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**FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES**

# **External Security Assistance: Nature, Trends and Prospects**

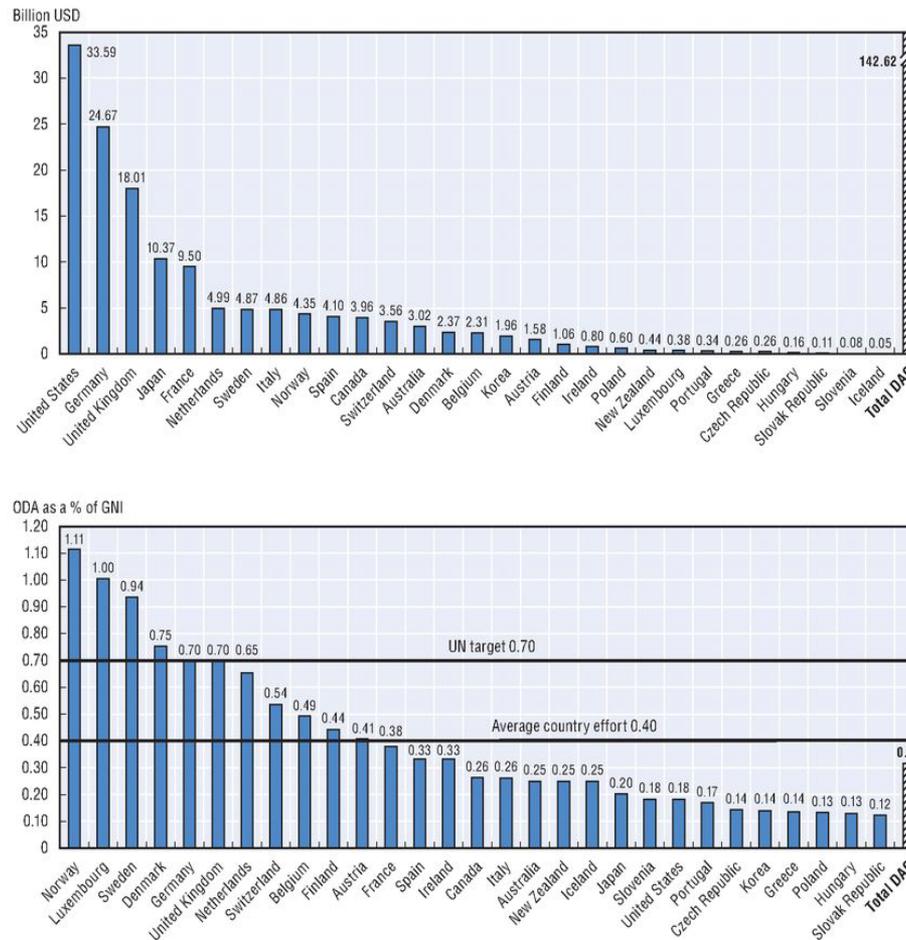
Dr. Raymond Gilpin

# A Word from the Scholars

- William Easterly: Less Aid
  - The Economics of International Development: Foreign Aid vs Freedom for the World's Poor (2016)
  - The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good (2006)
- Jeffrey Sachs: More Aid
  - The Age of Sustainable Development (2015)
  - The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time (2005)
- Dambisa Moyo: No Aid
  - Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How There is a Better Way for Africa (2009)
  - Edge of Chaos (2018)

# Foreign Aid From OECD Donors

Figure 7.3. Net ODA from DAC donors in volume and as a share of GNI, 2016



Note: Preliminary data for 2016.

StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933491252>



# US Security Assistance

## Global Summary of Security Cooperation Programs

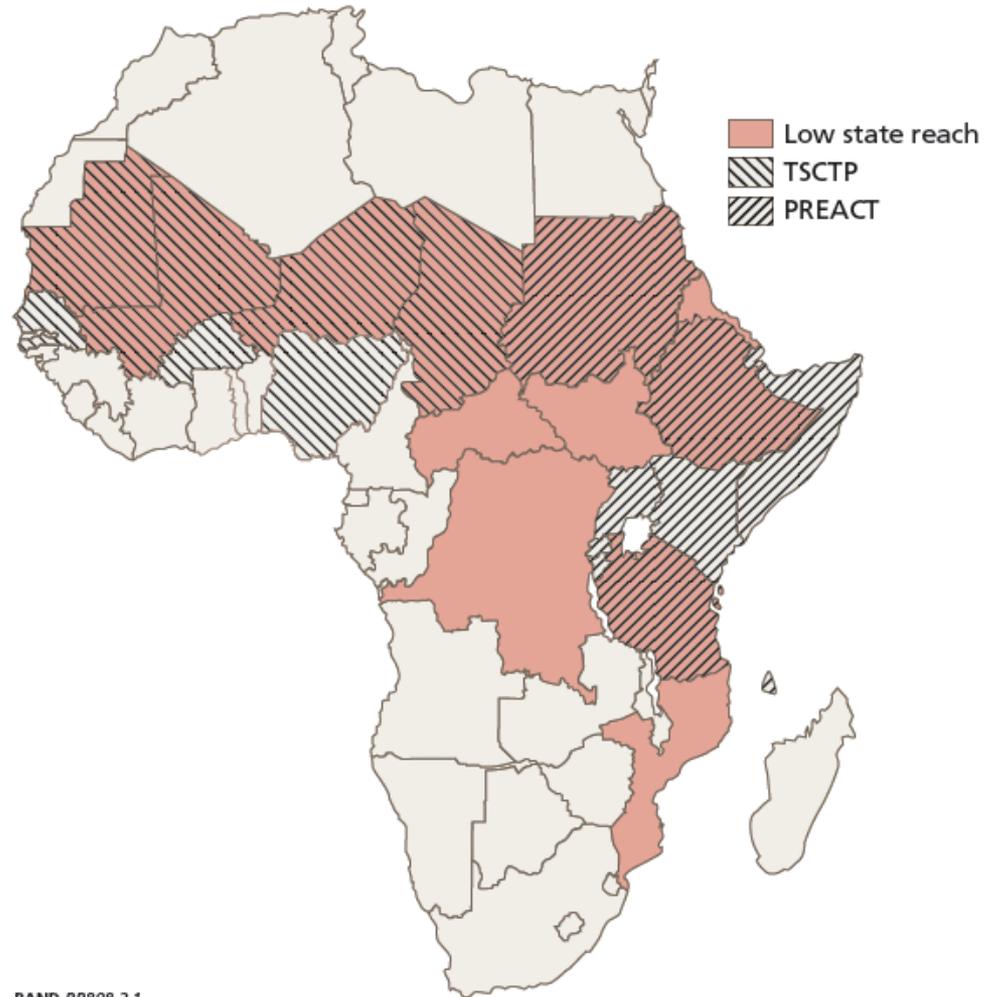
		Security Cooperation Activities			
		Military-to-Military Contact	Training	Equipping	Cooperative Activities
Security Cooperation Purposes	Aviation Expertise	12	18	16	10
	Border Security	11	25	22	8
	Coalition Operations	30	25	16	21
	Counternarcotics	15	24	16	16
	Counterterrorism	17	33	23	17
	Counterthreat Finance	5	8	9	5
	Counter WMD	18	26	14	15
	Counterinsurgency	16	25	26	12
	Cyber	5	12	11	4
	Defense Institution Building	41	36	7	31
	Demining	8	12	13	10
	Disaster Relief	18	22	20	13
	Health	14	16	15	12
	Humanitarian Assistance	20	22	19	14
	Intelligence, Surveillance, Reconnaissance	18	24	17	22
	Interoperability	40	40	29	36
	Law Enforcement	11	18	15	11
	Maritime Security	11	17	14	12
	Missile Defense	7	10	10	7
	Peacekeeping	6	9	10	5
Port Security	9	16	12	9	
Research and Development	14	6	5	20	
Stabilization and Reconstruction	13	20	18	7	

Percentage of relevant programs to the activity:

■ Top 10%  
 ■ Above average  
 ■ Below average  
 ■ Bottom 10%

# US Security Assistance

Countries of Concern for Security Sector Assistance in USAFRICOM



RAND RR808-2.1

# FOCAC Declarations

	2000	2015
<b>Word Count</b>	Approx. 1,700	Approx. 2,700
<b>Guiding Principle</b>	Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence	Five Pillars
<b>Economic Development</b>	No mention of Millennium Development Goals	Explicit mention of SDGs (goal 17)
	Veiled reference to international diplomacy	Explicit reference to “one China policy” and desired reform of international diplomacy (UNSC) and finance (IFI)
<b>Cooperation</b>	Mentioned partnership	Emphasized partnership
<b>Follow Through</b>	No major initiative	Launched “Initiative on China-Africa Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Security”

# 2015 FOCAC

## One Upgrade

Comprehensive, Strategic, Cooperative

## Five Pillars

1. Political equality and mutual trust
2. Win-win economic cooperation
3. Mutually-enriching cultural exchanges
4. Mutual assistance in security
5. Solidarity and coordination in international affairs

## Ten Plans (over 3 years)

(a) Industrialization; (b) agricultural modernization;  
(c) infrastructure construction; (d) financial services; (e) green  
development; (f) trade and investment facilitation; (g) poverty  
reduction; (h) public health; (i) cultural exchanges; and  
(j) peace and security

# Recent Chinese Pledges

## UN General Assembly (September 2015)

- \$100 million: African Union rapid response unit
- 8,000-strong permanent peacekeeping force (police)
- Helicopter squad
- Train 5,000 African peacekeepers

## FOCAC Summit (December 2015)

- \$60 billion: \$5 bn grants/concessional loans; \$35 bn preferential loans and export credits; \$5 bn capital development; \$5 bn China-Africa development fund (SMEs); and \$10 bn production capacity fund.
- Train 200,000 African technicians (40,000 in China)

## Others

- Naval presence in Djibouti. Expected to be operational in late 2017. Ostensibly to provide “logistical support for Chinese convoys.”
- Infrastructure diplomacy. Example: ports in Djibouti, Tanzania, Mozambique, Gabon, Ghana, Senegal, Tunisia

# Comparing West and East

		United States	China
<b>WHY</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Geostrategic</li> <li>• Economic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Terrorism, markets, democracy</li> <li>• Poverty, disease, resources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Taiwan, Japan UNSC, international clout</li> <li>• Resource access, expand markets</li> </ul>
<b>WHAT</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Instruments</li> <li>• Sectors</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conditional grants/ loans, short term</li> <li>• Social, employment, governance, micro</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Resource-based loans, long-term</li> <li>• Extractive industry, infrastructure</li> </ul>
<b>HOW</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Process</li> <li>• Institutions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Slow disbursing, conditions, patron</li> <li>• Fragmented, not cabinet level</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fast disbursing, few conditions, partner</li> <li>• Centralized, State Council</li> </ul>

# Some Unintended Consequences

- Undermining democratic processes
- Enabling a perverse political-economy
- Decimating state institutions
- Sustaining corruption
- Fostering dependency
- Strengthening spoilers
- Picking winners

# Closing Thoughts

- Capacity + agency = capability.
- Domestic resource generation is paramount.
- Focus on people, not programs. Institutions, not individuals.
- The need is great; leverage effectively (bilateral, multilateral, commercial, NGOs).
- Empower and elevate existing aid effectiveness and anti-corruption mechanisms.
- Confidential does not mean secret.

**QUESTIONS/  
COMMENTS?**



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