacenter.org/fr/spotlight/lorsque-les-dirigeants-militaires-font-ce-quils-sont-supposes-faire-trois-cas-exemplaires-de-leadership-ethique-dafrique/>

Also available in Portuguese.

Plenary Session 2: National Security Strategy: Core Principles and Resource Management

Format: Plenary session
Discussion groups

Objectives:

- To define national security in an African context, from traditional concepts of national security to the broader human security agenda, and security sector reform
- To discuss goals, processes, and roles of key actors that should be involved in security sector strategy development and implementation, and any required security sector reform process
- Analyze links between the judicious management of security sector spending, robust institutions, democratic governance, and the achievement of national security objectives
- Examine best practices in budget management and procurement

Background:

There are three goals of a national security policy or strategy process. First, it must prioritize threats to the state and its citizenry, as well as provide security against those threats. Second, it must institutionalize civilian control and oversight over the various uniformed security agencies and determine suitable roles for each within the legal limits of the national Constitution and the priorities established in the national security strategy. Third, the process must ensure the affordability and rationality of the security budgets, and establish means to provide for accountability and transparency of those budgets.

Once the national interests are determined and prioritized, the threats and risks to those interests as well as the capabilities needed to address those threats and risks must be assessed. In simplest terms, this process prioritizes national interests to determine the objectives - ends - that the strategy is intended to accomplish. Ways and means - referring to the resources required (means) and how those resources will be applied (ways) - are then aligned with the strategy's objectives to generate the desired strategic outcomes. This combination of ends, ways and means forms the core of a national security strategy.

Leadership on national security strategy is about strategic choices, long-term planning and accountability. These attributes are particularly relevant Africa's security sector, where fiscal resources are scarce. Therefore, decisions on how to efficiently allocate and utilize them to attain national security goals should be guided by the desire to optimally promote the public good. Budgeting and procurement reflect two areas where Africa's

emerging security sector leaders must show sound judgment and unimpeachable ethics, if they are to successfully address the continent's security challenges.

Budgeting

Defense planners need to determine how much of the government's budget should be devoted to the defense sector, and what impact such spending will have both on the attainment of national security objectives and macroeconomic stability. Sound public expenditure management principles (such as contestability, comprehensiveness, accountability and transparency) are critical to the security sector. Measures should be taken to introduce and standardize coding and public expenditure tracking techniques. Relevant personnel must be trained in budget management techniques and transparent procurement procedures. A robust and functioning regulatory framework must buttress the implementation of these policies.

Procurement

Procurement practices - purchasing; hiring or obtaining by any other contractual means of goods, construction works and services by the public sector - account for many differences between budget estimates and actual spending.³ In many African countries, procurement is shrouded in mystery, alleging sensitivity of security sector activity - making it difficult to obtain desired outcomes and budgetary goals. Many blame poor procurement and contracting practices on unclear roles and responsibilities at various stages of the procurement cycle; corrupt officials; and weak judicial institutions.

Discussion Questions:

- Which budgetary system does your country use? Which system would be most effective (given current institutions, arrangements, personnel)?
- Should exceptions be made for confidentiality and urgency in the security sector?
- Discuss Africa's security's sources and consequences of corruption and waste?
- How could government and military officials; parliamentarians; the media; and civil society improve your country's security sector budgeting and procurement?

Recommended Readings:

Nicole Ball and Len Le Roux, "A model for good practice in budgeting for the military sector," in Wuyi Omitoogun and Eboe Hutchful, eds. *Budgeting for the Military Sector in Africa: The Processes and Mechanisms of Control*, 2006.

Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, "National Security Policies", SSR Backgrounder Series (Geneva: DCAF, 2015). Also available in French.

Plenary Session 3: Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Resolution

Format: Plenary session
Discussion group

Objectives:

- Review key regional and sub-regional initiatives to foster peace and security
- Evaluate successes and challenges associated with regional security mechanisms
- Identify opportunities for effective partnership with continental and sub-regional security architectures

Background:

Violent conflicts in Africa often have important regional dimensions. Insurgents and rebel groups may use a neighboring country's territory as a base of operations, receive funding from neighboring governments, or rely on co-ethnic kin for support. Local conflicts may also destabilize neighboring states, as arms and refugees spill over borders. The spread of conflict and instability in West Africa in the 1990s offers a powerful example of regional contagion, as do contemporary events in the sub-region.

The regionalization of conflict led to the creation of regional conflict management mechanisms, through the Regional Economic Communities (REC). First in this regard was the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). In the early 1990s it forged ad hoc responses to sub-regional security challenges, sending a regional military force to intervene in the Liberian civil war and then in Sierra Leone when there was an unconstitutional change of government. Today, while all RECs have adopted conflict resolution mechanisms, considerable differences exist between them regarding the commitment, scale, and success of sub-regional collective security initiatives.

The RECs are recognized as the building blocks of the African Union's (AU) African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). In addition to ECOWAS, the eight RECs recognized by the AU are the: Community of Sahel-Saharan States, Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, East African Community, Economic Community of Central African States, Intergovernmental Authority on Development, Southern African Development Community, and Arab Maghreb Union. Through APSA, the AU aims to address Africa's security challenges through five components:

- Peace and Security Council (PSC): a standing decision-making body of fifteen AU member states, charged with preventing, managing, and resolving conflicts.
- Panel of the Wise: a group of five eminent Africans who undertake preventive diplomacy efforts, such as fact-finding missions.

- Continental Early Warning System: an observation and monitoring network, used to collect data to inform and advise the PSC.
- African Standby Force (ASF): a sub-regional force of military, police, and civilian components on standby in their countries of origin, ready for rapid deployment.
- Peace Fund: a repository for the resources for peace and security operations.

Much of APSA, including the ASF and its subsidiaries, Rapid Deployment Capability and African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crisis, have yet to be fully operationalized. The AU suffers from insufficient political will and resources; notably, only 7% of the peace fund has come from AU member states. The announcement by the European Union (EU) to reduce contributions by 20 percent in 2017, spurred a number of initiatives to raise funds, as well as concerns about the AU's capacity.

Discussion Questions:

- How viable is the ASF as a peacekeeping initiative?
- What are advantages and disadvantages of regional actors responding to crises?
- What are the major obstacles that the AU's PSC facing in bringing the ASF concept to full operational capability?
- What practical steps could enhance the continent's peace support operations?

Recommended Readings:

Paul Williams, "Peace Operations in Africa: Lessons Learned since 2000," Africa Center for Strategic Studies, *Africa Security Brief*, No. 25, July 2013.

<https://africacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/ASB25EN-Peace-Operations-in-Africa-Lessons-Learned-Since-2000.pdf> (also available in French and Portuguese).

Sophie Desmidt and Volker Hauck, "Conflict Management under the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)," European Centre for Development Policy Management, Discussion Paper no. 211, April 2017.

<http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/DP211-Conflict-Management-APSA-Desmidt-Hauck-April-2017.pdf>

Solomon Dersso, "To Intervene or Not to Intervene? An Inside View of the AU's decision-making on Article 4(h) and Burundi," *Occasional Paper*, World Peace Foundation, February 26, 2016

(http://fletcher.tufts.edu/~media/Fletcher/Microsites/World%20Peace%20Foundation/Publications/AU%20Decision-Making%20on%20Burundi_Dersso.pdf).

Plenary Session 4: Adapting National Security Strategies in Times of Change

Format: Plenary session
Discussion group

Objectives:

- Understand how systemic shocks can impact a National Security Strategy
- Evaluate how change in the U.S. National Security Strategy affects Africa domestically
- Interrogate how changes in U.S. National Security Strategy impacts Africa's security decisions

Background:

National Security Strategy is meant to identify future threats, assess capabilities, and provide guidance on meeting security challenges. While it may foresee changes, it cannot predict shocks to the system. As such, security shocks – terrorist threats, natural disasters, volatility of commodities prices, conflicts, and public health emergencies – may elicit responses that temporarily or permanently changes a national security strategy.

Prior to September 11, 2001, U.S. security policy toward Africa reflected the evolving dynamics of the post-Cold War. Without the stark ideological divisions that defined the Cold War period, a framework or ideology driving the U.S. engagement with Africa struggled for definition. In the last half of the 1990s, the U.S. security strategy rested on a policy of building African nations' capacity to provide their own security. In practice, that objective was largely attained by the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI). The focus was on building the capacity of African states to respond to security challenges, through training and equipping for peacekeeping service -- rather than commit U.S. military personnel. The U.S. strategy echoed the growing calls by African institutions of "African solutions to African problems."

However, the systemic shock of the 9/11 attacks precipitated a change in strategy. As Africa-based terrorist activities and their international links grew, the U.S. focus turned to the regions most affected – the Sahel-Sahara and the Horn of Africa. Secondly, ACRI transformed to the Africa Contingency Operations and Training Assistance (ACOTA) – entailing a focus on peace support operations, rather than peacekeeping, and a focus on the training needs of African states. Thirdly, Africa's growing strategic importance to the U.S.' security objectives resulted in the establishment of the U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM). Previously, Africa had been divided across three different commands, none of which accorded it priority.

Through AFRICOM, the U.S. is able to focus more on African security challenges. In many ways, African states have benefitted from U.S. security assistance, in the face of shared threats. However, African states are quick to point out that security on the continent is broader than the U.S. focus on terrorism, emphasize that not all security challenges can be solved militarily, and worry about the militarization of foreign policy.

Discussion Questions:

- In which ways has Africa adapted to changes in U.S. National Security Strategies?
- What is your country's national security strategy or posture? In what ways has this been affected by outside events or other shocks to the nation?
- Why do some outside shocks result in dramatic changes, when others do not?

Recommended Readings:

William Bellamy, "U.S. Security Engagement in Africa," Africa Security Brief, No. 1, Africa Center for Strategic Studies, June 2009. <https://africacenter.org/publication/u-s-security-engagement-in-africa/> (also available in French and Portuguese).

Kate Almquist Knopf, "Friend or Foe? US Counterterrorism Strategy in Africa," Center for Global Development, February 5, 2013.

Visionary Leadership: Visit to Mt. Vernon

Format: Plenary presentation followed by Mt. Vernon tour

Objectives:

- To understand the significance of strategic leadership in shaping immature institutions
- To gain an historical perspective on the post-conflict transition to democracy in the U.S. and role of leadership in guiding that transition
- To understand the importance of vision and visionary leadership in a Volatile, Uncertain, Complex and Ambiguous (VUCA) environment

Background:

When the American colonies took up armed revolt against England in 1775, there was no guarantee that independence would result, nor that a democracy would take hold and endure for this experiment to succeed, 235 years and counting. George Washington, considered the father of the nation and the commander of the rebel army, described the path embarked upon by the colonies as a “Grand Experiment.” Washington recognized the practical side of his vision; the necessity of a central government to create conditions for freedom to exist and persist.⁴

In the immediate post-conflict period, when the newly independent 13 colonies met to discuss formation of a government, Washington agreed to preside over the first constitutional convention, which aimed to achieve consensus on the formation of new government under a common constitution. The framers of the constitution disagreed on the nature of the government; whether the colonies should form a federation with a strong central government, or a confederation with decentralized national control.

As the framers debated the form of the constitution, disagreements over the role and authority of the federal government versus that of state and local authorities dominated. Soon after the Treaty of Paris in 1783, establishing America’s independence, a crisis arose that underscored the urgency to establish national governance: small-scale farmers, mostly veterans of the revolution, lost their land and livelihood to wealthy speculators. They took up arms, closed courts, and attempted to seize a government weapons’ armory. Condemning the insurrection, Washington stated “there could be not stronger evidence of the want of energy in our government than these disorders.”⁵

Throughout Washington’s career as commander of the military and president of the nation, he excelled in maintaining coherency between his long term goals and current actions and decisions. This was evidenced in his commitment to the idea that the military must be subject to civilian control in a republic. Washington understood the essential

ingredients necessary for the establishment of a constitutional republican government: a strong union, a legislature chosen by the people, a written constitution, the rule of law, an executive with power to enforce law, supremacy of national law over state law, a permanent national military subject to civil control and authority.⁶

The conclusion of Washington's illustrious career marks the epitome of visionary leadership. After being elected as the first president of the new nation and serving two consecutive terms, Washington decided to step down and transfer leadership to the next generation. Neither the populace nor the legislature were happy with this decision; he was strongly encouraged to remain in office and continue to lead the country. Some even sought to name him as king and extend his authority for life. Washington looked to the future, insisting upon a peaceful transfer of power to a new generation of leaders. Washington trusted the people and the system. He envisioned a nation that could fulfil a greater promise and potential than any that had come before. He led by example to achieve his vision.

Our tour of Mount Vernon, George Washington's home and farm, will feature a presentation on the historical background of the man and property, as well as provide an overview of Washington's career and his visionary and strategic leadership. Throughout the visit, focus on its relevance to your nation's experiences and government, reflect on what you know about leadership, and apply the current discussions on leadership in the program.

Discussion Questions:

- What are the attributes of an effective leader?
- Can you apply any leadership lessons or principles you see from Washington in the context of your country? Which ones? Why? How?
- What ideas, theories, approaches, and tools on professionalism, ethics, leadership, and decision-making did you learn from the visit that you might employ in the future?

Exercise Brief back on National Security Strategy Module

Each discussion group will have an opportunity to brief the plenary on key points from the module “National Security Strategy.”

During the discussion group prior to the brief back, participants will select a briefer and a chair, to guide the discussion. It may also be useful to select a note taker.

Participants should focus their brief back on the following questions:

Common Question:

What is a National Security Strategy? What are the main steps in developing a National Security Strategy?

Group 1:

What are some of the values and principles that should guide the formulation of National Security Policy?

Group 2:

What implications for leadership do Africa’s development of a National Security Strategy entail? What qualities or characteristics of leadership will be most helpful in ensuring that Africa’s National Security Strategies are relevant and responsive?

Group 3:

Which important stakeholders should be consulted when considering the development of a national security strategy? What are some ways for engaging such stakeholders?

Group 4:

What roles, if any, do external actors have in realizing your national security strategy?

Each briefer will have between 5 – 7 minutes to present the discussion group’s conclusions. The brief back does not require a power point presentation; **it is an oral briefing.**

After all presentations are heard, the rest of the plenary members will have a chance to discuss the module.

Plenary Session 5: Trends in Africa's Evolving Security Landscape

Format: Plenary session
Discussion groups

Objectives:

- To assess and exchange views on the trends in the nature, scope and character of key current and emerging security challenges in Africa
- To discuss the limitations of pursuing military security at the expense of other security concerns
- To explore how cooperative security can best address African countries' security challenges

Background:

The notion of security has evolved from its traditional focus on the integrity of states. Thus, in addition to the state's preoccupation with external threats – and the need to invest considerable “hard security” resources to mitigate them – there is now a greater focus on citizen-centric and community well-being.

For much of the post-colonial period, most African leaders have defined security in terms of regime survival. Consequently, many failed to address other equally important traditional security issues facing their countries, including conflict, small arms and light weapons, maritime security challenges, and terrorism. These and other “hard” security concerns such as use of landmines and unexploded ordnance, organized and cross border crimes, human trafficking, drug trafficking, and money laundering continue to threaten the security of ordinary Africans.

Beyond traditional “hard security,” governments must now address factors directly affecting their citizen's security -- such as environmental degradation, human rights, gender inequality, global warming, endemic disease, and transnational crime. The new perspective on security acknowledges a number of realities: There are new serious threats that no country, regardless of its wealth, can address alone; most of the world's population is threatened by problems that are not necessarily related to weapons of mass destruction and terrorist networks; many of the problems confronting the so-called developing world ought to be of concern to all.

Discussion Questions:

- How has the definition of “security” evolved in Africa to reflect the changed security environment? What changes have taken place in your country and sub-region?

- What are some of the most pressing security challenges facing your country, your sub-region, and the continent? How have these challenges evolved over time?
- Beyond the traditional security establishment (e.g., military, police, *gendarmerie*, and intelligence services), what organizations, structures, and institutions should be included in the national debate over defining security interests? Why should they be included and what can they contribute to the security debate?
- How do gender perspectives impact security challenges and decisions?
- How does a focus on human security help to address Africa's challenges?
- What is the nexus between security and development, and which institutions and stakeholders matter?

Recommended Reading:

United Nations General Assembly and Security Council, "Causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa," (A/71/211-S/2016/655), July 26, 2016 (also available in French).

Discussion Group Exercise on the Security-Development Nexus

The purpose of this group exercise is to allow participants to reflect on the inter-dependency between security and development in their own countries, unpack the stakeholders (potential and actual) within that relationship, and propose how it can be improved. The deliberations will form the basis of the session.

Part I. Identifying the situations implicating both security and development

Participants will identify cases within their own countries, or other countries they know well, which reveal a strong link between development and security.

Part II. The participants would unpack key elements of their cases. They would answer the following questions:

- What was the development / security challenge?
- How were decisions taken? Was oversight (budgetary, policy, administrative) provided?
- What was the outcome? How was it resolved?
- Was this the best solution?
- What do you think could have been done differently?

Plenary Session 6: Gender Perspectives on Security

Format: Plenary session
Discussion groups

Objectives:

- Examine how gender impacts security in Africa for both men and women
- Analyze the role of gender in non-state armed groups in Africa
- Critically assess recent efforts to improve gender mainstreaming in Africa

Background:

Since the United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000, African governments and organizations have devoted greater attention to gender equality. In 2009, the African Union adopted a Gender Policy and Action Plan, which seeks to improve gender equality across the continent; as a follow-on, in 2015, the AU launched a five-year Gender, Peace, and Security Program to improve coordination between the AU, RECs, member states, and civil society. Still, while RECs and many individual countries have developed gender action plans, challenges remain to understanding gender perspectives on security and adapting relevant policies.

Gender mainstreaming in Africa's security sector faces a number of challenges. First, it is hard to set viable targets and gauge progress when baseline data do not exist. These data need to be collected and released. Second, secrecy around the security sector inhibits information sharing.⁷ Third, entrenched social and cultural views portray women as physically and emotionally weaker, less intelligent, and more distracted by family responsibilities than their male counterparts.⁸

Gender is often equated with women, but gender-sensitivity weighs the needs and perspectives of men and boys, as well as women and girls. Such gender-sensitivity forms an important component of security sector reform (SSR) in Africa. Gender mainstreaming and promoting the equal participation of men and women are two common strategies that can be applied "both to the SSR process itself (e.g., by ensuring gender training for personnel responsible for SSR policy and planning) and to the institutions undergoing SSR (e.g., by including gender training for new recruits as part of a police reform process)."⁹ The AU's 2013 *Policy Framework on SSR* identifies gender equality and women's empowerment as core principles for SSR activities on the continent.

Women also feature in Africa's non-state armed groups; they are targeted as victims and perpetrators by these terrorist and insurgent groups, requiring solutions that examine how conflict impacts men and women differently. In Nigeria, Boko Haram has exploited gender differences; for example, women have been used as suicide bombers because,

traditionally, women are not expected to be violent.¹⁰ Boko Haram frequently abducts women and girls during raids (such as the notable kidnapping of 276 secondary school girls from Chibok), forcing them to marry group members, while simultaneously capturing young men to train as fighters.¹¹ Countering violent extremism (CVE) improves when women's roles are considered. It is not that women are more peaceful – women are as prone to violence and driven by many of the same grievances as men.¹² However, by considering the roles that women play in society, empowering them in a specific conflict prevention manner, has reduced the incidents of violent extremism.

Discussion Questions:

- How do Africa's security challenges affect women and men differently?
- What are the challenges to including gender perspectives in security?
- How can the U.S. support Africa to improve gender mainstreaming in security?

Recommended Readings:

Thania Paffenholz et al, "Making women count: Women's inclusion in peace processes at a glance," Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative and UN Women, January 2016. <http://www.inclusivepeace.org/sites/default/files/IPTI-Making-Women-Count-At-Glance-4-pager.pdf>

Zipporah Musau, "Les femmes, la paix et la sécurité," *Afrique Renouveau*, Décembre 2015 <http://www.un.org/africarenewal/fr/magazine/d%C3%A9cembre-2015/les-femmes-la-paix-et-la-s%C3%A9curit%C3%A9>

Paula Drumond Rangel Campos, "Gênero ou Feminismo? As Nações Unidas e as Políticas de Gênero nas operações de Paz," em *O Brasil e as operações de paz em um mundo globalizado : entre a tradição e a inovação*, Organizadores: Kai Michael Kenkel e Rodrigo Fracalossi de Moraes (Brasília, Brasil: Ipea, 2012) pp: 69-92. http://www.ipea.gov.br/agencia/images/stories/PDFs/livros/livros/web_operaes_de_paz_em_um_mundo_globalizado.pdf

Plenary Session 7: Transnational Threats

Format: Plenary session
Discussion groups

Objectives:

- Describe trans-national criminal networks operating in Africa
- Explain implications for governance, stability, and economic development
- Critically assess recent efforts to contain trans-national criminal networks in Africa

Background:

Transnational crime is an evolving and growing phenomenon across Africa. The distinction between legitimate business and illicit activity has always been fluid on the continent, where significant business and trade is informal and unregulated. The rapid pace of globalization has allowed domestic organized criminal groups to link up with international networks, and has provided expanded markets, access to new technologies, and improved methods of communication. In many African countries, organized crime has both taken advantage of and exacerbated government corruption, ranging from petty corruption by police officers to large-scale complicity by high level kleptocratic officials. Domestic and regional responses have been insufficient, as states are either ill-equipped or unwilling to combat crimes from which they may benefit. In certain impoverished areas, illicit transnational crime has become the only source of livelihood for citizens; however it is important to consider the adverse effects on state capacity and state consolidation, as well as the implications for development and human security.

Another aspect of transnational crime relates to the rise of violent extremist groups in the Sahel-Sahara region. This has occasioned new types of responses, both kinetic and non-kinetic. In terms of the former, stakeholders at the national, bilateral, regional, and international levels have conducted short-term kinetic military, intelligence, and law enforcement counterterrorism actions against existing violent extremist groups. These same actors have also begun long-term political, economic, socio-cultural initiatives that aim to counter violent extremism through whole-of-government and whole-of-society approaches that address the drivers of violent extremism. These efforts take many forms including: strategic communications campaigns to counter radical messages; governance initiatives to enhance performance; legitimacy through representative government based on political compromise, tolerance, and legal protections for human rights; and development projects to rectify long-standing grievances of marginalized populations.

Discussion Questions:

- In what ways do transnational threats undermine security in Africa?
- Is there a causal link between transnational threats and weak governance?
- How effective have recent efforts been in addressing transnational threats in Africa?
- What practical steps should be taken to address these threats in future?

Recommended Readings:

Eric Tamarkin, "The AU's Cybercrime response: A positive start, but substantial challenges ahead," ISS Policy Brief, January 2015.

<https://issafrica.org/research/policy-brief/the-aus-cybercrime-response-a-positive-start-but-substantial-challenges-ahead#>

Africa Center for Strategic Studies, "The Illicit Superhighway: Transnational Organized Crime in Africa?" *Spotlight*, May 22, 2017. <http://africacenter.org/spotlight/the-illicit-superhighway-transnational-organized-crime-in-africa/>

Plenary Session 8: Maritime Security Strategy

Format: Plenary session
Discussion groups

Objectives:

- Explore the intersecting interests that have elevated African maritime issues to the top of national, sub-regional, regional and global security agendas
- Evaluate existing collaborative arrangements to security Africa's maritime interests, including U.S. support to these efforts

Background:

Africa's maritime domain is a critical strategic dimension for the continent and the international community. The resources and activities within Africa's maritime domain – fisheries, minerals, hydrocarbons, tourism, and trade – play a key role in the economies of coastal states and constitute an important base for Africa's prosperity. African states' ability to govern their maritime domains and to sustainably harness and manage its resources will determine their ability to deliver an array of benefits to their citizens, improve their provision of security and development, and effectively contribute to global security and prosperity. To achieve this, African states must continue to work at the national, zonal, regional, inter-regional and continent-wide levels to address the full spectrum of concerns in the maritime space including piracy and armed robbery at sea; illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing; illegal trafficking of persons, drugs, weapons, counterfeit goods, cultural property and contraband; oil, fuel and other resource theft, smuggling, adulteration and fraud; threats to ships, offshore installations and ports; and issues related to safety of navigation (hydrographic surveys, search and rescue), marine pollution, and overall capacity building.

Piracy and Armed Robbery at Sea

While the threat had been abated off Somalia for almost five years, and the modalities and frequency of attacks in the Gulf of Guinea have shifted, the risk of Piracy and armed robbery attacks on commercial vessels is as present as ever. Instability caused by Yemen's conflict has resulted in ideological attacks on ships of certain flags, the use of unmanned underwater systems to harm vessels, and terrorist involvement in piracy activity. The increased costs of both insurance and security for ship-owners on account of piracy, for example, has forced many commercial shippers to reevaluate the risk-reward calculus regarding their operations in Africa.

Fisheries

IUU fishing threatens African fisheries, a vital source of food and jobs to millions of Africans. Some estimate Africa's fishing stocks will be decimated in forty years, while

others project a doubling of Africa's population in that same period. Without drastic collaborative, cooperative and coordinated measures, dwindling fishing resources and population growth will result in food insecurity, with concomitant effects on security.

Illicit Trafficking

Illicit trafficking has important implications for global security. Illegal human trafficking from Africa, mostly to European destinations, is already a major security concern for the African citizens making the perilous journey - by land or sea - and for the recipient countries. While the sea is an avenue for humans trafficking, it is also a major conduit of drugs and weapons into and through Africa. The effect that drug money has on corruption and violence in West Africa has been well-documented. Guinea-Bissau, an extreme case, has become the continent's first "narco-state." Moreover, large inflows of illicit cash fuel inflation and crowd out licit enterprises.¹³ Furthermore, there is a convenient partnership between drug traffickers, other criminals and insurgents; seemingly benign criminal activities like fuel theft have become increasingly prominent funding sources for transnational criminal organizations, insurgent movements and terrorist groups. African states cannot ignore any criminal activity in the maritime space.

Discussion Questions:

- What are the key regional, continental and international African maritime interests and how do they intersect with global considerations?
- How can African countries enhance their collaboration, cooperation and coordination through existing mechanisms and initiatives? How can the U.S. better support these efforts?
- How can African states adapt the security-governance-development nexus in the maritime space, to secure the waters against external threats, and protect the maritime domain for the betterment of life on land?

Recommended Readings:

Adeniyi Adejimi Osinowo, "Combating Piracy in the Gulf of Guinea," *Africa Security Brief*, No. 30, February 2015. <http://africacenter.org/publication/combating-piracy-gulf-guinea-html/> (available in French and Portuguese).

Ian Ralby, "Cooperative Security to Counter Cooperative Criminals," *Defence IQ*, 2017, <https://www.defenceiq.com/naval-and-maritime-defence/articles/cooperative-security-to-counter-cooperative>.

Raymond Gilpin, "Examining Maritime Insecurity in Eastern Africa," *Soundings*, Jan. 2016, http://www.navy.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/Soundings_No_8.pdf.

Plenary Session 9: Conflict Focus: Countering Violent Extremism in Lake Chad and the Horn of Africa

Format: Plenary session
Discussion Group

Objectives:

- To assess the security environment in the Horn of Africa and Lake Chad Basin
- To provide the opportunity to conceptualize and develop a human security model that could be utilized to contribute to democratic governance and to develop effective national and sub-regional security capacities

Background:

The Horn of Africa and the Lake Chad Basin are responsible for the majority of the terrorist incidents in Sub-Saharan Africa.¹⁴ Despite similar tactics and consequences, the regions have addressed the extremist groups using different political and military strategies.

Horn of Africa

Discussions of insecurity and instability in the Horn of Africa comprise Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia, Kenya, Sudan, South Sudan and Uganda - as well as non-African states like Yemen. This is because of the close regional connections among these countries, and the regional dynamics of conflict and violence. Economic deprivation, gross inadequacy of basic services, and poor infrastructure have created the conditions for institutionalized poverty for millions and increased communities' vulnerability to extremist groups, like *Al Shabaab*. Even as countries like Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda have recorded healthy rates of economic growth in recent years, the benefits of this growth have not trickled down to the vast majority of citizens; as people from poorer regions have flocked to the more prosperous cities as refugees and economic migrants, has also heightened insecurity in some circumstances.

The multifaceted and inter-connected nature of conflict in the Horn of Africa suggests that any analysis of the causes, consequences and solutions of persistent insecurity must be led by stakeholders on the ground, like those supported by the African Union and the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). Even though there have been the occasional glimmers of hope - such as diplomatic breakthroughs in negotiations, improving economic performance, tendencies towards democratic governance and reductions in military tensions - states in the Horn of Africa are fragile and peace (where it does exist) is very tenuous. There needs to be a continued emphasis on accountable governance, inclusive and representative politics, consistent and equitable economic progress and efforts to curb ideological extremism.

Lake Chad Basin

Boko Haram, which has been destabilizing Nigeria's northeast since 2009, the broader Lake Chad Basin, comprising Nigeria, Niger, Chad, and Cameroon, have also suffered attacks. Boko Haram uses armed attacks, suicide bombings and mass kidnappings to keep the population in a state of perpetual fear. The group supports a strict interpretation of Islamic law (Sharia) for the country and stands against Western influence. Boko Haram's extreme rhetorical ideology emerged after July 2009, when founder Muhammad Yusuf, was captured by the Nigerian security forces and executed in police headquarters and hundreds of his followers were killed in mass repression.¹⁵ When Abubakar Shekau, Boko Haram's deputy commander assumed control, he repositioned the group within global armed jihad, openly supporting Islamist insurgencies in North Africa, Somalia, Yemen and Iraq. In return, Boko Haram has been praised and supported by the al-Qaida core organization and its affiliates. Under Shekau, Boko Haram increased its assassinations of political figures; attacks against civilians; targeting of institutions beyond the north, including the United Nations regional headquarters in Abuja; proved increasingly destabilizing to neighboring countries; and began using female suicide bombers.¹⁶

The Nigerian military had been unable, or in some cases unwilling, to combat the group or protect civilians. Since February 2015, however, a Multi-National Joint Task Force, comprised of troops from Nigeria, Chad, Niger, Benin and Cameroon, has pushed back Boko Haram. Nevertheless, Boko Haram continues to be the most lethal group in Nigeria and the sub-region.

Discussion Questions:

- In your view, how do you assess the security environments in the Horn of Africa and the Lake Chad Basin?
- What role should the concept of human security play in the transformation of security sectors in the Horn of Africa and the Lake Chad Basin?
- How can reforming security sector governance contribute to democracy, good governance and development in the Horn of Africa and the Lake Chad Basin?
- Should the extremist groups be viewed through a global lens? Or, are these local grievances?

Recommended Reading:

Jidefor Adibe, "Re-evaluating the Boko Haram Conflict," *Africa in Focus*, Brookings Institution, February 2016. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2016/02/29/re-evaluating-the-boko-haram-conflict/>

Plenary Session 10: Conflict Focus: Civil War Resolution in South Sudan and Central African Republic

Format: Plenary session
Discussion groups

Objectives:

- Assess the security and political environment in CAR and South Sudan
- Conceptualize and develop a human security model of conflict resolution
- Distill the roles played by the international and regional communities in hindering/advancing the progress toward peace

Background:

The peacekeeping missions in South Sudan and CAR are among the largest and most expensive in Africa. While both *officially* post-conflict, political violence continues regularly. Together, these countries challenge the viability of the responsibility to protect doctrine (R2P) and the leverage applied by regional and international bodies.

South Sudan

South Sudan gained its independence from Sudan with the 2011 referendum, after nearly 40 years of civil war. However, in December 2013, South Sudan plunged into civil conflict as the ruling party split into rival factions. UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) had already been in place since 2011, with an original mandate to help the new nation transition following its independence from Sudan. However, the outbreak of fighting brought a more robust mandate and increase in peacekeepers. Presently, nearly 16,000 peacekeepers serve with UNMISS.

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) leads peacemaking efforts between South Sudan's political rivals. The peace process remains stalled today, amid a worsening humanitarian crisis; the *Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan* signed in August 2015, collapsed a year later. The renewed violence has led a humanitarian emergency; as of 2017, nearly 2 million South Sudanese have been internally displaced.¹⁷ In early 2016, the UN declared famine was affecting more than 40 percent of the population. In South Sudan, the difficulty that the regional community, IGAD and the AU have encountered in mediating and holding the protagonists to account is indicative of the weak leverage being exercised.

Central African Republic

The Central African Republic has long suffered from conflict, prompting the first intervention by the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) in 1997, with the Mission interafricaine de surveillance des Accords de Bangui, charged with

monitoring the implementation of the Bangui Agreements and disarming rebels and militia. Most recently, in 2012, the Seleka, a largely Muslim coalition of armed groups in northeastern CAR, began attacks against the government and their supporters, in protest of political and economic exclusion. In 2013, the Seleka, ousted then-President, Francois Bozize replacing him with Seleka leader Michel Djotodia – signaling the failure of the 2013 Libreville agreement to stop the fighting. Many analysts concluded that the Seleka also had the support of Chad’s Idriss Deby, who was concerned that CAR’s instability would spillover to Chad. Djotodia stepped down in 2014, amid charges of human rights violations and worsening insecurity; a transitional government was in place until elections were held in February 2016.

Following the principle of subsidiarity, the ECCAS-led Consolidation of Peace in the Central African Republic (MICOPAX), in CAR since 2008, gave way to the African Union’s diplomatic envoys and then the 6,000-strong AU Mission in CAR; it was rehattd in 2014 as the UN Mission in Central African Republic (MINUSCA), staffed with 13,633 peacekeepers. The current UN mission is the 6th in a long line of regional peacemaking and peacekeeping efforts, since 1998. While elections were held in 2016 and a government is nominally in place and a disarmament program has been launched, conflict continues in CAR – notably in the east and northwest.¹⁸

Discussion Questions:

- What role do institutions play in fomenting violence?
- What role should R2P play in addressing the conflicts in CAR and South Sudan, versus obtaining a political settlement?
- What leverage can regional and international bodies use for conflict resolution?

Recommended Readings:

UN Security Council, “Report of the Secretary-General on South Sudan (covering the period from 2 March to 1 June 2017),” June 15, 2017, S/2017/505 (also available in French)

UN Security Council, Report of the UN Secretary-General, “Report of the Secretary-General on the Central African Republic,” 2 June 2017, S/2017/47 (also available in French).

Plenary Session 11: Conflict Focus: Governance Challenges in Cameroon and Mozambique

Format: Plenary session
Discussion groups

Objectives:

- Understand the links between governance and conflict
- Discuss conflict management mechanisms through governance and institutions
- Consider the roles of the region and international institutions in reducing tension

Background:

In the last ten years, overall governance in Africa has improved, slightly. But, when examining individual countries, the picture is more nuanced. While not the only states presenting a decline in governance standards, Cameroon and Mozambique present notable insights to the consequences and driving factors behind such deterioration – highlighting the detrimental effects of political, social, cultural, and economic exclusion.¹⁹

Cameroon

In October 2016, in Cameroon's northwest and southwest regions, Anglophone lawyers demanding the translation into English of the Code of the Organization for the Harmonization of Business Law in Africa, went on strike. Quickly, protests evolved to include a broad range of people over grievances of disrespect for cultural rights, resource distribution, and ethnic exclusion; their demands included more federalism, some calling for secession. The government's violent reaction resulted in several protesters killed, hundreds arrested, and cutting off internet services for 92 days. Concurrently, the government initiated negotiations with the Anglophone community, created a National Commission for Bilingualism and Multiculturalism, and increased the number of Anglophone teachers, among other conciliatory measures.²⁰ The tensions between Cameroon's Francophone and Anglophone communities are not new, dating to the days of independence; as the Francophone government tried to mold the country into a single nation, using repression, division, and marginalization of the Anglophone communities. While the protests have diminished, the grievances have remained, along with a militant secessionist movement. The protest period also revealed a rift between the Anglophone elite that were serving in government, and those living in the Anglophone regions; with the elite encouraging more conciliatory measures. Among many analysts resolution lies in continued dialogue, increased political and economic inclusion, and a more robust response from the international community to government crackdowns.²¹

Mozambique

The 1992 peace accord brought peace between the insurgent Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO) and ruling Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO), after 16 years of civil war. Since then, the RENAMO members have successfully run for parliament, making up on average 35 percent of the legislative body. Still, RENAMO has never ruled Mozambique; a result that it frequently contests. The government successfully used mediation to resolve the political impasses. However, in 2014, RENAMO's leader and several hundred of the group's insurgents have launched attacks against the government, charging with government with rigging the 2014 elections and continued failure to integrate RENAMO politically and militarily. The violence has escalated to include several high profile assassinations of RENAMO and FRELIMO members.²² Approximately 15,000 Mozambicans have been displaced – many seeking refuge in Malawi, most fleeing government attacks against civilians.²³ In 2014, FRELIMO and RENAMO signed another peace agreement, and negotiations are underway with another agreement. Key elements of the agreement do not differ from the past; the parties continue to negotiate over the decentralization of powers, provincial elections, and the reintegration of RENAMO into the police and army.

Discussion Questions:

- In what ways do protests in Cameroon resemble governance challenges in your home countries?
- What are effective ways of managing political parties that never win?
- At what point in civil war resolutions do politics become normalized?
- Should political settlements account for ethnic and regional cleavages?

Recommended Readings:

Crisis Group, "Cameroon's Anglophone Crisis at the Crossroads," Africa Report No. 250, August 2, 2017. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/cameroon/250-camerouns-anglophone-crisis-crossroads> (also available in French).

Human Rights Watch, "Mozambique," January 2017. <https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/mozambique.pdf> (also available in Portuguese).

Plenary Session 12: Africa's Security Challenges: Looking Ahead

Format: Plenary session
Discussion group

Objectives:

- To examine the nature and scope of key emerging security challenges in Africa
- To discuss challenges and opportunities facing Africa's security sector professionals (and their external partners) to counter emerging security threats
- To explore how cooperative approaches to security can help address African countries' security challenges

Background:

For much of the post-colonial period, most African leaders defined security in terms of regime survival. Consequently, many failed to address other equally important issues facing their countries, including conflict, small arms and light weapons, maritime security challenges, and terrorism. Over the past couple of decades, the notion of security has evolved from its traditional focus on the integrity of states. Thus, in addition to the state's preoccupation with hard security, there is now a greater focus on citizen-centric and community well-being. In important ways, the new concept reflects today's security agenda, where such issues as environmental degradation, human rights, gender perspectives of security, global warming, oil and water shortages, the spread of endemic disease, ethnic conflict, transnational crime, and state fragility have risen in importance. The new perspective on security acknowledges a number of realities: there are new serious threats that no country, regardless of its wealth, can address alone; most of the world's population is threatened by problems that are not necessarily related to weapons of mass destruction and terrorist networks; many of the problems confronting the so-called developing world ought to be of concern to all.

Global economic and political trends present a mixed picture. Economies continue to grow worldwide. But, poverty can persist and indeed become more acute and concentrated alongside thriving national markets, with development progressing unevenly. International politics has seen greater inclusion of emerging nations and their preponderant populations, giving greater voice to the majority of humanity. Yet, divisions persist within multi-polar world and truly unified responses to global challenges, especially climate change, but also human migration, worldwide health crises, and human migration flows, are lacking. Unsurprisingly, efforts to grasp overarching political and economic trends at the global scale generate differences of opinion. Recent growth in places like China has called into question the assumption that transitions toward free market economies engender political openness. Many indicators suggest that the worldwide integration of politics, economy, technology, and so on

continues apace along its inevitable path, yet some observers argue that the process faces countercurrents and has slowed and even stalled in some areas, leading to pockets of re-localization or ‘islandization.’

Critical emerging security threats facing African countries can be national, regional or global. For the most part, these challenges are collectively-reinforcing and cannot be addressed in isolation. African countries (and their external partners) must think strategically about solutions that are creative, coordinated and comprehensive. Examples of emerging security threats include: demographic change and the youth bulge; climate variability; migration and human trafficking; urbanization and the “new frontier”; pervasive and networked extremist ideologies; negative terms of trade; and national and sub-national conflicts over borders and land tenure.

For Africa’s leaders, global political and economic forces ultimately shape their working environment. The wider frame may offer comparative perspective on the nature, scope, and impact of contemporary threats and challenges emerging through political and economic transitions. Equally important are lessons and practices from efforts to deal with the shocks, crises, and problems they can entail. Global political and economic perspectives may also indicate the over-the-horizon defense and security challenges likely to emerge on the continent.

Discussion Questions:

- How has the definition of “security” evolved in Africa to reflect the changed security environment?
- What are some of the most pressing security challenges facing the continent? How have these challenges evolved over time?
- Beyond the traditional security establishment (e.g., military, police, gendarmerie, and intelligence services), what organizations, structures, and institutions should be included in the national debate over defining security interests? Why should they be included and what can they contribute to the security debate?

Recommended Readings:

Security Council Report, “Can the Security Council Prevent Conflict,” Research Report, February 2017. http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/research_report_conflict_prevention_2017.pdf

Julia Bello-Schünemann, Jakkie Cilliers, Zachary Donnenfeld, Ciara Aucoin and Alex Porter, “African Futures: Key Trends to 2035,” *ISS Policy Brief*, September 1, 2017. <https://issafrica.s3.amazonaws.com/site/uploads/policybrief105.pdf>

Public Roundtable: Rebuilding Africa's Communities after Conflict

Format: Public roundtable
Question and answer session

Objectives:

- Identify the key elements necessary for successful peacebuilding
- Appreciate the diversity of domestic stakeholders that need to be engaged, in order to effect durable peace
- Apply peacebuilding lessons learned to broader political and social conflicts

Background:

Durable peace after violent civil conflict is a multi-faceted and multi-year endeavor. Successful peacebuilding after civil war requires the rebuilding of institutions, the reconstitution of social ties, and the reconstruction of the state. As peacebuilders in Africa have long known, these critical tasks take time and necessitate the engagement of a broad set of stakeholders. In many cases, the relevant stakeholders – such as youth, women, civil society, and minority ethnic groups – may be new to the political dynamics following the conflict. Indeed, these are the lessons taught by conflicts that have successfully ended – such as in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and South Africa.

Institutions remain the important glue between the underlying conflict drivers and state-led efforts to secure durable peace. Successfully ending conflict requires strong and independent institutions to create equitable laws, respect the rule of law, enforce justice, deliver education, and ensure access to healthcare. However, institutions are the product of rules and vested interests. As such, an equally important pre-requisite is how to make institutions relevant and accepted – a feat that requires prioritizing an inclusive approach to peacebuilding.

While the focus on internal political and social dynamics are important considerations in successful peacebuilding, the international and regional institutions remain relevant. Africa, like other conflict-prone regions, requires strong partners to deliver the peace dividend. Resources and support from international and regional bodies can be critical partners to usher in the promises of peace. However, partnerships must respect their limitations and recognize the strategic motivations of each engagement.

Discussion Questions:

- How have different stakeholders in your countries contributed to resolving a political or social conflict? Who were the stakeholders involved?

- What are different ways in which the state and society can re-engage following a political and social conflict?
- How can the state's engagement with a diverse set of stakeholders prevent violent conflict?

Recommended Readings:

Pamela Aall and Chester Crocker, "Social Environment and Conflict in Africa," in *Fabric of Peace in Africa: Looking Beyond the State* (Center for International Governance Innovation, Waterloo, Canada: 2017).

Chester Crocker and Pamela Aall, "Can State and Society be Woven Together?" in *Fabric of Peace in Africa: Looking Beyond the State* (Center for International Governance Innovation, Waterloo, Canada: 2017).

Mathurin C. Houngnikpo, "Repressing or Protecting? The Security Sector and Society in Africa," in *Fabric of Peace in Africa: Looking Beyond the State* (Center for International Governance Innovation, Waterloo, Canada: 2017).

Exercise Briefback on Resolving Security Challenges

Each discussion group will have the opportunity to brief the plenary on key discussion points from the module, “Resolving Security Challenges.”

During the discussion group prior to the briefback, participants will select a brier and chair, to guide the discussion. It may also be useful to select a notetaker.

Participants should focus their breifback on the following questions.

Common Question

What is the significance of focusing on human security versus state security?

Group 1:

Does the current framework of the African Peace and Security Architecture adequately respond to Africa’s security challenges? Why or Why not?

Group 2:

How is maritime security and strategy relevant to landlocked states?

Group 3:

Select two critical security-related future trends affecting Africa. How can these challenges become assets, rather than liabilities?

Group 4:

What are ways for Africa to leverage its assets in partnerships with the regional and international ?

Each briefer will have between 5 – 7 minutes to present the discussion group’s conclusions. The briefback does not require a PowerPoint presentation.

After all the presentations are heard, there rest of the plenary members will have a chance to discuss the model.

Plenary Session 13: Leveraging Africa's External Security Partners

Format: Plenary session
Discussion group

Objectives:

- Identify the variation in external security assistance models
- Highlight the potential for effective leadership to manage and coordinate external donor assistance
- Investigate links between national security strategy development and effective security assistance coordination

Background:

Many African states build their security services and systems through a reliance on external partners to provide funding. However, this assistance is rarely coordinated among external partners and African states, and does not always match the national security strategies or needs of the African governments. As a result, many African states have equipment they do not need or cannot maintain, lack training to properly use material, or possess equipment that cannot be inter-operable. Consequently, African states may not be effectively securing their nations and partners may not be efficiently utilizing their resources.

External partners strive to provide assistance to meet their own foreign and security policy objectives; these may or may not match those of African states. Moreover, external partners seldom coordinate among themselves, to identify areas of comparative advantage or alignment with African objectives and realities. This mismatch of objectives may render security assistance ineffective, wasting valuable resources. Consequently, many analysts have called for more coordination among donors and between donors and Africa states. For example, the United States may gain by coordinating military and peacekeeping training with France; unlike the U.S., France has a wider network of peacekeeping-related schools; as a recent example, U.S.-France cooperation on the peacekeeping school in Bamako has resulted in lower costs overall and more training relevancy for participating nations.²⁴

However, coordination should not focus only on partners. To increase leverage and effectiveness of security assistance, African states and institutions must clearly understand their security environment, strength, weaknesses, and objectives. Such considerations lay behind the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) Roadmap (2016-2020). In creating the APSA Roadmap, the African Union formalizes the roles of different stakeholders in APSA and acknowledges the roles of different external partners in achieving the AU's strategic objectives to "Silence the Guns." Subsequently, the United

Nations adopted the APSA Roadmap, viewing the roadmap as key to” [formulating] cohesive positions and strategies on a case-by-case basis in dealing with conflict situations in Africa.”²⁵

When African states and institutions can assess and articulate their strategic objectives clearly, they can more effectively leverage and coordinate donor assistance to their security sectors. However, donors have an interest in effective coordination as well; failing to do so could result in a waste of resources and poorly met objectives.

Discussion Questions:

- How can African governments and their external partners coordinate security needs, accountability requirements, and donations?
- Can you identify an externally funded security engagement or exercise that did not meet your country’s needs? What was the result of such an engagement? What might have been a better approach to developing that partnership?

Recommended Readings:

African Union, *African Peace and Security Architecture. APSA Roadmap 2016 – 2020*, April 2016, pp. 1-22 (available in French)

Pedro Ecosteguy, “Capítulo II – A União Africana e a nova Arquitetura Africana de paz e segurança, em *A Nova Arquitetura Africana de Paz e Segurança: Implicações para o Multilateralismo e para as Relações do Brasil com a África*.” Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão (Brasília, Brasil, 2011).

Plenary Session 14: U.S. Department of Defense Africa Priorities

Format: Plenary session
Discussion group

Objectives:

- To understand the mission and organization of the U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) and its role in developing and implementing U.S. policies in Africa
- To understand the role of AFRICOM and its relationship within DOD

Background:

The U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) is charged with deterring war and protecting the United States. It does this by maintaining military forces, the main elements of which are the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and Air Force. While the Coast Guard is an arm of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), it also has traditional military capabilities and responsibilities that are exercised as directed by DHS and DOD. In cases of emergency, the Reserve and National Guard augment the regular military forces. All of this military capability is orchestrated by the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Staff through the combatant command structure. The Secretary of Defense exercises authority, direction, and control over the Department. However, the President of the United States is the Commander-in-Chief and the institution is firmly under civilian control.

While the Department of State is the lead agency for foreign assistance and provides some funds for training of foreign military forces (e.g. ACOTA), the Department of Defense is the primary actor with foreign defense establishments for the following purposes:

- Construction of defense relationships that promote U.S. security interests;
- Development of the military capabilities of friends and allies;
- Improvement of information exchange and intelligence-sharing for the purpose of harmonizing views on security challenges;
- Provision of peacetime, contingency, and en route access for U.S. forces.

Implementation of Security Cooperation Programs

U.S. professional military education courses provide current and future foreign leaders with the necessary professional development to lead and maintain effective military forces under democratic civilian control. The tactical and strategic skills learned offer interoperability benefits to both U.S. and foreign forces as well. The Department of Defense executes two key international military training and education programs: the International Military Education and Training (IMET) programs and the Defense Institute of International Legal Studies (DIILS).

IMET programs enable the U.S. to influence in a positive manner the development of foreign military institutions and their roles in democratic societies. Courses are offered to non-U.S. officials on a variety of topics, including defense resource management, military justice, civil-military relations, and human rights. These programs also assist in U.S. efforts to build regional security arrangements and fight terrorism. Military-to-military contacts furthermore allow the U.S. and its partners to shape the strategic landscape, protect shared interests, and promote stability. The Expanded IMET (E-IMET) opens the program to participants (such as representatives of non-governmental organizations and national parliamentarians) who would not normally be part of a defense-related training program. DIILS provides education and training to uniformed and civilian security sector personnel in topics related to military justice, human rights, rule of law, and construction of a legal response to terrorism. DIILS programs serve to promote regional security and encourage professional and stable armed forces.

Defense Security Cooperation Agency

The primary mission of the Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) is to support the regional objectives of the Combatant Commands through security cooperation with U.S. allies around the world. DSCA is a component of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, falling under the purview of the Office of the Undersecretary of Defense for Policy.

The Role of U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM)

In February 2007, the President announced his intent to create a new command for Africa. At the time, responsibility for the African continent was divided between three U.S. commands: European Command (EUCOM), Central Command (CENTCOM), and Pacific Command (PACOM). The establishment of AFRICOM was driven by the growing strategic relevance of the continent to critical U.S. interests. To promote U.S. strategic objectives, AFRICOM works with African states and regional organizations to help strengthen stability and security in the region. It does this through a variety of programs and initiatives targeted at improving national and regional security capabilities, military professionalism, and good governance.

Discussion questions:

- What are the elements of the U.S. Department of Defense's policies toward Africa that are most meaningful to you and your work?
- Are perceptions in your home country different from what you learned today?
- How does the information you learned today change how you will do your work?

Recommended Reading:

General Thomas Waldhauser, "United States Africa Command 2017 Posture Statement," March 9, 2017. <https://www.africom.mil/>

Plenary Session 15: U.S. Department of State and USAID Africa Priorities

Format: Plenary session
Discussion group

Objectives:

- Understand U.S. foreign policy goals in Africa
- Understand the role of the U.S. Department of State Agency for International Development (USAID) in implementing strategic policies and programs in Africa
- To examine the roles and responsibilities of Department of State and USAID with respect to security objectives in Africa

Background:

The U.S. Department of State advises the President on foreign policy issues and executes U.S. policies and programs abroad. More specifically, the Department determines and analyzes the facts relating to American interests overseas, makes recommendations on policy and future action, and takes the necessary steps to execute established policy. It negotiates treaties and agreements with foreign nations, speaks for the United States in the United Nations and other international organizations in which the United States participates, and represents the United States at international conferences. The Department of State is the lead U.S. government agency for developing, implementing and executing foreign policy; all other government agencies, to include Department of Defense, support the Department of State.

U.S. Foreign Policy goals in Africa:

- Strengthen democratic institutions
- Spur economic growth, trade and investment
- Advance peace and security
- Promote opportunity and development

Department of State role in achieving Security Objectives in Africa

The State Department focuses on four key U.S. security objectives in Africa: capacity-building for African peace support operations; conflict prevention, mitigation, and resolution; military professionalization; and counterterrorism (CT) capacity-building. To achieve these goals, the State Department in partnership with the U.S. Department of Defense engages in direct security assistance to security sector agencies, in the shape of training and funding. While a large proportion of the assistance is bilateral, the Department also takes a regional approach working with organizations such as the African Union, ECOWAS, and SADC.

Key security sector programs funded by the Department of State include:

- International Military Education and Training (IMET)
- Foreign Military Financing-funded training (FMF)
- International Narcotics and Law Enforcement (INL)
- Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI)
- African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA)
- Enhanced International Peacekeeping Capabilities (EIPC)

United States Agency for International Development

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the lead U.S. government agency for foreign aid and assistance, operates under the authorities and guidance of the Secretary of State. USAID advances U.S. foreign policy objectives through support for economic growth, agriculture, trade, global health, democracy, conflict prevention, and humanitarian assistance, among other initiatives. USAID has 22 bilateral offices and 3 regional offices on the African continent. Sustainable development is the primary objective of USAID efforts in Africa. USAID recognizes that good governance is an essential part of economic growth and development and it therefore promotes transparency and accountability in government institutions and polices. To the same end, it assists in efforts to establish and ensure the rule-of-law through measures such as assistance to the judicial and legal sectors.

Joint Department of State / USAID Africa Policy Goals:

- Strengthen democratic institutions and rule of law
- Prevent and resolve conflicts
- Foster broad-based, sustainable economic growth
- Enhance access to education and quality health care
- Combat transnational challenges

Discussion questions:

- What are the elements of U.S. State and USAID policies toward Africa that are most meaningful to you and your work?
- Are perceptions in your home country different from what you learned today?
- How does the information you learned today change how you will do your work?

Recommended Reading:

U.S. Strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa, June 2012.

https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/africa_strategy_2.pdf

Plenary Session 16: U.S. Civil Society and U.S.-Africa Policy

Format: Plenary session
Discussion group

Objectives:

- Understand the different activities of U.S. civil society in Africa
- Identify the role of U.S. civil society in Africa policy
- Highlight the mechanisms by which U.S. civil society influences Africa policy

Background:

The United States has a vibrant civil society network. Organizations may focus on advocacy of particular policies, research, or on-the-ground program implementers. In all three cases, civil society organizations can offer guidance to U.S. policy makers (although some organizations could opt to take a more neutral stance.) Think tanks form a significant and versatile component of U.S. civil society. By one measure, think tanks, which represent organization that research, advocate, and work abroad are more prevalent in the U.S. than in any other country. Moreover, Washington, D.C., is host to 397 think tanks or 22 percent of the total U.S. share – the most of any state; indeed, the top ten think tanks are all located in Washington, D.C.²⁶

Over the years, U.S. civil society – often working with others -- was instrumental in focusing U.S. government policy on a number of key issues. Prominent examples include, U.S. government involvement in Sudan;²⁷ divesting from apartheid South Africa;²⁸ and drawing attention to conflict minerals, among other concerns.²⁹ In each of these cases, policy changes ensued after organizations succeeded in working together to assemble a diverse set of stakeholders to advocate, write, and research on a common topic.

In some cases, U.S. civil society efforts to draw attention to cases failed. Most recently, the video created by the organization Invisible Children, *Kony 2012*, aimed which served to raise awareness of the destructive nature of Joseph Kony's Lord's resistance Army (LRA). Instead, it was roundly criticized for simplifying a complex story, for drawing disproportionate attention on a conflict that had dramatically scaled down – the LRA's brutality notwithstanding, and more failing to offer a solution -- beyond publicity – to resolving the insecurity in Northern Uganda.³⁰

Today, Washington-based think tanks work on peace mediation, electoral security, political party strengthening, civil society and political party capacity building. Organizing public events, publishing articles, and working with diverse stakeholders, are key components by which a think tank or organization both obtains feedback from their peers, as well as fulfills the objectives of their mandate.

Discussion Questions:

- Has your work or agency brought you into contact with U.S. civil society organizations? What was your experience with them?
- Have you observed U.S. civil society with like-minded groups in your country? Can you comment on the impact, if any, of such a relationship?
- How is civil society integrated in policy making in your country?

Recommended Readings:

Amnesty International, "Statement by Amnesty International USA for the Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health Policy hearing on "Progress Report on Conflict Minerals," April 5, 2017.

https://www.law.umn.edu/sites/law.umn.edu/files/newsfiles/amnesty_statement_4-5-17.pdf

One, "The African Century," June 2017.

<https://s3.amazonaws.com/one.org/pdfs/ENG-Brief-TheAfricanCentury.pdf>

Plenary Session 17: The European Union in Africa

Format: Plenary session
Discussion groups

Objectives:

- To analyze the evolving relationship between European nations and the African continent
- To discuss the current nature and scope of security-related collaboration between the European Union and Africa
- To examine lessons from the Joint Africa-EU Strategy partnership

Background:

European nations have strong historical ties with the African continent that date back to the period before colonization. These ties encompassed trade (both licit and illicit), travel and defense, and laid the foundation for the varying modes of governance that emerged during colonization. However, since independence, Europe's relationship with African states has evolved in five important ways. First, the prior focus on state-centric relationships is gradually changing to include human security, humanitarianism and peace support operations. Second, the immediate post-colonial preoccupation of appointing European technical advisors and support staff is progressively giving way to an increased focus on training, capacity building and institutional strengthening. Third, the reluctance to intervene when human rights violations are committed is being replaced by targeted interventions that are broadly consistent with the internationally-recognized responsibility to protect (R2P) doctrine. Fourth, there is a growing recognition of the need to improve the coordination of European assistance provided to African countries. Fifth, there has been a shift from an almost exclusive focus on bilateral relationships to an acceptance to support African regional institutions and initiatives. Most of this evolution is underpinned by the framework articulated in the December 2007 Joint Africa-EU Strategy.

The Joint Africa-EU Strategy lays out a roadmap for effective collaboration between the European Union and the African continent in eight priority areas, all of which have direct implications for security. It is important to note that this strategy does not define the totality of relations between African countries and their European partners. European countries, especially the former colonial powers, still retain bilateral and regional (based on language) programs with African nations.

The Joint Africa-EU strategy is designed to support: (a) regular high-level summits and meetings (e.g., the EU-Africa Defense Ministers' meeting); (b) periodic institutional contacts/exchanges; (c) the establishment of the Europe-Africa Policy Research Network

to provide unbiased policy analysis; (d) the establishment of African Union/European Union diplomatic representation in Brussels and Addis Ababa, respectively, and (e) the creation of joint expert groups for collaborative problem solving.

Since its establishment, the Joint Africa-EU Strategy has been the basis for significant intervention in African security issues. Substantial support has been provided to the African Union, as well as to regional organizations like ECOWAS and IGAD. Capacity building and institutional support has been provided to national and regional military and police training institutions across the continent. This framework also facilitated support for African peace support operations, like AMISOM. It also helped the EU shape its support for regional strategies like the December 2009 EU policy on the Horn of Africa.

While this approach has been a welcome change, relatively weak coordination and overly bureaucratic processes have limited the strategy's effectiveness. Furthermore, the use of multiple financing instruments has, in some cases, contributed to redundancy, duplication and waste. There has also been inadequate coordination between EU programs and programs supported by individual European nations. In spite of these challenges, the focus on human security, capacity building and institutional strengthening has provided positive and tangible gains.

Discussion Questions:

- How do you assess current security-related partnerships between the European Union and African countries?
- What explains the evolving relations between the European Union and African countries in the areas of conflict management, peace support operations and training/capacity building?
- How would you evaluate the Joint Africa-EU Strategy?
- How should African countries make the best out of their partnership with the European Union?

Recommended Reading:

Barrios, Cristina. "EU cooperation with the African Union: Problems and Potential," FRIDE Policy Brief N° 51, July 2010.

Plenary Session 18: China in Africa

Format: Plenary session
Discussion groups

Objectives:

- To analyze the evolving relationship between China and the African continent
- To discuss the current nature and scope of security-related collaboration between the China and Africa
- Determine how China's partnerships with Africa address security needs

China

China-Africa trade reached \$200 billion in 2015, making it Africa's largest trading partner. But, as China becomes ever more engaged with Africa, it has also begun to link the continent's security with China's prosperity -- a serious departure from China's famed foreign policy of non-interference in domestic affairs. China's increased focus on security stems from needing to protect investments from the disruptions and damage caused by conflict, but also, Chinese citizens working on the projects and China's global reputation.³¹

Recently, China increased its participation in UN peacekeeping. Of China's 3,000 troops in United Nations Peacekeeping Missions, approximately 85% are in Africa; of those, 50 percent are in the peacekeeping missions in South Sudan and Darfur.³² In South Sudan, China also contributed its first ever infantry battalion to a UN peacekeeping mission, and has been active in the mediation process in the internal conflict; uncharacteristically it is also a member of the Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Committee, which monitors the 2015 Agreement to Resolve the Conflict in South Sudan.³³ South Sudan's internal conflict has been particularly worrisome for China, given the level of violence and its investment in the country: there are 50 Chinese companies, 7,000 Chinese nationals (including peacekeepers), and a Juba Chinese Business Association.

Discussion Questions:

- What are the critical aspects of China's security relationship with Africa?
- Do China's security-related partnerships address Africa's security priorities?
- What are China's motivations for providing security-related assistance to Africa?
- How can Africa make the most of China's security-related partnerships?

Recommended Readings:

Abigaël Vasselier, "Chinese Foreign Policy in South Sudan: the View from the Ground," China Brief Vol. 16 No.: 13, The Jamestown Foundation, August 22, 2016, pp 15-19. (http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=45658&#.V8nPfnR-70).

Bruno Hellendorff, "La Chine en Afrique de l'Ouest: Un modèle de partenariat durable?" *Note d'Analyse du GRIP*, 26 Novembre 2013, Bruxelles. <http://www.grip.org/fr/node/1134>

Plenary Session 19: Emerging External Partners in Africa: Turkey, India, and the Gulf States

Format: Roundtable session
Discussion groups

Objective:

- Discuss emerging partners in Africa's external security assistance
- Interrogate the motivations of Africa's external security assistance partners
- Evaluate how emerging partners help to address Africa's security challenges

Background:

Non-traditional security assistance partners now play a more significant role in providing security assistance. Focusing on Turkey, India, and the Gulf States shows Africa's heterogeneity in international relations and strategic interests of different partners.

Turkey

Somalia is central to Turkey's Africa policy; it aims to distinguish it from other external partners by demonstrating commitment to Somalia. Indeed, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's visit in 2011 was the first visit of a non-African leader in 20 years.³⁴ Promoting a policy of "Humanitarian Diplomacy,"³⁵ Turkey's engagement with Somalia is seen as highlighting a different type of assistance, one of showing commitment to partnership. To this point, Turkey's engagement continued despite attacks by Al-Shabaab that killed diplomatic officials and staff at Turkish Airlines (which occurred in 2011, 2013, and 2015); the 2015 attack was just prior to President Erdoğan's visit. But, Turkey's interest is also a strategy to diversify away from its dependence on the Middle East, raise its profile internationally, and expand its relationship with Africa's Muslim communities.³⁶

India

India's interest in Africa is closely tied to its interest in the Indian Ocean, countering terrorism from Pakistan and Afghanistan, and its quest for global governance reform. Much of India's interest in Africa lies on the southern and east coasts. In particular, Tanzania, Mauritius, Seychelles, Mozambique, and South Africa, which border the Indian Ocean, are strategically important to India. Not only has the India Ocean region recently discovered oil and gas reserves, but it also serves as an important maritime gateway. In furtherance of these partnerships, India has formed maritime security relationships with Mauritius, Mozambique, and Seychelles; since 2000, it has patrolled the Mauritius Economic Exclusive zone with the Mauritian coastguard. Increasingly, the Sahel and Somalia are important, as reports of Pakistani and Afghan terrorists using Africa as training grounds impact India's security. On global governance, Africa is strategically important to India as it pursues its agenda for reforming the United Nations' bodies – in

particular the security council -- to reflect more representation from the southern hemisphere. Here, India invests heavily in peacekeeping: of the 7,676 Indian troops, 80 percent are deployed to the UN missions in South Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo. India has also contributed \$1 million to AMISOM.³⁷

Gulf States

The Gulf States' have established roles in peacemaking, cultivated ties to extremists groups, and drawn Africa into intra-Gulf States' relations. Qatar, more than other Gulf States, has played the role of a mediator in African conflicts. Most notably, Qatar convened warring parties in Darfur, resulting in the 2011 Doha Agreement. At the same time, Qatari and Saudi supported groups have been linked extremist groups in the Sahel and Somalia.³⁸ Finally, fissures in Gulf States relations reflect on Africa's foreign policy. As Saudi Arabia intensified its intervention in Yemen's civil war, Djibouti, Sudan and Somalia severed diplomatic ties with Iran, while Eritrea rents out its ports, and along with Senegal and Somalia, sent troops to fight on behalf of Saudi Arabia. In exchange for this support, the countries hope to overcome economic challenges, caused by international sanctions, war, and limited natural resources. Most recently, the Saudi-led coalition to isolate and sanction Qatar for supporting extremists groups, was followed by the withdrawals of a number of African ambassadors from Qatar.³⁹

Discussion Questions:

- Are security assistance approaches by emerging actors different than those of traditional external partners?
- What are the pros and cons of the different approaches?
- How do these actors affect the resolution of conflict around the continent?

Recommended Readings:

Waheguru Pal Singh Sidhu, "Africa: The indispensable continent for India?" *Africa in Focus*, Brookings, November 3, 2015. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2015/11/03/africa-the-indispensable-continent-for-india/>

David Shinn, "Turkey's Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa: Shifting Alliances and Strategic Diversification," Chatham House, September 2015.

Elise Barthet, "La Turquie, puissance montante en Afrique," *Le Monde*, 4 March 2016 (http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2016/03/04/la-turquie-puissance-montante-en-afrique_4876962_3212.html).

Lidet Tadesse Shiferaw, "The Role of Gulf States in Peace and Security and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa," Istituto Affari Internazionali, *Working Paper 16*, August 19, 2016. <http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iaiw1619.pdf>.

Discussion Group Case Study: Coordinating and Leveraging Security Assistance to Africa

Format: Discussion Group Exercise

Objectives:

- To provide an opportunity for participants to apply concepts of strategic interests and security priorities
- To identify frameworks to identify how international security assistance may be used most effectively

Background:

During this session, participants will focus on the provision of peacekeeping training from the U.S. government to African states.

From 2008 – 2014, the United States government claims that it has trained more than 250,000 African military personnel as peacekeepers, spending more than \$1 billion. Very likely, programs such as the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI), Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA), and the Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI) could claim some credit for increasing the number of African peacekeepers in Africa and globally. Presently, almost half of all peacekeepers are African. Nonetheless, such impressive African capacity has not removed the need for external training before deploying to peace missions. In fact, African peacekeepers have been unable to sustain the training they receive from the U.S. government and elsewhere.⁴⁰

Discussion Questions:

1. How can U.S. peacekeeping training be more effectively used in Africa? How could African states benefit? How could this benefit the U.S.?
2. Consider the recommendation that African militaries must focus on “training-the-trainer:” what are the obstacles facing African states to maintain the capacity of peacekeepers?
3. Identify some institutional reforms/strategies African states may appeal to ensure that peacekeeping training remains up-to-date and relevant.

Required Reading:

Daniel Hampton, “Creating Sustainable Peacekeeping Capability in Africa,” Africa Center for Strategic Studies, April 2014. <https://africacenter.org/publication/creating-sustainable-peacekeeping-capability-in-africa/>. (Available in French and Portuguese).

Exercise Brief back on Leveraging External Partners

Each discussion group will have an opportunity to brief the plenary on key points from the module “External Partnerships.”

During the discussion group prior to the brief back, participants will select a briefer and a chair, to guide the discussion. It may also be useful to select a note taker.

Participants should focus their brief back on the following three questions:

Common Question:

What are the pros and cons of Africa’s current relationship with external partners?

Group 1:

What does a successful partnership between Africa and external donors and institutions entail?

Group 2:

What qualities or characteristics of leadership will be most helpful in ensuring that Africa’s relationship with external partners is successful?

Group 3:

Does refusing assistance from external partners endanger the strategic relationship? Can refusing assistance contribute to a stronger relationship? Explain why or why not.

Group 4:

How can external partners work cooperatively to ensure that partnership with African states are productive?

Each briefer will have between 5 – 7 minutes to present the discussion group’s conclusions. The brief back does not require a PowerPoint presentation; it is an oral briefing.

After all presentations are heard, the rest of the plenary members will have a chance to discuss the module.

Endnotes

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- ¹ Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim in "Africa Faces Peace, Leadership and Governance Challenges," Africa News Service, 2 July 2002.
- ² Brigadier General Daniel K. Frimpong, "Appendix Two," *Leadership and the Challenges of Command*, AFRAM Publications, (Accra: 2003), p. 156.
- ³ Walter Odhiambo and Paul Kamau, "Public Procurement: Lessons From Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda," OECD Development Centre, *Working Paper No. 208*, March 2003 (<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/59/11/2503452.pdf>).
- ⁴ James Rees and Stephen J. Spignesi, "George Washington's Leadership Lessons: What the Father of Our Country Can Teach Us About Effective Leadership and Character," Wiley, 2007.
- ⁵ Paul Vickery, "Washington: A Legacy of Leadership," Harper Collins, 2011.
- ⁶ Richard C. Stazesky, "George Washington, Genius in Leadership," presentation made in February, 2000.
- ⁷ Morna, Colleen Lowe, and Loveness Jambaya Nyakujarah, eds., "Implementation" in *SADC Gender Protocol 2011 Barometer*, Johannesburg: Gender Links, 2011
- ⁸ Miranda Gaanderse, "Data Collection Template", in *Security for All: West Africa's Good Practices on Gender in the Security Sector*, Geneva: DCAF: 2010
- ⁹ Kristin Valasek, "Security Sector Reform and Gender", *Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit*, eds. Megan Bastick and Kristin Valasek. Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN-INSTRAW, 2008, p. 4. Online: <http://www.dcaf.ch/Publications/Security-Sector-Reform-and-Gender-Tool-1>
- ¹⁰ Jacob Zenn and Elizabeth Pearson, "Women, Gender and the evolving tactics of Boko Haram," *Journal of Terrorism Research*, February 2014.
- ¹¹ "'Our Job is to Shoot, Slaughter, and Kill': Boko Haram's Reign of Terror in North-East Nigeria," *Amnesty International*, April 2015, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr44/1360/2015/en/>.
- ¹² Krista London Couture, "A Gendered Approach to Countering Violent Extremism: Lessons Learned from Women in Peacebuilding and Conflict Prevention Applied Successfully in Bangladesh and Morocco," Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence at Brookings, Policy Paper, July 2014.p. 10; Naureen Chowdhury Fink, Rafia Barakat and Liat Shetret, "The Roles of Women in Terrorism, Conflict, and Violent Extremism: Lessons for the United Nations and International Actors," Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation, April 2013.
- ¹³ See United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2008), *Drug Trafficking as a Security Threat in West Africa*.
- ¹⁴ Global Terrorism Database, 2016. <http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>
- ¹⁵ "Nigeria row over militant killing," *BBC*, 31 July 2009. Online at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8178820.stm>
- ¹⁶ Freedom C. Onuoha and Temilola A. George, *Boko Haram's use of Female Suicide Bombing in Nigeria*, Al Jazeera Center for Studies, Doha: 17 March 2015. <http://studies.aljazeera.net/ResourceGallery/media/Documents/2015/3/18/20153189319985734Boko-Harams-Female.pdf>.
- ¹⁷ EnoughProject, "South Sudan," <https://enoughproject.org/conflicts/south-sudan>
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