AFRICA CENTER
FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

Africa's Contemporary Security Challenges

SYLLABUS

Washington, D.C.

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AFRICA'S CONTEMPORARY SECURITY CHALLENGES

12 - 14 September 2018
Washington, D.C.

S Y L L A B U S

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ABOUT THE AFRICA CENTER

Since its inception in 1999, the Africa Center has served as a forum for research, academic programs, and the exchange of ideas with the aim of enhancing citizen security by strengthening the effectiveness and accountability of African institutions, in support of U.S.-Africa policy.

VISION

Security for all Africans championed by effective institutions accountable to their citizens.

Realizing the vision of an Africa free from organized armed violence guaranteed by African institutions that are committed to protecting African citizens is the driving motivation of the Africa Center. This aim underscores the Center's commitment to contributing to tangible impacts by working with our African partners – military and civilian, governmental and civil society, as well as national and regional. All have valuable roles to play in mitigating the complex drivers of conflict on the continent today. Accountability to citizens is an important element of our vision as it reinforces the point that in order to be effective, security institutions must not just be "strong," but also be responsive to and protective of the rights of citizens.

MISSION

To advance African security by expanding understanding, providing a trusted platform for dialogue, building enduring partnerships, and catalyzing strategic solutions.

The Africa Center's mission revolves around the generation and dissemination of knowledge through our research, academic programs, strategic communications, and community chapters. Drawing on the practical experiences and lessons learned from security efforts on the continent, we aim to generate relevant insight and analysis that can inform practitioners and policymakers on the pressing security challenges that they face. Recognizing that addressing serious challenges can only come about through candid and thoughtful exchanges, the Center provides face-to-face and virtual platforms where partners can exchange views on priorities and sound practices. These exchanges foster relationships that, in turn, are maintained over time through the Center's community chapters, communities of interest, follow-on programs, and ongoing dialogue between participants and staff. This dialogue—infused with real world experiences and fresh analysis—provides an opportunity for continued learning and catalyzes concrete actions.

MANDATE

The Africa Center is a U.S. Department of Defense institution established and funded by Congress for the study of security issues relating to Africa and serving as a forum for bilateral and multilateral research, communication, exchange of ideas, and training involving military and civilian participants. *(10 U.S.C 342)*

Introduction

This seminar will provide you with enhanced knowledge of the complexities of Africa's security landscape in order to contextualize and enhance the work of U.S. professionals on policy and programs related to Africa. This seminar will discuss the contemporary security challenges facing African states; provide insight to the drivers of conflict in Africa, showing their interrelated nature; and highlight the key responses to these challenges undertaken by Africans and their partners. You will be challenged to critically assess strategic responses to Africa's security challenges and identify ways to apply the concepts and lessons from the seminar.

The seminar is divided into three diverse, but complementary modules. The first module will explore the current and future security challenges facing African states. Particular attention will be paid to the dominant types of conflict in Africa: civil wars, violent extremism, and riots and protests. The plenary sessions will delve into understanding the civil wars in South Sudan and the Central African Republic, the violent extremist organizations in Somalia and the Sahel, and the scope and rationale of public protests in Cameroon and South Africa.
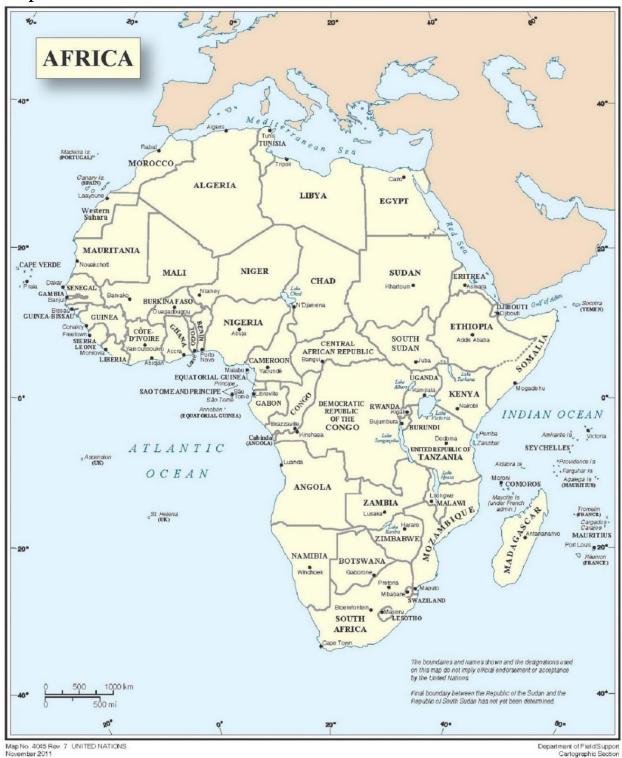
The second module considers some of Africa's key drivers of insecurity, as well as conditions that may prevent conflict. Plenaries in this module will trace the impact of democratic transitions and governing practices on security; unpack the link between development and security; and explore the implications on security strategy and programming, when gender perspectives are taken into account. The module concludes with a case study exercise on the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). In the case study exercise, participants will draw on the plenary discussions of the first and second modules to analyze the various dimensions of political violence and civil conflict in the DRC.

The final module features plenary discussions on various responses to conflict. Plenaries will examine the actions by African governments to resolve conflict, the challenges facing the African Union and United Nation's peacekeeping operations, the conditions for successful negotiated settlements to civil conflict, and the intervention of non-US partners in resolving Africa's security challenges.

The seminar will succeed only with honest analysis and productive dialogue. To achieve this end, the Africa Center utilizes academic tools to promote frank and open dialogue on critical issues and to lay the foundation for the development of effective peer networking. To facilitate your discussion, we have provided an academic syllabus and recommended readings. We encourage you to challenge the analyses and content in all the material we provide. Please remember that, unless specifically noted, the readings are not reflective of official U.S. government policy. Rather, the readings are intended to foster a healthy dialogue on the security challenges under discussion, which in turn will allow you to forge realistic and effective strategies for addressing insecurity in Africa. As with all Africa Center programs, this seminar will be conducted under a strict policy of non-attribution, which is binding during and after the seminar. We hope that this will allow you to address the sensitive issues under discussion.

Upon completion of the seminar, you will join more than 8,000 individuals with at least two things in common: a shared concern for issues regarding the future of Africa's stability and security; and participation in an Africa Center program. We will work actively with you and all members of the Africa Center community to build upon the dialogue begun here and to build further a sense of partnership in the pursuit of our common interests in a prosperous, peaceful Africa.

Map of Africa

Overview of ACSS

Objective
- To provide an overview of the Africa Center mission and programs

Background
The Africa Center for Strategic Studies advances U.S.-Africa policy by strengthening African states' strategic capacity to identify and resolve security challenges in ways that promote civil-military cooperation, respect democratic values, and safeguard human rights. The Africa Center pursues its mission by engaging African partner states and institutions through rigorous academic and outreach programs that build strategic capacity and foster long-term, collaborative relationships.

Since inception in 1999, the Africa Center has provided academic-style programs 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 Africa Center's Community Chapter program promotes peer networking among former participants, affording them an opportunity to continue dialoguing and collaborating on key security issues upon returning to their home countries. Publications from the Africa Center's research program expand analysis and understanding of Africa's security challenges.

The Africa Center achieves its objectives by adhering to five core values in its programs and research: an academic approach, partnership, consultation, academic freedom, and non-attribution. The Africa Center employs both an academic approach and outreach strategies in all of its activities and uses academic tools to produce practical results. This is based on the belief that security challenges can be resolved only by asking difficult questions and searching sincerely and creatively for the solutions. Further, the Africa Center believes that the formulation of solutions to security challenges must include both African leaders and subject-matter experts, and the center therefore works with practitioners, academics, military officials, and civilians as facilitators/speakers for its programs. In the same vein, the Africa Center holds several consultative sessions prior to each program, and these are designed to ensure that the programs are relevant to both African and American security interests. In order to facilitate an honest and frank discussion of the security challenges and needs facing Africa, the Africa Center strictly adheres to a non-attribution policy in all of activities.

Required Reading:

Website: www.africacenter.org

Module 1: Security Landscape
This module will explore the current and future security challenges facing African states. Particular attention will be paid to the dominant types of conflict in Africa: civil wars, violent extremism, and riots and protests. The plenary sessions will delve into understanding the civil wars in South Sudan and the Central African Republic, the violent extremist organizations in Somalia and the Sahel, and the scope and rationale of public protests in Cameroon and South Africa.

Plenary 1: Conflict in Africa: Current Trends and Emerging Challenges

Objectives
- Overview of the broad security challenges and conflict types in Africa
- Highlight the changing demographic, economic, and sociological factors that may pose security challenges in the near future

Summary

Following the cold war, African states embarked on shedding their authoritarian regimes for democratization. To many analysts, Africa's democratic reforms would also result in a reduction of political violence and civil war. The experience in other parts of the world bore out such reasoning: as governments became more accountable and legitimate, the probability that grievances among the population would turn violent decreased. In other words, democracies were less prone to violence. Indeed, within about a decade after the end of the cold war, the number of conflicts on the African continent fell. According to the Uppsala Conflict Dataset Program (UCDP), after a high of 17 conflicts in 1998, the number of conflicts in Africa dropped significantly; in 2005, there were 7 on-going conflicts in Africa.

Since 2005, however, the number of conflicts began a slow climb; in 2015, there were 21 conflicts in Africa – the highest of the 7 decades UCDP records (Figure 1).[1] There recurrence of high levels of conflict underscores the lack of improvements in governance and economic conditions, failures in social inclusivity, and the collapse of peace processes.[2] Over time, the nature of conflict has also been changing.

Figure 1. Armed Conflicts in Africa, 1946-2017

Sources: Pettersson and Eck (2018); Gleditch et al (2002)

According to the Armed Conflict Location Events Dataset (ACLED), over the last ten years, the most prevalent form of conflict in Africa are riots and protests. Violence against civilians and battles between state and non-state actors are the second and third most prevalent type of conflict; these first three categories comprise nearly 85 percent of the types of conflict recorded in Africa.[3] In addition to the return of high levels of conflict, Africa continues to exhibit violent political transitions. The level of electoral violence has remained stubbornly persistent for the last 25 years, as has the number of attempted and successful coups. Importantly, the brunt of conflict is borne by just a handful of African states.[4] In 2017, ten countries were responsible for 70% of the conflict in Africa: Tunisia, Libya, Nigeria, DRC, Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia, Burundi, Kenya, and South Africa.[5]

Several factors will impact Africa's peace and security in the near term, including demography, economic growth, technological advancement, urbanization, and climate change. Of these, demographic and economic conditions are likely to have the greatest impact on the security landscape. By 2035, Africa is projected to double its population to nearly 2 billion people; such rapid growth will mean that 50% percent of the population will be under 21. Under the right conditions, a population bulge means opportunity and growth. However, while Africa's economic growth has been faster than any other continent in the last several years, it will be unlikely to growth sufficiently rapidly to absorb the population growth -- who will need jobs, education, health care, and other services. As a significant factor in generating grievances (and subsequently fueling violent conflict) is poverty, exclusion, and poor governance, Africa's future could continue to show increased conflict if profound changes do not occur in governance, the public management of resources, and the creation of opportunities for young people. [6]

Questions to Consider:
1. Has U.S. policy reflected the changing security landscape in Africa? If so, has this succeeded in reducing insecurity? If not, how can it adapt?
2. What new types of conflict may future economic and social stressors create?
3. How can the international community assist African governments and institutions with harnessing future changes to result in peace and security?

Recommended Readings:

Julia Bello-Schünemann *et al.* 2017. "African Futures: Key Trends to 2035. Institute for Security Studies, *Policy Brief 105.*
 https://issafrica.s3.amazonaws.com/site/uploads/policybrief105.pdf

Lars Erik Cederman, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, & Julian Wucherpfennig. 2018. "Grievances, Accommodation, and the Decline of Ethnic Violence," January 24. *Political Violence at a Glance.* http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2018/01/24/grievances-accommodation-and-the-decline-of-ethnic-violence/

Paul D. Williams. 2017. "Continuity and Change in War and Conflict in Africa." *Prism*, vol 6 (4): 33-46.
http://cco.ndu.edu/News/Article/1171839/continuity-and-change-in-war-and-conflict-in-africa/

Plenary 2:   Civil War: South Sudan & Central African Republic

Objectives
- Assess the security landscape in Central African Republic (CAR) and South Sudan
- Distill the roles played by the international and regional communities in hindering/advancing the progress toward peace
- Understand the contributing factors to civil wars

Summary
According to the Uppsala Conflict Database Project, there are presently 18 conflicts in Africa - one of the highest levels in the past seven decades. Africa hosts 25 million refugees, IDPs, and other vulnerable populations of concern – constituting 35% of the global total.[7] While each country is unique, research identifies some consistent conflict drivers: poverty, social and political exclusion, and poor governance. Despite Africa's adoption of democratic norms, conflict persists because extreme poverty continues, communities feel marginalized, and governance has not improved considerably in the last decade.[8] The peacekeeping missions in South Sudan and CAR are among Africa's and most expensive. Together, they 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 in South Sudan. While a new peace agreement was signed on August 7, 2018, the peace process has been stalled for two years – the *Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan* signed in August 2015, collapsed a year later. In that time, renewed violence has led to a humanitarian emergency; as of 2017, nearly 2 million South Sudanese have been internally displaced.[9] In early 2016, the UN declared famine was affecting more than 40 percent of the population. In South Sudan, the difficulty that IGAD and the African Union (AU) have encountered in mediating and holding the protagonists to account is indicative of the weak leverage being exercised.

Central African Republic
The CAR has long suffered from conflict, prompting the first intervention by the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) in 1997, to monitor the implementation of the Bangui Agreements and disarming of rebels and militia. In 2012, the Seleka, a largely Muslim coalition of armed groups in northeastern CAR, began attacks against the government and their supporters, protesting political and economic exclusion; they ousted then-President, Francois Bozize, replacing him with Seleka leader Michel Djotodia. Many analysts concluded that Chad's Idriss Deby supported the Seleka -- he was concerned that CAR's instability would spillover to

Chad. After Djotodia stepped down in 2014, amid charges of human rights violations and worsening insecurity, a transitional government governed until the 2016 elections.

The ECCAS-led mission was replaced by the AU Mission in CAR, which was rehatted in 2014 as the 14,787-strong UN Mission in Central African Republic (MINUSCA). The mission was recently extended until November 2018.[10] While elections were held in 2016 and a disarmament program has been launched, conflict continues in CAR – notably in the east and northwest.[11] In January 2018, the International Committee of the Red Cross called CAR the world's most neglected humanitarian tragedy.[12]

Questions to Consider:
1. What role do institutions play in fomenting violence?
2. What role should R2P play in addressing the conflicts in CAR and South Sudan, versus obtaining a political settlement?
3. What leverage can regional and international bodies use for conflict resolution?

Recommended Readings:
Lauren Hutton. 2018. "Blurring the Lines: Ethnicity, Governance, and Stability in South Sudan," (May 29). Africa Center for Strategic Studies. https://africacenter.org/spotlight/blurring-the-lines-ethnicity-governance-and-stability-in-south-sudan/

Katherine Almquist Knopf. 2016. "Ending South Sudan's Civil War." Council on Foreign Relations (November).
https://www.cfr.org/report/ending-south-sudans-civil-war

Peter Knoope & Stephen Buchanan-Clarke. 2017. "Central African Republic: A Conflict Misunderstood." (April 13). Clingendael.
https://www.clingendael.org/publication/central-african-republic-conflict-misunderstood

Souleymane Coulibaly et al. 2018. "Central African Republic Economic Update: Breaking the Cycle of Conflict and Instability" (English). Washington, D.C. : World Bank Group. *Chapter 2.*
http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/444491528747992733/Central-African-Republic-economic-update-breaking-the-cycle-of-conflict-and-instability

Plenary 3: Violent Extremism: Somalia and the Sahel

Objectives
- To assess the security environment in Somalia and the Sahel, as well as the corresponding regions of the Horn of Africa and Lake Chad Basin
- Distill the roles played by the international and regional communities in hindering/advancing the progress toward peace
- Understand the drivers of violent extremism

Summary

Since 2010, militant Islamist activity has increased steadily in Africa. Whereas in 2010 there were five recognized groups and 675 extremist events, in 2017, there more than 20 active groups and 2,769 extremist events recorded. Overall, militant Islamist activity is concentrated in Mali, the Lake Chad Basin, Somalia, the Maghreb, and the Sinai Peninsula. [13] For the United States government, countering violent extremism has focused heavily on Somalia and the Sahel.

Somalia

Somalia is the epicenter for al-Shabaab, whose violence has spread to Kenya and Uganda. 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* [14] Since 2007, the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), has been the main military operation working to defeat Al-Shabaab, in addition to facilitating political normalcy and training Somali forces to eventually assume the responsibility for national security.[15] In contrast, the United States and the European Union have a decidedly smaller footprint in Somalia. For example the U.S. supported many of AMISOM's operations, while also using "precision strikes.... and other capacity-building efforts [in partnership with the U.S. and other allies]".[16] AMISOM is Africa's largest peace operation, with approximately 22,000 troops from five countries (Kenya, Burundi, Uganda, Ethiopia, and Djibouti).

The Sahel

While militant jihadist groups have been present in the Sahel since the early 2000s, the 2012 coup d'état in Mali precipitated their spread. The coup coincided with the renewed rebellion in northern Mali and the toppling of the Libyan government; with the security and political vacuum created by the coup and the return of armed Tuaregs to northern Mali from Libya, rebels and extremists moved quickly to take control of the major cities in northern Mali.

After one year of political indecision over a coordinated regional response to the political crisis, French troops deployed in 2013 at the invitation of the Malian government, to drive out the extremists and restore national sovereignty.[17] The African Union followed with a peace operations mission, which was eventually re-hatted as a UN mission in 2013. It has become the deadliest United Nations peace keeping mission. Despite an Algerian-led negotiated settlement process that resulted in the Algiers Peace Accord, peacebuilding and implementation remain stalled.[18]

As analysts and research try to understand motivations for joining extremists groups, many conclusions point to the failure of governance.   Young people are unable to find work or access

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services. In fact, research on Al-Shabaab recruits by the Institute for Security Studies shows 39% joined for economic reasons.[19] In the case of Mali, International Alert found that religious extremist organization recruit members by focusing on structural grievances about social mobility and opportunity – rather than religious arguments.[20]

Questions to Consider:
1. How can development programs help deter young people from joining violent extremist organizations?
2. violent extremist organization appeal to men and women differently? What role could the international community play in alleviating the underlying drivers for violent extremism?

Recommended Readings:

Africa Center for Strategic Studies, "AMISOM's Hard Earned Lessons in Somalia." *Spotlight*. May 30, 2018. https://africacenter.org/spotlight/amisom-hard-earned-lessons-somalia/

Anneli Botha and Madhi Abdile, "Radicalisation and al-Shabaab recruitment in Somalia," ISS, Paper 266, September 2014. https://issafrica.org/research/papers/radicalisation-and-al-shabaab-recruitment-in-somalia.

Catriona Craven-Matthews & Pierre Englebert (2018). "A Potemkin State in the Sahel? The Empirical and the Fictional in Malian State Reconstruction," *AfricanSecurity*, 11:1, 131, DOI: 10.1080/19392206.2017.1419634

Louisa Waugh and Mana Farooghi, ""The Treat us all like Jihadists" " *International Alert*, December 2016. https://www.international-alert.org/publications/they-treat-us-all-like-jihadis-en

Plenary 4: Riots and Protests: Cameroon & South Africa

Objectives
- Unpack the underlying reasons for the rise in riots and protests in Africa
- Discuss state responses to riots and protests
- Consider how the international community can respond to worsening riots or protests

Summary

Riots and Protests in Africa

Riots and protests have steadily risen to the dominant form of conflict in Africa. While the freedom to protest can be seen as a positive expression of the freedom of speech, it can also turn deadly, as security forces clamp down violently on protesters. The fact that the rise of riots and protests has occurred while governance and democratic indicators falter, requires a serious interrogation of the state of civil liberties in Africa.

In 2017, South Africa accounted for 16% of all riots and protests in Africa; the highest of any country. Other countries with high incidents of riots and protests included: Tunisia, Nigeria, Kenya, and Algeria.[21] Cameroon has also experienced an ongoing rise in protests. While it does not appear in the top ten countries with riots and protests, it is the only country where protests have raised fears of civil war, as armed groups have formed in a bid for secession.

Cameroon

Since October 2016, Cameroon's Anglophone northwest and southwest regions have been engaged in violent protests against the Francophone dominant government. Increasingly, some groups are calling for secession to form the Republic of Ambazonia. The tensions between Cameroon's Francophone and Anglophone communities date to the days of independence, when the Francophone government tried to unify the nation, using repression, division, and marginalization of the Anglophone communities.[22]

In October 2016, protests that started with Anglophone lawyers demanding the translation into English of the Code of the Organization for the Harmonization of Business Law in Africa, went on strike, evolved to include a broad range of issues 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.[23] However, the arrest of prominent Angolphone separatists in January 2017, prompted more – and increasingly violent – demands for secession. Moreover, separatists damaged nearly 60 schools and threatened officials that did not honor a school boycott in the region, denying thousands of children an education. [24]

In October 2017, the situation worsened as Anglophone diaspora groups formed an interim government and called for protests. The government's violent response resulted in 20 deaths. It also intensified the calls for secession. Since December 2017, the clashes between government

forces and separatists, as well as government attacks on villages, displaced approximately 160,000, while as many as 50,000 fled to Nigeria. [25]

South Africa

Ten years after apartheid, South Africa began to experience increasingly frequent protests.[26] South Africa's metropolitan areas have the most protests; more than 50% occurred in Gauteng and the Western Cape between 2012 and 2016.[27] Research points to 2012 as the peak of protests[28]– the same year of the Marikana massacre, where police killed 34 striking miners. Nearly 75% of protests related to the failure of service delivery or municipal governance;[29] but more recent protests have been over broader issues and more violent. In the last year, students protested high university fees, forming the #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall campaigns; as the public mood shifted against former president, Jacob Zuma, student protests formed around the #ZumaMustFall movement. Protests might have decreased since 2012, but, when they do occur, they are increasingly accompanied by violence and intimidation. Whereas in 2007, approximately 46% of protests turned violent, from 2013, more than 90% have turned violent. [30]

Questions to Consider:
1. What role can the international community play as riots and protests continue?
2. At what point is it appropriate for the international community to intervene?
3. Are riots and protests indicators of conflict or civil liberties?

Recommended Readings:

Human Rights Watch, 2018. ""These Killings Can Be Stopped": Abuses by Government and Separatist Groups in Cameroon's Anglophone Regions," (July 19). https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/07/19/these-killings-can-be-stopped/abuses-government-and-separatist-groups-cameroons

Emmanuel Freudenthal, 2018. "Cameroon's Anglophone War, Part 1: A Rifle as the only Way Out," June 12. https://www.irinnews.org/special-report/2018/06/12/cameroon-s-anglophone-war-part-1-rifle-only-way-out; and "Cameroon's Anglophone War, Part 2: Inside the Separatist Conflict," August 2. https://www.irinnews.org/special-report/2018/08/02/cameroon-s-anglophone-war-part-2-inside-separatist-conflict

TC Chigwata et al (2017). "Civic Protests and Local Government in South Africa," *Working Paper Series No. 2*. The Civic Protests Barometer: 2007-2016. https://dullahomarinstitute.org.za/acsl/civic-protests-barometer_2016.pdf

MODULE 2: CONFLICT DRIVERS

The second module considers some of Africa's key drivers of insecurity, as well as conditions that may prevent conflict. Plenaries in this module will trace the impact of democratic transitions and governing practices on security; unpack the link between development and security; and explore the implications on security strategy and programming, when gender perspectives are taken into account. The module concludes with a case study exercise on the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). In the case study exercise, participants will draw on the plenary discussions of the first and second modules to analyze the various dimensions of political violence and civil conflict in the DRC.

Plenary 5: Democratic Transitions and Governance

Objectives
- Identify democratization trends in Africa and recognize its challenges
- Analyze connections between contested democratic transitions and violence
- Identify the particular role of elections in democratization processes, as well as a trigger for violence in Africa

Summary
Despite the widespread belief that independence and self-rule would allow for more responsive governance, colonial legacies of repression, divide-and-rule politics, and inequitable development were surprisingly resilient. Until the 1990s, Cold War clientelism perpetuated two decades of authoritarian and kleptocratic rule. African states were generally seen to have stalled in their transition towards democracy until a return to multipartism in Kenya, constitutional reform in Ghana, regime change in Benin, majority rule in South Africa, and many other examples of democratization.

However, this positive trend was short-lived. Structural adjustment's austerity programs of the 1980s that in some cases contributed to the ousting of dictators also weakened important groups within civil society, including academia[31] and the middle class.[32] With stronger laws and reduced funding streams, incumbents resorted to new, and often violent methods to stay in power. Meanwhile, globalization's opening of communication flows, the spread of neoliberal political ideals, and a shift in international development assistance towards non-state actors empowered political challengers and historically marginalized groups to challenge entrenched political elites. While each case had its unique historical context, exclusion of peripheral groups from resource distribution by those at the political center became a common narrative behind conflict driven by governance failure.

Recognizing that political problems drove much of Africa's insecurity, donors invested considerable attention on democratization. Partly due to budgetary cycles and other funding challenges, elections, with their contained timelines and relatively measurable outcomes, became a focus of this assistance. Early on, international attention contributed to the perception among candidates that international support would be negatively impacted by manipulation of the electoral process. However, the tendency by international observers to qualify elections with major irregularities as "generally free and fair" eroded this perception over time. Thus, many autocrats, while investing in sophisticated technology to rig results more subtly, nevertheless seem unconcerned by donor criticism.

With political actors undeterred in their use of electoral malfeasance to hold onto power, political transitions remain violent in many countries. On average, nearly 60 percent of all African elections have been accompanied by some level of violence -- ranging from harassment to mass atrocities. Another 10 percent of electoral violence comprises politically targeted assassinations. In at least half of the cases, electoral violence is cyclical – meaning violence recurs in the same region each election cycle.[33]

Preventing electoral violence remains a challenge. However, some promising examples in Africa suggest that empowering domestically based election observation groups to not only monitor, but actively mitigate political conflict may reduce the possibility of electoral violence. In addition, emerging research points to the need to unpack how electoral violence affects men and women differently – in particular female political candidates. Growing evidence suggests that female political supports suffer less overt violence, while female candidates face a barrage of harassment and intimidation. [34]

At the root of stalled democratization efforts and electoral violence lie weaknesses in governance and institutions. While governance indicators – such as safety, rule of law, political participation, and economic opportunity – improved at first, they have stalled and even worsened over time.[35] Moreover, indicator of political rights and civil liberties have also declined since 2006.[36] Indeed, despite 25 years of democratization, only 11% of Africans live in countries considered free.[37]

Questions to Consider:
1. What do recent attempts to unconstitutionally extend power and subsequent citizen responses indicate about the state of democracy across Africa?
2. How can partner governments engage African governments on issues of fundamental political reforms?
3. What practical steps could be taken to effectively mitigate, unconstitutional changes or extensions of power, and electoral violence in Africa?

Recommended Readings:
Dorina Bekoe, "Preventing Electoral Violence: Greater Awareness, but Still Falling Short," *USIP Insights* (Winter 2015): 5-7.
https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/Insights_Winter_2015.pdf

Inken von Borzyskowski and Patrick Kuhn, "Does Election Violence make Citizens Hate Democracy and Love Autocracy? Evidence from 19 Sub-Saharan African Countries," *Election Violence Project*, March 23, 2016
http://www.electoralviolenceproject.com/election-violence-democracy-autocracy-opinion/

Robert Mattes and Michael Bratton, "Do Africans still want Democracy?" Afrobarometer Policy Paper, No. 36, November 2016.
http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Policy%20papers/ab_r6_policypap erno36_do_africans_want_democracy.pdf

Plenary 6: Development-Security Nexus

Objectives
- Unpack the link between development and security
- Discuss the critical stakeholders needed to engage in order to solidify the link between development and security
- Consider the appropriate roles for the international community to effectively link development and security

Summary
Among the many variables that give rise to conflict, poverty and lack of economic development rank near the top.[38] A country's security can facilitate development and development can bring security; but launching a business or attracting external investors is extremely difficult in an environment of insecurity, with its attendant uncertainty in services, institutions, and daily life. Furthermore, the least developed states with weak institutions cannot effectively absorb systemic shocks – such as organized crime, severe droughts, or global prices contractions – which places them at a greater risk of violence.[39]

Post-conflict peace building poses special difficulties for the development community. In Africa, which bears a disproportionate number of the world's conflict[40] and the location of nine of the world's 15 peace operations, unpacking the linkages between security and development can chart the way to durable peace and economic prosperity. However, post-conflict cases pose particular challenges: the World Bank estimates that on average conflict sets back a medium-sized country's gross domestic product by 30 years – or one generation.[41]

Operationalizing the link between development and security requires broadening the notion of both. As such, the idea of security goes beyond regime security to include economic, food, health, environmental, and personal --- or human security. Similarly, the idea of development stretches beyond its economic dimensions. It encapsulates the creation of choices for individuals.[42] Thus, programmatic interventions to facilitate the emergence of security through economic development - or breaking cycles of violence through development - requires the strengthening of institutions and the rule of law, improving governance, and reducing political marginalization.[43]

Strengthening the link between development and security is especially urgent for Africa's future, where population growth is a salient factor. Converting Africa's impending population growth – projected to grow to from 1.2 billion today to nearly 2 billion people in 2035 – into a positive, rather than negative force, depends largely on developing Africa's economic potential to provide jobs and services. Failing that, the population boom could increase insecurity in many countries.[44]

Adopting policies and programs that recognize the link between development and security does not just benefit the developing world. Today's global, interconnected systems also mean that violence and its consequences in one region may have implications internationally. As an example, criminal gangs that bunker oil in the Niger Delta are certainly causing trouble for the Nigerian government and the immediate villages. However, the subsequent rise in the price of

oil would have repercussions beyond Nigeria.[45] Strengthening the connection between development and security in Africa has benefits beyond the continent.

Questions to Consider:
1. Do current approaches to development actively consider the security implications?
2. How can the international development agencies and local organizations work to strengthen the link between development and security?
3. What are the critical institutional reforms that must take place in order for development to serve as a bedrock for security?

Recommended Readings:
"United Nations; World Bank. 2018. *Pathways for Peace : Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict*. Washington, DC: World Bank. "Executive Summary."
https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/28337

Julia Bello-Schünemann et al (2017), "African Futures: Key Trends to 2035," *ISS Policy Brief*, No. 105 (August).
https://issafrica.org/research/policy-brief/african-futures-key-trends-to-2035

Plenary 7: Gender Dimensions of Insecurity

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

Summary
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. 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.

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)." 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. 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. 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. 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.

Questions to Consider:
1. How do Africa's security challenges affect women and men differently?
2. What are the challenges to including gender perspectives in security?
3. 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

Hilary Matfess, "2017. "Rescued and deradicalised women are returning to Boko Haram. Why?" (November 1).
http://africanarguments.org/2017/11/01/rescued-and-deradicalised-women-are-returning-to-boko-haram-why/
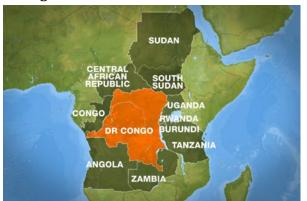
Case Study Exercise and de-Brief: DRC

Objectives
- To understand the different challenges to conflict resolution and political transition in DRC
- To apply the insights from the modules on security challenges and conflict drivers to the Congo case
- To benefit from the opportunities of small group discussions to unpack different aspects of a case.

Format
- Participants will be assigned to one of three sub-groups: crisis of political transitions; the conflict in Kasai, or the UN Organization Mission in DRC.

- **Readings identified for each of the sub-groups are required, in order to facilitate discussion.**

- As participants meet in their sub-groups, they will discuss the following:
    - The pathway to the crisis and how it evolved;
    - The challenges to peace and political development posed by each crisis;
    - The role and/or limitations for the international and regional communities to improve security.

Background

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is the largest Francophone country in Africa. Since independence in 1960, the history of the DRC has been marked by successive conflicts, weak governance, economic mismanagement and widespread corruption. With vast natural resources, the DRC has nearly 77 million inhabitants, fewer than 40% of whom live in urban areas. With 80 million hectares of arable land and over 1,100 minerals and precious metals,[46] the DRC has the potential to become one of the richest countries on the continent and a driver of African growth if it can overcome its political instability.

ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

The economic development of the DRC has been severely undermined by decades of instability and violence. Poor economic management aggravated by repeated political crises has constrained economic freedom and trapped much of the population in persistent poverty. Arbitrary taxation, poor infrastructure, marginal enforcement of property rights, and the weak rule of law have driven many people and enterprises into the informal sector, which accounts for more than 80 percent of economic activity. The Democratic Republic of Congo's economic freedom score is 52.1, making its economy the 147th freest in the 2018 Index. In Transparency International's 2017 Corruption Perceptions Index, the DRC ranked 161 out of 180 countries. The World Bank estimates GDP per capita annual income at $450, or 225th out of 237 economies surveyed. A downward trend in domestic revenue since 2014 from 14.3% of GDP to an expected 8.2% of GDP in 2017-2018—has led to a drop in public spending, and affected public investments and social sector spending.[47]

Conflict Dynamics

The Democratic Republic of Congo's present conflict dynamics date to the mid-1990s, when refugees from Rwanda's genocide fled across the border to the DRC's eastern region. However, the nearly 60 years of independence have been

QUICK FACTS

Official name: Democratic Republic of the Congo
Capital: Kinshasa
Borders: Angola, Atlantic Ocean, Burundi, Central African Republic, Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia.
Population: 77 million (World Bank 2018 est.)
Size: 2,334,858 sq. km (CIA 2018 est.)
Independence: June 30, 1960 from Belgium
Ethnic groups: over 200 African ethnic groups of which the majority are Bantu; the four largest tribes - Mongo, Luba, Kongo (all Bantu), and the Mangbetu-Azande (Hamitic) make up about 45% of the population
Languages: French (official), Lingala (a lingua franca trade language), Kingwana (a dialect of Kiswahili or Swahili), Kikongo, Tshiluba
Religion: Roman Catholic 50%, Protestant 20%, Kimbanguist 10%, Muslim 10%, other (includes syncretic sects and indigenous beliefs) 10%
GDP: USD 40 billion (2017 est.)
Minerals : Copper, gold, diamonds, cobalt, uranium, tin, tantalum, tungsten, coltan and oil
MONUSCO: Current strength (15 September 2017) 16071 military personnel, 425 military observers, 187 military staff officer

defined by instability and insecurity in several regions. With 4.5 million internally displaced and several episodes of violence, Congo faces an unprecedented humanitarian crisis. For some analysts, it underscores Congo's weak institutions, pervasive corruption in government and the security services, and poor strategies for resolving conflict.[48]

In 1994, approximately one million Rwandan Hutus fled into Congo (called Zaire at the time), which was also inhabited by Congolese Tutsi. With the influx of Rwandan Hutus, Congolese Tutsi suffered increased violence and attacks were launched at the Tutsi-led Rwandan government.[49] Congo's Tutsi (Banyamulenge) received help from the Rwandan government to defeat the Hutu refugees; the Ugandan government also offered assistance as eastern Congo served as a base for anti-Museveni forces. Laurent Desire-Kabila, long a dissident of then-President Mobutu Sese Seko, led the Congolese Tutsi in the effort to retake control of Eastern Zaire.[50]   In 1997, then-President Mobutu Sese Seko was overthrown and Kabila assumed the presidency, renaming the country the Democratic Republic of Congo. However, stability proved elusive. In 1998, regional war resumed, as Rwanda and Uganda continued to charge that their national security was threatened by the Hutus in the border region. This time, the conflict involved seven countries,[51] earning the name, "Africa's First World War." In 2001, Kabila was assassinated by his bodyguard, and replaced by his son, Joseph Kabila, who has governed ever since the 2003 peace agreement.

Crisis of Political Transition: The 2018 Elections
President Joseph Kabila's term was to have ended in 2016, after serving two terms as president. However, Kabila's government interjected several delays into the electoral process. Elections which should have taken place in November 2016, were postponed. Uncertainty has swirled around Kabila's intent to stay beyond his constitutionally permitted 2 terms. Anti-Kabila protests in Congo's large cities have resulted in nearly 300 deaths in the last three years, as protests violently clashed with security services.[52]

To address the electoral stalemate, the Catholic Church, opposition groups, and government negotiated the 2017 Saint Sylvestre Political Agreement; it requires Kabila to step down in December 2018.[53] Recently, the end of Kabila's term moved closer to reality, when the presidential coalition political party named, Emmanuel Ramazani Shadary a successor who will contest the election in December 2018. However, it is still unclear if the elections can go on as scheduled, given the delays incurred, or if Mr. Shadary will be truly independent of Kabila.[54] The division among the political opposition contributes to the tension – which has recently increased with the return of Jean-Pierre Bemba after The Hague acquitted him of war crime charges.

Unrest in Kasai
The Kasai region is one of the DRC's poorest, and usually far off the radar of politicians and diplomats in the distant capital, Kinshasa. After decades of relative peace, Kasai province has experienced conflict since 2016. The conflict started as a dispute between a traditional leader and government officials in Kinshasa, over the naming of Jean-Prince Pandi as a customary chief.[55] Pandi was not recognized by Kinshasa, as Kasai is an opposition stronghold and Pandi was linked to opposition supporters; he was subsequently killed in August 2016, which sparked the violence.[56] Pro-Pandi militia (Kamuina Nsapu) battled government security services and a pro-government militia (Bana Mura).[57]

The fighting between the government and the two militias have left 5,000 dead and a long trail of human rights abuses, including mass rapes, mutilations, and beheadings. It has resulted in 1.4 million internally displaced and 35,000 refugees into Angola. In fact, with the conflict in Kasai, the DRC has the highest number of internally displaced in Africa – 3.8 million. The situation in Kasai is further complicated as it is an opposition stronghold. As such, the government's efforts to investigate atrocities, quell the conflict, and address human rights abuses have been slow. [58] Equally pressing, the humanitarian emergency in Kasai remains poorly addressed, and one of the greatest challenges facing the donor community and the Congolese community on the ground. Violence has resulted in a 750 per cent increase in acute food insecurity across the Kasais, and loss of two agricultural seasons, further jeopardizing the food security outlook in 2018.[59]

UN Organization Stabilization Mission in DRC (MONUSCO)
The UN has deployed peacekeepers in DRC since November 1999. The current mission, the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in DRC (MONUSCO) is among the largest and most expensive UN peacekeeping missions in Africa and the world. Currently, MONUSCO is staffed with 20,600 uniformed and non-uniformed personnel (the largest peace operation in Africa is currently the African Union's mission in Somalia with 22,300 officers).[60] MONUSCO's priorities are the protection of civilians (including the protection of peaceful demonstrators) and mitigating the tension around the current political dynamics and elections.[61] Overall, its mandate "[relates to], among other things, to the protection of civilians, humanitarian personnel and human rights defenders under imminent threat of physical violence and to support the Government of the DRC in its stabilization and peace consolidation efforts." [62]

MONUSCO has faced strong criticism over the years for its failure to adequately protect civilians and respond to crises – such as in the recent violence in Kasai. A main reason for MONUSCO failure to protect civilians has been the "underperformance of soldiers form traditional troop contributing countries."[63] Accordingly, MONUSCO's renewed mandate contains provision for addressing underperforming troops. However, the peace operation must also contend with a public that does not think the mission is helping to mitigate the conflict. [64]

Required Readings:

Assessing the Unrest in Kasai
MONUSCO. 2017. "DRC: Victims' Harrowing Accounts Indication Government Complicity in Ethnic-based Massacres in Kasai – UN Report."
August 5.
https://monusco.unmissions.org/en/drc-victims%E2%80%99-harrowing-accounts-indicate-government-complicity-ethnic-based-massacres-kasai-%E2%80%93-un

DR Congo says Bodies of Escorts Killed with UN
Experts are Found. 2018. *Africa Times.* May 7.
https://africatimes.com/2018/05/07/dr-congo-says-bodies-of-escorts-killed-with-un-experts-are-found/

Congo Research Group. 2018. "Setting Fire to Your Own House." July.
http://congoresearchgroup.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Setting-Fire-to-your-Own-House-CRG-FINAL.pdf

Assessing the Electoral Dynamics
Reuben Loffan, 2017. "From Mobutu to Kabila, the DRC is Paying a Heavy Price for Autocrats at its helm," *The Conversation*. June 22.
http://theconversation.com/from-mobutu-to-kabila-the-drc-is-paying-a-heavy-price-for-autocrats-at-its-helm-79455

Africa Center for Strategic Studies. 2018. "Catholic Church Increasingly Targeted by Government Violence in the DRC." March 27.
https://africacenter.org/spotlight/catholic-church-increasingly-targeted-by-government-violence-in-the-drc/

Mvemba Dizolele. 2018. "Waiting for Democracy in Congo," *Foreign* Affairs (July).
https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/democratic-republic-congo/2018-08-17/waiting-democracy-congo.

Crisis Group, 2018. "Increasing the Stakes in Congo's Electoral Poker," June 8.
https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/democratic-republic-congo/b139-increasing-stakes-dr-congos-electoral-poker

Assessing the Challenges Facing MONUSCO
MONUSCO, "Facts and Figures,"
https://monusco.unmissions.org/en/facts-and-figures

Janina I. Steinert and Sonja Grimm. 2015. "From the Battlefield to Ballot Boxes: How Effective is the United Nations' Post-War Democracy Promotion?," *Political Violence at a Glance* (December 9).
http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2015/12/09/from-the-battlefield-to-ballot-boxes-how-effective-is-the-united-nations-post-war-democracy-promotion/

Peter Fabricus, 2017. "Is the Force Intervention Brigade still justifying its existence?," ISS Today, June 22.
https://issafrica.org/iss-today/is-the-force-intervention-brigade-still-justifying-its-existence

Thijs Van Laer, 2018. "Tough Times Ahead for UN Mission in Congo," IPI Observatory, April 26.
https://issafrica.org/iss-today/is-the-force-intervention-brigade-still-justifying-its-existence

MODULE 3: RESPONSES TO CONFLICT
The final module features plenary discussions on various responses to conflict. Plenaries will examine the actions by African governments to resolve conflict, the challenges facing the African Union and United Nation's peacekeeping operations, the conditions for successful negotiated settlements to civil conflict, and the intervention of non-US partners in resolving Africa's security challenges.

Plenary 8: National Responses to Conflict

Objectives
- Understand the varied responses by government to insecurity, with a focus Burundi's recent experiences.
- Consider how security sector reform can improve how Africa's governments respond to insecurity and protect citizens
- Discuss the relationship between national responses to conflict and regional collective security protocols

Summary

Africa, on average, does not spend more on its militaries than the rest of the world, allocating 2.1% of its GDP (the global average is 2.2%). However, the continent increased spending for the military by almost 48% between 2007 and 2016 – an increase driven by rising world prices of oil and particular commodities.[65] Despite the increased spending on security, African citizens generally feel less safe personally. Public assessments for national security have been declining, as well – correlating with the rise in terrorist activity. Moreover, there is little improvement in how African citizens rate accountability and adherence to the rule of law in the security sector.[66] These summary data indicate that Africans feel less safe overall and governments cannot credibly stave of security threats.

In a number of cases, African governments' response to national security threats have also resulted in the commission of human rights abuses against civilians. For example, in Mozambique, which in recent years experienced violent attacks from the former insurgent group, RENAMO, the government responded with its military and renewed negotiation with its (now deceased) leader, Afonso Dhlakama.[67] While the military response served to ostensibly quell the possibility of a resurgence of RENAMO, investigators charged that the state's response violated human rights.[68] Similar accusations have surrounded Nigeria's armed forces in the fight against Boko Haram: after former President Goodluck Jonathan issued a state of emergency, security forces not only responded to Boko Haram more aggressively, but also attacked civilians. An investigation by Amnesty International revealed that between 2012 and 2015, Nigeria's security forces were responsible for 1,200 extrajudicial deaths of civilians; 20,000 arbitrary arrests; and 7,000 deaths of people in detention due to abhorrent conditions and neglect.[69]

Burundi

The case of Burundi serves as to understand the mechanism by which an African state has responded to growing insecurity and a threat to the regime, and the regional protocols in place to reinforce collective security. In April 2015, Burundi's President Pierre Nkurunziza declared his intention to run for a third term, in contravention of the 2000 Arusha Accords, which limit presidential terms to two. Demonstrations against Nkurunziza's third term took place regularly, despite the violent repression by security services. With a year, nearly 400 were killed and about 250,000 fled to neighboring countries.[70]

Attempts by the African Union and the East African Community to intervene failed. In December 2015, the AU voted to deploy a 5,000-strong mission to Burundi, but Nkurunziza challenged the decision. Even a scaled down AU response that consisted of the deployment of a five heads of

state were unsuccessful in mediating the situation.[71] A similar mediation effort, intended to foster intra-Burundi dialogue, spearheaded by the East African Community has also failed.[72] Refugees, now numbering 400,000, have continued to cross into neighboring countries.[73] In May 2018, Burundians approved a referendum allowing President Nkrunziza to stay in power until 2034.

Questions to Consider:
1. What should security sector focus on to ensure that Africa's governments are able to both respond to security threats and protect their citizens?
2. How can international foreign policies provide support to improve security sector governance in African states?
3. How can the concept of human security be institutionalized and operationalized?

Recommended Readings:
Ibrahim Index of African Governance. 2017. "*Safety and Rule of Law,*" p. 25-42.
http://s.mo.ibrahim.foundation/u/2017/11/21165610/2017-IIAG-Report.pdf?_ga=2.144292533.1413907401.1533655018-519323262.1515011918

Patrick Hajayandi. 2016. "The Burundi Political Crisis: Strategies for Resisting the War Entrepreneurs." *IJR Policy Brief* , No. 19 (April).
http://www.ijr.org.za/staff/patrick-hajayandi/

Plenary 9: Peacekeeping in Africa: Africa's Peace and Security Architecture & the United Nations

Objectives
- Provide an overview of the status of UN peacekeeping in Africa and the challenges it faces.
- Review key regional and sub-regional initiatives to foster peace and security
- Identify opportunities for effective partnership between the UN and institutions of Africa's peace and security architecture to end conflict.

Summary

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 relies heavily on external partners to fund peace operations; in 2017, 98% of peace operations were externally funded.[74] 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.[75]

Questions to Consider:
1. How viable is the ASF as a peacekeeping initiative?
2. What are advantages and disadvantages of regional actors responding to crises?
3. What are the major obstacles that the AU's PSC facing in bringing the ASF concept to full operational capability?
4. 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 10: Negotiated Settlements in Conflict Resolution

Objectives
- Discuss the challenges of implementing peace agreements, with a particular focus on Mali
- Unpack how different incentive structures can compel compliance with peace agreements
- Consider how inclusion of different stakeholders – in particular women – affect the prospects for peace.

Summary

Since the end of the Cold War, negotiated settlements have grown as a method for settling civil war: whereas between 1945 and 1987, civil wars were mediated about 24% of the time, from 1988 – 2015, 73% of civil wars were mediated.[76] While new research indicates that the presence of terrorist groups in civil wars in the last 15 years has reduced mediation, [77] the establishment of a norm for negotiated settlements over military victory, as a means to terminate civil wars, remains. However, negotiated settlements fail about 40% of the time.[78] In an attempt to understand the gaps in mediating peace agreements, scholars have focused of the importance of power sharing and the guarantee of security, economic opportunity, or political access;[79] the timing of specific aspects of a peace agreement;[80] providing a guarantee of security through the provision of peacekeepers;[81] and the degree of social inclusivity – with the inclusion of women in the peace process specifically.[82]

Many current civil wars are not new, but a resurgence of previous conflicts. In fact, a country's greatest risk factor for civil war is whether a civil war has taken place in the past – as high as 90% for the more recent civil wars in the 2000s.[83] The high recurrence of civil wars reflects the failure of negotiated settlements and the peacebuilding period to successfully consolidate peace. To break the cycle of conflict, research suggests a peacebuilding process focuses on political inclusivity – such as power sharing to ensuring a level political playing field and ensuring that gender perspectives are represented in the peacemaking and peacebuilding phases. Political inclusion can bestow legitimacy and improve the capacity of a government, which in turn help to consolidate peace.[84]

Mali

Mali's current unrest in the northern regions represents the fourth time Tuaregs have rebelled since 1960. It represents the difficulties of establishing durable peace -- manifesting the many challenges present in the implementation of negotiated settlements. Mali's military coup in 2012 left a power and political vacuum in the midst of a worsening rebellion by the country's Tuareg community, which coincided with the collapse of Libya that sent many armed Tuaregs home to Mali. As the military coup allowed the Tuareg rebels to quickly control the north and form alliances with militant Islamists, the region pushed for a political agreement.

In May 2015, the Malian government and the Coordination of Azawad Movements (CMA) and the Platform of armed groups (the Platform) signed the Algiers Accord. In many ways, the provisions and expressed grievances of the Algiers Accord did not differ greatly from other peace agreements drawn to quell previous rebellions. Like the previous agreement, the Algiers Accord

emphasized the need for political and economic inclusion of the northern regions primarily.[85] To date, the Accord, like those before it, remains largely unimplemented.[86]

While Mali's conflict embodies many of the challenges that have plagues other conflicts in Africa, it also reflects the changing security landscape with its influx of violent extremist groups. Since 2010, the number of violent Islamists groups in Mali have increased dramatically.[87] Moreover, the conflict has become internationalized – drawing in French military intervention (Operation Barkhane) and the militaries of neighboring countries (G5 Sahel) to stop the spread of violent extremist groups. The United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) has become one of the world's deadliest peacekeeping missions, as peacekeeping officers find themselves ill-equipped to counter the tactics of violent extremist groups.[88]

Questions to Consider:
1. How can negotiated settlements more effectively contribute to durable peace?
2. How can increasing the stakeholders in peace process be operationalized?
3. What incentive structures are most effective in sustaining peace?

Recommended Readings:
Gaudence Nyirabikali (2015). "Mali Peace Accord: Actors, Issues and their Representation," *SIPRI* (August 15).
https://www.sipri.org/node/385

Desirée Nilsson (2012). "Anchoring the Peace: Civil Society Actors in Peace Accords and Durable Peace," *International Interactions*, 38:2, 243-266, DOI: 10.1080/03050629.2012.659139;

Marie O'Reilly et al (2015). "Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes," *International Peace Institute* (June).
https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/IPI-E-pub-Reimagining-Peacemaking.pdf

Plenary 11: Africa's External Security Partners: China and the EU

Objectives
- Discuss the nature of security-related collaboration between the European Union and Africa
- Discuss the nature of security-related collaboration between the China and Africa
- Interrogate how evolving relationships with new and long-standing external partners impacts US-Africa relations

Summary
Africa's largest trading partners are the United States, China, and the European Union (EU).[89] Trade relationships do not always translate to security partnerships, but Africa's military relationships are evolving. Examining the EU and China's roles in addressing Africa's security challenges lends insight to different foreign policy priorities.

European Union
European nations have long standing ties with Africa. Before colonialism, ties with the African continent encompassed trade (both licit and illicit), travel and defense, and laid the foundation for the varying modes of governance that emerged during colonization. Since independence, Europe's relationship with African states has evolved in five important ways. First, the prior focus on state-centric relationships is changing to include human security, humanitarianism and peace support operations. Second, the practice of appointing European technical advisors and support staff is giving way to an increased focus on training, capacity building and institutional strengthening. Third, Europe is more willing to intervene in cases of human rights violations, broadly consistent with the responsibility to protect 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 a focus on bilateral relationships to an acceptance to support African regional institutions and initiatives.

The December 2007 Joint Africa-EU Strategy (JAES) underpins most of the EU's collaboration with Africa. While the JAES does not replace bilateral and regional programs, it 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 research networks; (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.[90]

The JAES has been a welcome change, but relatively weak coordination and overly bureaucratic processes have limited the strategy's effectiveness. 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.

China
China is increasingly coordinating its engagement with Africa under its Belt and Road Initiative, a global infrastructure investment and foreign policy strategy.[91] China-Africa trade, which

exceeds $200 billion, China is Africa's largest trading partner.[92]   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. Recently, China built a military base in Djibouti, joining the U.S., Japan, and France.[93]   China's increased focus on security stems from needing to protect investments from the disruptions and damage caused by conflict, as well as Chinese citizens working in Africa and China's global reputation.

China has also increased its participation in UN peacekeeping.[94] Of China's approximately 2,500 troops in UN peacekeeping missions, almost 85% are in Africa; of those, nearly 50% are in the peacekeeping missions in South Sudan and Darfur.[95]   In South Sudan, China contributed its first ever infantry battalion to a UN peacekeeping mission, and has been active in the mediation process in the internal conflict.   South Sudan's internal conflict has been particularly worrisome for China, given the level of violence and its investment in the country: in 2013, at the time civil war broke out in South Sudan, there were 100 Chinese companies in the country.[96].

Questions to Consider:
1. Which aspects of the EU and China's security relationship with Africa reflect Africa's priorities?
2. How can African countries optimize their partnership with the EU and China?
3. What motivates the EU and China's to provide security assistance to Africa?

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