



AFRICA CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

**Contemporary Security Challenges in the Horn of Africa
10 - 12 October 2017
Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti**

READ AHEAD

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Map of Africa.....	2
Map of the Greater Horn of Africa Region.....	3
Overview of the Africa Center for Strategic Studies	4
Session 1: Ethnicity, Governance and Stability in East and Central Africa	5
Session 2: Democracy and Governance in Post-Authoritarian Transitions	8
Session 3: How Terrorism Ends in the Horn of Africa.....	10
Session 4: Foreign Assistance: Nature, Trends and Prospects.....	13
Session 5: Role of Islam in Shaping Africa’s Strategic Environment	16
Session 6: China in the Horn of Africa.....	18
List of Useful Sources.....	20

INTRODUCTION

Welcome to the October 2018 Contemporary Security Challenges in the Horn of Africa seminar, which is designed to provide you with an enhanced knowledge of the security landscape in this sub-region. The topics for this seminar were selected by CJTH-HoA leadership to better prepare staff to understand and navigate the complexities of security threats and challenges in the Horn of Africa. The seminar will examine key drivers and dynamics, including: governance, religion, ethnicity, and extremism. Attention will also be paid to the role of external actors via foreign assistance (development and security assistance), as well as direct bilateral engagement with China. We aim to provide you with a strategic level context that could enhance your work. You will be introduced to recent scholarship relating to Africa's security sector, challenged to think outside the box, and encouraged to think critically about appropriate policy and practice.

In our view, the seminar will be successful only if there is honest analysis and productive dialogue. You are encouraged to challenge the analyses and content in all the material we provide. We aim to foster a healthy dialogue on the security challenges under discussion, which in turn will help you forge realistic and effective programs and strategies. 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.

Your feedback is invaluable. It helps us know the extent to which we met your expectations and plays an important part in the design of future programs. You will receive evaluation forms on the first day, and we ask that you complete the session evaluations at the end of each day. We will end the program with an Evaluation Session on October 18 at which time we will collect the forms. Our staff will be available to assist.

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 foster a sense of partnership in the pursuit of our common interests in a prosperous, peaceful Africa. Let us know if you would like to be put in touch with ACSS alumni in specific countries in the Horn of Africa.

Thank you for participating in this seminar.

We look forward to seeing you in Djibouti!

MAP OF AFRICA



Source: CIA World Factbook (https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/graphics/ref_maps/political/pdf/africa.pdf)

MAP OF THE GREATER HORN OF AFRICA REGION



Source: CIA World Factbook (https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/graphics/ref_maps/political/pdf/africa.pdf)

OVERVIEW OF THE AFRICA CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

Objective:

- Provide an overview of the Africa Center.

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 its inception in 1999, the Africa Center has provided academic-style programs for security-related professionals working in (or on) Africa to identify and evaluate current and emerging security challenges across the continent. We also explore remedial strategies for national and regional security. Using a peer-learning model we seek to reinforce internationally-recognized sound practice. The Africa Center's community chapter program promotes productive networking among former participants, affording them an opportunity to continue dialoguing and collaborating on key security issues after 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 programing: an academic approach, partnership, consultation, academic freedom, and non-attribution. We believe that security challenges can be resolved only by asking difficult questions and searching sincerely and creatively for solutions that are appropriate, effective and sustainable. The Africa Center's vision statement, "Security for all Africans championed by effective institutions accountable to their people," underpins our educational philosophy. It helps us focus on building capacity, strengthening institutions, promoting accountability and improving the lives and livelihoods of every African citizen. In doing so we rely on evidence-driven approaches, peer-learning and an applied focus.

Information about the Africa Center is available at our website: www.africacenter.org

Required Reading:

Africa Center Overview Presentation:

<https://africacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Africa-Center-Welcome.pdf>

SESSION 1: ETHNICITY, GOVERNANCE AND STABILITY IN EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA

Objectives:

- Examine the regional geopolitical dynamics that have shaped (are shaping) the relationship between the various actors, i.e., states, ethnic groups, international organizations, multinationals, and militias.
- Understand the ethnic dimension of violent conflict in the Horn of Africa, both as a factor that frames politics but also in the context of security discourses.
- Analyze the factors that undermine good governance and the rule of law in the Horn of Africa.

Background:

East and Central Africa continue to make headlines for what now appears to be chronic instability. Over the last five decades, this region has seen genocides, ethnic violence, land disputes, civil war, cross-border conflict and a multi-national war. This is particularly true of Somalia, Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo, countries that have been affected by one or many of these destabilizing factors. Angola, Congo-Brazzaville, Chad, Central African Republic and South Sudan have not fared better. This session introduces participants to the main issues affecting peace, stability and development in the region with emphasis on the Great Lakes sub-region.

The region's security challenges flow from the failure by respective governments to embrace good governance and democratic practices, and from their inability to effectively manage ethnic diversity. As a confluence of cultures represented by the major African linguistic groups – Nilo-Saharan, Bantu and Afro-Asiatic (Cushitic/Hamitic) – this region is rich in ethnic diversity. The colonial encounter forged multiethnic states, with some ethnic groups straddling international borders. The embrace by the Organization of African (AU's predecessor) of the doctrine of *uti possidetis*, which was driven by the need to avoid chaos and anarchy legitimized these borders with restless communities on either side. These borders define states that slid into authoritarianism under one one-party rule, armed conflict, impunity and prolonged instability soon after decolonization in the 1960s, only to reluctantly rejoin the democratization track with the wave of democratization that followed the fall of the Berlin Wall. The institutionalization of these norms has proceeded at a slow pace, with regressions marking the process of democratization. Ultimately, 'Big Man' politics have been difficult to erase.

On Ethnicity and Security:

How ethnicity is understood?

- Ethnicity and identity
- Why ethnicity matters; political mobilization; access to social goods and social exclusion and marginalization;
- Linkages between failure to manage ethnic dynamics and insecurity
- Institutional mechanisms for managing ethnicity: ethnic federalism (Ethiopia); devolution and mandated diversity in the public service (the Kenyan paradox); limited autonomy

(Somalia, South Sudan and the emasculated states), sanctioned forgetting and erasure (Rwanda).

Important considerations:

- Why does understanding ethnicity matter in a modern state?
- To what extent do ethnic dynamics underpin instability in the Horn of Africa?
- How can we intervene to facilitate better management of ethnic diversity?
- How 'negative ethnicity' amplifies the effects of poor governance.

The region faces multiple security challenges – armed conflict or insurgency (in Sudan, South Sudan, Burundi, DRC, Somalia), electoral/ political violence (Kenya, Somalia, Ethiopia, Tanzania, DRC), terrorism and violent extremism, trafficking (human and drugs) and international crimes (piracy, war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide). Many of these challenges can be directly attributed in large part to poor governance practices and suppression of free democratic expression through the imposition of ethnic hegemonies, sometimes by minority groups. The geo-strategic importance of this region is driven by external security and economic interests. This dynamic has, at times, strengthened the hand of hegemonic ethnic elites who reject an all-embracing citizen-centric security framework in favor of a regime- or ethnic-centric security prism. To be effective, external interventions must grapple with an offer and adequate response to these two major factors, which also play out in the security sectors in these countries.

Discussion Questions:

1. Is ethnic diversity an asset or liability?
2. How does ethnicity shape governance?
3. What are the drivers of good governance and stability in ethnically-diverse countries?

Required Readings:

Kidane Mengistu, 'Critical factors in the Horn of Africa's raging conflicts' available at http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/6670~v~Critical_Factors_in_the_Horn_of_Africa_s_Raging_Conflicts.pdf

Robert A. Dowd and Michael Driessen. "Ethnically Dominated Party Systems And The Quality Of Democracy: Evidence From Sub-Saharan Africa," Afrobarometer Working Paper No. 92, 2008, at: <http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Working%20paper/AfropaperNo92.pdf>

Recommended Readings:

George Mukundi, ICJ-Kenya, Ethnicity, Human Rights and Constitutionalism in Africa Nairobi, ICJ-Kenya, 2008 available at http://www.icj-kenya.org/jdownloads/Publications/Ethnicity_Book.pdf

Ali, Mohammed Hassen and Selassie, Bereket Hebeta and Samatar, Ahmed and Metaferia, Getachew, 'Beyond Chronic Wretchedness in the Horn of Africa: New Perspective?' (April 8, 2013). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2247148>

Handrahan, Lori. "Conflict, gender, ethnicity and post-conflict reconstruction." *Security Dialogue* 35.4 (2004): 429-445.
<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0967010604049521>

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 1 (Feb., 2003), pp. 75-90.
<https://web.stanford.edu/group/ethnic/workingpapers/apsa011.pdf>

Reyntjens, Filip, The privatisation and criminalisation of public space in the geopolitics of the Great Lakes region, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 43, 4 (2005), pp. 587-607.
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/S0022278X05001230>

SESSION 2: DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE IN POST-AUTHORITARIAN TRANSITIONS

Objectives:

- Provide a historical background of political and economic developments in the region as democratization falters.
- Examine the failure of security sector reform, the lack of political will and leadership required for institution-building.
- Analyze the role that international institutions and actors have played in maintaining, perpetrating or changing governance dynamics.

Background:

The Democratic Movement of the 1990's following the fall of the Berlin Wall impacted African politics in ways that significantly weakened many of the strong regimes across the continent. But the wave of democratization did not rid the continent of its strongmen. On one hand, countries like Benin, Zambia, Malawi and Senegal voted out the incumbents and embraced democratic change. On the other hand, countries, such as the Republic of Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Angola, Rwanda, Chad, Zimbabwe and Gabon, grappled with the democratic process unsuccessfully and experienced various degrees of conflict and instability.

Today, Africa is divided along fault lines that reflect these differences, a reality that stifles Africa's opportunities for peace, stability, economic development and prosperity. West African countries, through ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States), have adopted democracy as a governance principle and a binding condition for regional integration. For the most part, political leaders in this region are committed to democracy and ensure that ECOWAS members abide by that understanding. Despite some progress on the economic front with the advent of the East African Community (EAC), East Africa is a mixture of authoritarian regimes, i.e., Ethiopia, Rwanda and Eritrea, dictatorships in Burundi and Uganda, a democracy in Tanzania and the failed state of Somalia. In Southern Africa, the Southern African Development Community, like the EAC, is an assortment of authoritarian regimes, i.e., Zimbabwe, dictatorships like Angola and Swaziland, and democratic systems in Namibia, Mozambique and South Africa. The slow pace of democratization in Central Africa means that security forces and law enforcement institutions are directly at the service of the political regimes, not at the service of the country or the populations. As a result, the state itself is a source of insecurity and conflict remains across the region, i.e., Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan, Republic of Congo, and Burundi.

The current regional security crisis lies at the intersection of weak political leadership, lack of democratization and lack of robust security reform initiatives. Political leaders in the region lack legitimacy and hold power at the barrel of the gun. The legitimacy crisis has negative ramifications on the tenuous security challenges and economic development with dire consequences for the populations. With these conditions in place, Africans cannot enjoy the benefits of their countries' natural wealth. With these contested mandates, political regimes are more interested in self-preservation and survival and pay little to no attention to governance and public service delivery.

Discussion Questions:

1. What are the obstacles to successful post-authoritarian transitions in Africa?
2. Is democracy a prerequisite for good governance and economic development?
3. Why has it been difficult for democracy to take hold in post-authoritarian transitions?

Required Reading:

Daniel Posner & Daniel Young, "The Institutionalization of Political Power in Africa," *Journal of Democracy*, 18(3), 2007: 126-140.

<http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/article/institutionalization-political-power-africa>

Recommended Readings:

Eastern Congo Initiative, et al, The Democratic Republic of Congo: Taking a Stand on Security Sector Reform, April 2012. http://easterncongo.s3.amazonaws.com/79/02/5/114/DRC_SSR-Report_20123.pdf

Gettleman, Jeffrey, The Global Elite's Favorite Strongman, *The New York Times*, September 4, 2013 <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/08/magazine/paul-kagame-rwanda.html?mcubz=3>

SESSION 3: EFFECTIVENESS OF COUNTERTERRORISM RESPONSES IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

Objectives:

- Understand the current terrorist environment in the Horn of Africa within its historical context.
- Examine nature of counterterrorism responses (broadly defined) within the region.
- Analyze how counterterrorism efforts could contribute to the end of terrorism within the region.

Background:

Terrorism in East Africa occurs in a geopolitical context characterized by weak states and dominated by authoritarian governments. Historically, aggrieved groups have lacked avenues for peaceful expression of dissent, while state governments in the region have typically met dissent with repression. Furthermore, governments in the region are highly corrupt, while lacking control over their hinterlands and borders, which frequently are typified by informal governance structures. Large populations of displaced persons and refugees (from long histories of conflict) live throughout the region. Internal politics suffer from ethnic, tribal and clan divisions. And state-to-state relations are often tense as well.

Terrorism in the countries in the CJTF-HoA's area of operations is a relatively recent phenomenon, dating from the 1990s. The Lord's Resistance Army (and its predecessor organizations) was among the earliest manifestations. Although its fighting strength has diminished substantially in recent years, it remains one of the longest lasting perpetrator groups in the region. Al-Shabaab has been the deadliest and the most active in terms of number of attacks. Al-Shabaab is the only group to have more than 10 attacks attributed to it in START's Global Terrorism Database in the last five years (2013-2017), during which time nearly 2,300 attacks have been attributed to it. It is, without a doubt, the largest terrorism challenge in the region.

The literature on counter-terrorism suggests that kinetic responses – applied in isolation – are ineffective in reducing terrorist violence over the long term. Rather, multiple responses that span both coercive and cooperative strategies are generally needed for long-term success against not only individual terrorist groups but also the broader movements they represent. Thus, a focus on the full spectrum of influence is recommended, which can include the below categories of activities:

- Coercion (that is, the use of force or threat of force);
- Deterrence (that is, policies that increase the potential costs of carrying out terrorist attacks, such as increasing police or military presence or surveillance, increasing legal penalties for terrorist attacks or providing material support, or even policies that entail collective punishment);
- Cooptation (such as policies meant to “buy off” potential leaders or influential members of violent groups or nonviolent dissidents);
- Grievance alleviation (which includes policies that make concessions to some of the demands of groups or more general policies that try to improve conditions within communities that are subject to recruitment);

- Delegitimization (which could include messaging that points out flaws, incompetency, or hypocrisy within leadership of violent groups or messaging that seeks to de-romanticize violent lifestyles); and
- Incentivization of non-violent alternatives (which covers policies that protect non-violent protest or guarantee access to decision-making for non-violent dissidents).

Again, these are not mutually exclusive options. Instead, the above list represents a menu of options – of which any one option is likely insufficient and the most effective combination of options may vary from scenario to scenario.

During this session the above topics will be explored and then applied to the cases of the Lord’s Resistance Army – the longest enduring group in the region – and al-Shabaab – the deadliest group in the region.

Discussion Questions:

1. Given the geopolitical environment in the Horn of Africa, what policy levers/approaches to influencing violent extremist organization are possible?
2. Of these possible approaches, which policies are more likely to lead to more desirable outcomes as opposed to terrorist success or transition to other forms of illegality?
3. Where and to what degree can the United States, and CJTF-HoA in particular, influence policies undertaken to counter violent extremist organizations in the region?

Recommended Readings:

Marisha Ramdeen (21 July 2017) “Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism in Africa” Africa Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes, <http://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/countering-terrorism-violent-extremism-africa/>

Mustafa Bananay (21 March 2017) “Can Military Might Alone Defeat al-Shabaab?” IPI Global Observatory, <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2017/03/al-shabaab-amisom-extremism-afgoye/>

Recommended Readings:

Stephen F. Burgess (2015) “Comparative Challenges in Securing the Horn of Africa and Sahara,” *Comparative Strategy*, 34:2, 202-217, DOI: 10.1080/01495933.2015.1017381

Martha Crenshaw (1991) “How terrorism declines,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 3:1, 69-87, DOI: 10.1080/09546559108427093.

Audrey Kurth Cronin (2011) *How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (Introduction available online: <https://press.princeton.edu/titles/9012.html>)

“Al Shabaab,” Mapping Militant Organizations, Stanford University, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/61>

Pamela Faber (April 2017) "Sources of Resilience in the Lord's Resistance Army," CNA Occasional Paper, https://www.cna.org/cna_files/pdf/DOP-2017-U-015265-Final.pdf

Louise Wiuff Moe (2018) "Counter-insurgency in the Somali territories: the 'grey zone' between peace and pacification," *International Affairs*, 94:2, 310-341.

"Terrorism and Violent Extremism in Africa," (14 July 2016), Congressional Research Service.

Alex S. Wilner (2010) "Targeted Killings in Afghanistan: Measuring Coercion and Deterrence in Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 33:4, 307-329, DOI: 10.1080/10576100903582543

SESSION 4: FOREIGN ASSISTANCE: NATURE, TRENDS AND PROSPECTS

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.

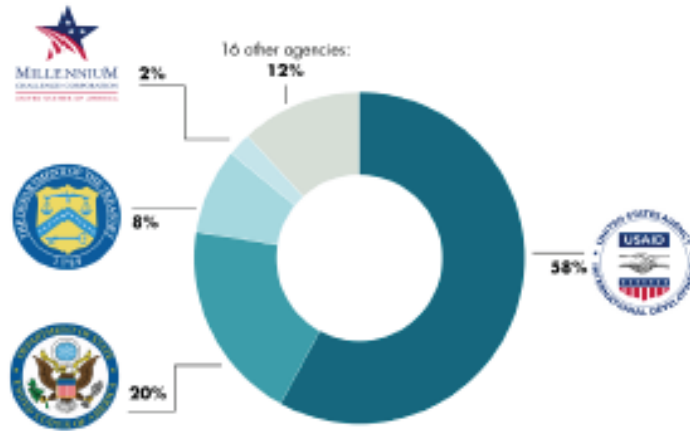
Background:

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 amongst themselves, to identify areas of comparative advantage or alignment with African objectives and realities. This mis-match 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. 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.

2.1.1. Top 10 ODA receipts by recipient USD million, net disbursements in 2014				2.1.2. Top 10 ODA donors USD million, net disbursements in 2014			
1	Ethiopia	3 585	7%	1	United States	9 338	17%
2	Egypt	3 532	7%	2	EU Institutions	6 737	12%
3	Kenya	2 665	5%	3	IDA	6 388	12%
4	Tanzania	2 648	5%	4	United Kingdom	4 348	8%
5	Nigeria	2 478	5%	5	United Arab Emirates	3 787	7%
6	Democratic Republic of the Congo	2 308	4%	6	Germany	3 018	6%
7	Morocco	2 247	4%	7	France	2 920	5%
8	Mozambique	2 103	4%	8	African Dev. Bank	2 042	4%
9	South Sudan	1 964	4%	9	Global Fund	1 957	4%
10	Uganda	1 633	3%	10	Japan	1 558	3%
	Other recipients	28 041	53%		Other donors	12 068	22%
	Total	54 193	100%		Total	54 193	100%

Figure 1: Implementation of US Foreign Assistance, FY2015²



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:

1. How can African governments and their external partners coordinate security needs, accountability requirements, and donations?
2. How can African countries address waste and corruption?
3. How well are African countries managing the deepening partnerships with traditional and emerging economic powers?
4. What strategies should African countries employ to ensure that African interests are considered on a level basis with those of external actors?

Required Readings:

US Foreign Assistance Agency Briefs: Introduction, Center for Global Development, April 2017, <https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/introduction-foreign-assistance-agency-briefs.pdf>

Watts, Steve. "Identifying and Mitigating Risks in Security Sector Assistance for Africa's Fragile States". Rand Corporation 2015. http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR808.html

Recommended Readings:

Hampton, Daniel. "Creating Sustainable Peacekeeping Capability in Africa". Africa Center for Strategic Studies, 2014 <http://africacenter.org/publication/creating-sustainable-peacekeeping-capability-in-africa/>

World Development Report 2011. "Conflict, Security, and Development". World Bank. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDRS/Resources/WDR2011_Overview.pdf

Yankey-Wayne, Valerie. "Effective Management of External Support to Security Sector Reform," 2016. <https://www.slideshare.net/ValerieYankeyWayne/effective-management-of-external-support-to-security-sector-reformwestafricatoolkit>

OECD: Evaluation of the Paris Declaration. Country ownership of development: Political correctness or a practical key to better aid? <https://www.oecd.org/dac/evaluation/dcdndep/48704765.pdf>

Overseas Development Institute, David Booth: "Aid effectiveness: bringing country ownership (and politics) back in." <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/6028.pdf>

MFAN (2017) Discussion Draft: A New Foreign Aid Architecture Fit for Purpose <http://modernizeaid.net/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/MFAN-Co-Chair-Aid-Architecture-Discussion-Draft-.pdf>

<https://www.foreignassistance.gov/>

<http://securityassistance.org/>

SESSION 5: ROLE OF ISLAM IN SHAPING THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

Objectives:

- Provide a broad understanding of the introduction and growth of Islam in East Africa.
- Examine and analyze Muslim demographics (and consequent socio-political dynamics) in East Africa.
- Highlight how Muslim religious identity is framed within the region and how these frames influence intra- and inter-state relations.
- Explore the extent to which Islam within the region is influenced by Islamic actors (state and non-state) acting from outside the region.

Background:

Islam first arrived in East Africa in the eighth century by way of trade and other interactions within the Indian Ocean system, and experts estimate that by the 13th century, it was the majority religion in the littoral regions dominated by Swahili settlements and “city-states.” However, Islam didn’t spread to the interior to a meaningful degree until the 18th century. The current demographic distribution of Muslim populations within East Africa reflects this early history, with littoral areas more likely to be majority Muslim or with significant Muslim minorities, while Muslims are typically small minorities in interior regions.

Islam shapes the strategic environment of East Africa via multiple mechanisms. First, at both the domestic and international levels, Islam operates as a politics of identity. Within domestic spaces, Muslims may mobilize jointly for collective (and especially political) action using their religious identity as a mobilization frame. Note that this type of identity politics in no way requires such groups to advocate for the Islamization of the state or society. Within African spaces (including East African), you see Muslim minorities (frequently of diverse ethnic or tribal affiliations) deploy Muslim identity in this way, especially in reaction to elite narratives framing Muslims as “other” or the nature of the state as Christian. This dynamic has been observed in recent years within Côte d’Ivoire and among Muslims living on the Kenyan coast.

At the international level, Muslim identity may be deployed to elicit solidarity, including political and/or humanitarian support. The various humanitarian crises in East Africa in the 1980 and 1990s, for example, saw Muslim identity being deployed to solicit aid from majority-Muslim Middle Eastern countries. These mechanisms help shape how Muslim East Africans view in-groups versus out-groups and allies versus potential opponents. This politics of identity can even operate at the interstate level when governments deploy opposing religious identities.

Discourse – and contention – about political Islamization also shapes the strategic environment within the African context. Sharp debates about the role of Islamic law and courts, for example, have emerged as some African states – including Nigeria and Kenya – have gone through democratization. (This debate has also been a central feature of the political discourse in post-Arab Spring states in North Africa.) This discourse and contention is also a feature of militant Islamist movements in the region. And again, the debate about Islamization operates at a domestic level, shaping political alliances and oppositions, but also operates at the transnational level as both proponents and opponents of Islamization connect to and draw on resources (rhetorical and material) from outside the region.

Importantly, both Islam as identity politics and discourse surrounding Islamization may fuel militant movements as well as provide mechanisms for peaceable debate that should characterize democratic polities, depending on local dynamics and the response both by domestic governments and international actors. This lecture, in addition to outlining the different ways Islam shapes the strategic environment, will encourage discussion surrounding how U.S. actions (and those of partners) can influence resort to violence versus reliance on non-violent forms of contention and debate.

Discussion Questions:

1. How does Muslim identity work differently in those countries where Islam is the majority religion versus where it is the minority religion?
2. How do external actors influence/shape Muslim religious practice and Islamic discourse in East Africa?
3. What are ways for Western governments, actors, NGOs, etc. to more constructively engage with Muslim identity politics and discourses around Islamization?

Required Readings

Abdisaid M.Ali (9 August 2016) "Islamist Extremism in East Africa," *Africa Security Brief No. 32*, Africa Center for Strategic Studies. <https://africacenter.org/publication/islamist-extremism-east-africa/>

Terje Østebø (2010) "Islamism in the Horn of Africa: Assessing Ideology, Actors, and Objectives," Oslo, Norway: International Law and Policy Institute. https://ilpi.org/wp-content/uploads/0202/06/Islamism_in_the_Horn_ILPI_Report-libre.pdf

Recommended Readings

Abdulkader Tayob (2012) "Politics and Islamization in African Public Spheres," *Islamic Africa* 3:2, 139-168.

David Dickson (2005) "Political Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Need for a New Research and Diplomatic Agenda," Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace. <https://www.usip.org/publications/2005/05/political-islam-sub-saharan-africa-need-new-research-and-diplomatic-agenda>

Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life (2010) "Tolerance and Tension: Islam and Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa," Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. <http://www.pewforum.org/2010/04/15/executive-summary-islam-and-christianity-in-sub-saharan-africa/>

SESSION 6: CHINA IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

Objectives:

- Analyze the evolving relationship between China and the African continent.
- Examine the current nature and scope of security-related collaboration between the China and countries in the Horn of Africa.
- Determine how China's partnerships with Africa address security needs.

Background

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.

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. 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. 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.

The latest Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) took place in early September, 2018 and demonstrated continued largescale Chinese commitments to Africa, although unlike previous FOCACs the commitment size did not significantly increase in 2018. Xi outlined a total commitment of \$60 billion, including \$20 billion in new credit lines, \$15 billion in foreign aid including grants, interest-free loans and concessional loans, \$10 billion for a special fund for development financing, \$5 billion for a special fund for financing imports from Africa. Remaining \$10 billion to come from private Chinese investors. China's 2018 FOCAC commitment also included a substantial training program including establishing 10 Luban Workshops in Africa to offer vocational training, technical training for 1,000 Africans, and 50,000 government scholarships. They will also sponsor seminar and workshop opportunities for 50,000 Africans and invite 2,000 African youths to visit China for exchanges.

Discussion Questions:

1. What are the critical aspects of China's security relationship in the Horn of Africa?
2. Do China's security-related partnerships address regional security priorities?
3. What are China's motivations for providing security-related assistance to Africa?

Required Readings:

Albert, Eleanor (2017) Backgrounder: China in Africa, Council on Foreign Relations
<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/china-africa>

China's Africa Policy
http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-12/04/c_134886545.htm

Recommended Readings:

China's 2018 financial commitments to Africa: Adjustment and recalibration.
<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2018/09/05/chinas-2018-financial-commitments-to-africa-adjustment-and-recalibration/>

Brautigam, Deborah (2015), 5 Myths About Chinese Investment in Africa, Foreign Policy
<http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/12/04/5-myths-about-chinese-investment-in-africa/>

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&#.V8nPpfR-70).

China's Africa Policy
<http://www.focac.org/eng/zt/zgdfzccwj/t230479.htm>

China's FOCAC Financial Package for Africa 2018: Four Facts
<http://www.chinaafricarealstory.com/2018/09/chinas-focac-financial-package-for.html?sref=tw>

China in Africa: The Real Story. The China Africa Research Initiative.
<http://www.chinaafricarealstory.com/>

LIST OF USEFUL SOURCES

This list of publicly available open source resources could support your appreciation of African security before, during and after the program. This list, compiled by ACSS is not exhaustive. It should complement the information in this seminar and could be an invaluable resource in the future.

News Clips and Services

- ACSS Daily Media Review: Our selected articles from the day, also available as a morning email brief <https://africacenter.org/daily-media-review/africa-media-review-for-september-26-2017/>
- Africa Confidential: Detailed reporting and analysis, <https://www.africa-confidential.com/news>
- Africa News: Africa specific news service, covering the whole continent, <http://www.africanews.com/>
- All Africa: Aggregated news from across the continent, <http://allafrica.com/>
- BBC Africa: news and analysis on African issues, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world/africa>
- Jeune Afrique: News service focusing on Francophone Africa (French language), <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/452043/societe/proces-de-laurent-gbagbo-devant-cpi-avocats-de-letat-de-cote-divoire-sexprimant/>
- The Guardian Africa: News coverage and commentary, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/africa>
- Reuters Africa: Breaking news from across the continent, <https://af.reuters.com/>
- Voice of America, Africa: News and analysis on African issues, <https://www.voanews.com/p/5749.html>
- Xinhua: Chinese state news perspective on Africa, <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/africa/>

Data Sources

- **Violent Conflict: incidents and trends**
 - ACLED: Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project, database of conflict and political violence in Africa and Asia, <https://www.acleddata.com/data/>
 - Stockholm International Peace Research Institute: keeps databases on arms transfers, defense budgets and peace operations, <https://www.sipri.org/databases>
 - Uppsala Conflict Data Program: Tracks conflicts and fatalities, <http://ucdp.uu.se/>
- **Economic and Social**
 - African Economic Outlook: Detailed economic data, <http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/home>

- UN SDGs: The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals track a broad variety of indicators of development including economic, educational, health, technological, governance, security and others, <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sustainable-development-goals.html>
 - SDG 16: Goal 16, Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions tracks data related to conflict and governance that is particularly relevant to the Horn of Africa, <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sustainable-development-goals/goal-16-peace-justice-and-strong-institutions.html>
- IMF Consultative Reports: Detailed financial and economic data by country including budget statements, <http://www.imf.org/external/country/index.htm>
- World Bank: Detailed economic data, <https://data.worldbank.org/>
 - Securing Development: World Bank report on the relationship between economics, public finances and security, <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/25138/210766ov.pdf?sequence=6&isAllowed=y>
 - WDR 2011: Annual World Bank Report, 2011 edition focused on conflict, security and development, https://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDRS/Resources/WDR2011_Full_Text.pdf
 - WDR 2017: Annual World Bank Report, 2017 edition focused on governance and the law, <http://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/wdr2017>
- UN Human Development Report: Tracking a variety of development indicators, not limited to economics, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/home>
- **Indices and Polling**
 - Afrobarometer: Polling data, <http://www.afrobarometer.org/>
 - Fragile State Index: Tracking state fragility, <http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/>
 - Freedom House: Detailed tracking of freedom and repression using a variety of indicators, <https://freedomhouse.org/regions/sub-saharan-africa>
 - Gallup: Polling data and polling based analytics from around the world, http://news.gallup.com/topic/sub_saharan_africa.aspx
 - Mo Ibrahim Index: Index assessing African governance based on diverse indicators, <http://mo.ibrahim.foundation/iiag/>
 - Global Peace Index: Institute For Economics and Peace tracks economic indicators for peacebuilding and risks of conflict, <http://visionofhumanity.org/reports/>
 - Transparency International: Detailed corruption tracking using a variety of indicators, <https://www.transparency.org/>
- **Security Assistance Spending**
 - The Military Balance: Analysis and data on militaries and their capabilities around the world (some subscription only sections) <http://www.iiss.org/en/publications/military-s-balance>
 - Security Assistance Monitor: Tracks US security assistance by country and provides analysis and commentary, <http://securityassistance.org/>

- 1206 Reports on Security Assistance Monitor: Tracking the Train and Equip Authority, which is relevant to many US activities in the Horn of Africa and the continent as a whole, <http://www.securityassistance.org/content/section%201206%20train%20and%20equip%20authority>

Analysis and Commentary

- ACSS: Africa Center for Strategic Studies, our website, where we provide a wide variety of content on African security, <https://africacenter.org/>
- African Affairs: Journal focused on politics and international relations in Africa, <https://academic.oup.com/afraf>
- African Arguments: Commentary on a variety of African issues, <http://africanarguments.org/>
- Brookings Institute: Africa Growth Initiative, provides commentary and analysis on African politics, economics and conflict, <https://www.brookings.edu/project/africa-growth-initiative/>
- Brookings Institute: Africa in focus <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/>
- Congressional Research Service Reports: Publicly available at Federal Association of Scientists, CRS provides comprehensive research reports on a variety of topics, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/>
- CSIS: Center for Strategic and International Studies provides commentary and analysis on African politics and security issues, <https://www.csis.org/programs/africa-program>
- DCAF: Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces studies issues of security, governance and civil-military relations, <https://www.csis.org/programs/africa-program>
- EU Strategic Framework for the Horn of Africa: A critical Assessment of Impact and Opportunities: EU assessment on the security situation in the Horn of Africa and the EU's role, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2012/433799/EXPO-AFET_ET\(2012\)433799_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2012/433799/EXPO-AFET_ET(2012)433799_EN.pdf)
- Regional Security in Post-Cold ICG Africa: International Crisis Group provides research, commentary and analysis on ongoing crises and risks of crisis in Africa, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa>
- IPSS Addis Ababa: Institute for Peace and Security Studies at Addis Ababa University, research, analysis and commentary on African security, <http://www.ipss-addis.org/>
- ISS Africa: Institute for Security Studies, commentary, analysis, research and events on African security, <https://issafrica.org/>
- Prism Magazine: A publication by the National Defense University Center for Complex Operations on conflict and US strategy, <http://cco.ndu.edu/Publications/PRISM/>,
 - Two recent issues focused on Africa: The Struggle for Security in Africa, <http://cco.ndu.edu/PRISM-6-4/>, and Challenges and Opportunities, <http://cco.ndu.edu/Publications/PRISM/PRISM-volume-5-no-2/>
- Rift Valley Institute: A wide variety of content on African security, politics, history and economics, <http://riftvalley.net/>
- USIP: The United States Institute for Peace studies and supports governance and peacebuilding in Africa, <https://www.usip.org/regions/africa>

- War Horn of Africa: Institute for Security Studies short paper on broad trends in security issues faced by the Horn of Africa,
<https://issafrica.org/research/monographs/regional-security-in-the-post-cold-war-horn-of-africa>
- Wilson Center Africa Program: Provides analysis and commentary on issues relating to security, economics, and politics in Africa,
<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/program/africa-program>