



AFRICA CENTER
FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

WASHINGTON SEMINAR

SYLLABUS

Washington, D.C.

10-11 October 2018



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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 is designed to acquaint D.C.-based embassy personnel with defense and security or political portfolios, particularly those who are newly assigned to Washington, with the structures and workings of the U.S. Government. It will also familiarize them with U.S. security policies and programs pertaining to Africa. The seminar presents an overview of the various structures, procedures, and responsibilities of the U.S. government; the formulation of U.S. foreign policy; U.S. policies and programs in Africa; and the ways in which African countries work with the U.S. to address security challenges on the continent.

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.

Africa Center for Strategic Studies



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

Session 1: U.S. National Security Structures and the Making of Foreign Policy

Format: Plenary presentation, followed by question and answer session

Objectives:

- To understand the role of the key U.S. actors involved in developing and executing U.S. foreign policy.
- To understand the interagency approach within the U.S. government and the origin and role of the U.S. National Security Council in crafting national security policy and strategy.
- To understand how the U.S. National Security Strategy is developed and implemented.
- To identify U.S. national interests in Africa.

Background

U.S. foreign policy is the product of a broad range of actors undertaking many tasks, including establishing and maintaining diplomatic missions abroad with other countries and international and regional organizations. All three branches of government and various agencies are involved in the process of developing, executing, and reviewing U.S. foreign policy.

The Executive Branch

The president has the leading role in making and executing the country's foreign and defense policies. He is assisted by the National Security Council (NSC), which includes the vice president; the secretary of the state; the secretary of defense; the secretary of treasury; the assistant to the president for national security affairs; the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (the president's highest military adviser); and the director of the national intelligence, the president's main intelligence advisor. Other heads of executive departments and agencies are invited when NSC meetings require their expertise.

The Legislative Branch

Congress appropriates money for defense and foreign policy programs, debates issues through the committee system, and bears the sole responsibility to declare war. Congressional committees are the means by which various agencies' proposals can be studied, evaluated and discussed, before going to the full House or Senate for debate and decision. For instance, the Senate Armed Services Committee, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, House Armed Service Committee, and House Foreign Affairs Committee play a major role in considering and developing specific bill proposals on foreign and defense policy issues. Committees also enable Congress to exercise its oversight responsibilities; each committee, within its authority and expertise, conducts periodic hearings to gather information on the performance of executive branch agencies in their implementation of U.S. policy and law. Each committee comprises specific sub-committees, such as the House Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations or the Senate Subcommittee on African Affairs. The Appropriations Committees in the House and Senate write the legislation that allocates federal funds to the numerous government agencies, departments, and organizations on an annual basis, including the

Departments of Defense and State. The Senate ratifies treaties and confirms nominations of executive appointees.

The Judiciary

The Supreme Court addresses legal issues of multilateral alliances involving the United States. Its jurisdiction includes – but not exclusively – matters arising from its interpretation of the law of the sea, the degree of applicability of international law within the national legal framework, the level of adequacy of international tribunals' decisions with the American Constitution, and the rights of non-US citizens appearing before American courts. The Supreme Court decides disputes between the United States and foreign governments as well as their citizens and subjects.

The Department of State

The secretary of state is the principal representative of the U.S. president abroad. At the State Department, the Bureau of African Affairs focuses on the development and management of U.S. policy concerning the continent. There are four pillars that serve as the foundation of U.S. policy toward Africa.

- 1) Strengthening Democratic Institutions;
- 2) Supporting African economic growth and development;
- 3) Advancing Peace and Security;
- 4) Promoting Opportunity and Development.

To advance these objectives, the Departments of State and Defense partner to support capacity-building for African peace support operations; conflict prevention, mitigation, and resolution; military professionalization; and counterterrorism capacity-building. While much of the assistance is bilateral, the Department also works with organizations such as the African Union or the Economic Community of West African States.

The United States Agency for International Development

The US Agency for International Development (USAID) is the lead US development agency. Its mission is to “promote and demonstrate democratic values abroad, and advance a free, peaceful, and prosperous world. In support of America's foreign policy, the U.S. Agency for International Development leads the U.S. Government's international development and disaster assistance through partnerships and investments that save lives, reduce poverty, strengthen democratic governance, and help people emerge from humanitarian crises and progress beyond assistance.”

The Interagency Process

With the National Security Act of 1947, Congress established a formal interagency system for national security. The interagency process is designed to give all agencies and policymakers a stake in the policy development and execution processes and to encourage them to take control of, and responsibility for, their actions and decisions. Those who participate in the interagency process have three primary responsibilities: defend agency interests, resolve disputes at the lowest level possible, and ensure funding and Congressional support. On African policy matters,

the interagency process has created initiatives such as the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), Power Africa, and the Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI).

U.S. National Security Strategy

The 1987 Goldwater-Nichols Act requires the executive branch, under the direction of the President, to periodically publish a National Security Strategy. The intent of the act was to promote a more proactive and transparent approach to national security decision-making and implementation. The first National Security Strategy (NSS) was published by the administration of President George Herbert Walker Bush in 1991. The NSS provides direct guidance for agencies of the executive branch regarding the strategy and priorities of the president. It communicates administration strategy and priorities to Congress, which plays a key role in providing resources, statutory authority, and enabling legislation to support implementation of the NSS. The NSS is also a vehicle for articulating the administration's national security policy to the American public, to U.S. international partners, and even to potential or actual adversaries.

At heart, the NSS is intended to prioritize U.S. national interests, as the administration sees them, derive national security objectives from those interests, and describe the ways and means that the administration will use to pursue those objectives. The NSS typically addresses strategy in both functional and geographical contexts, addressing specific threats and sometimes presenting discrete strategies for different regions of the world. It is important to understand, however, that there is no "one size fits all" for NSS, nor is there an accepted or directed format. The NSS, ultimately, is what the president wants it to be, and as a result, National Security Strategies differ significantly in organization, scope, format and content from administration to administration. The NSS is the source document for more specialized and focused strategies produced by different elements of the U.S. executive branch.

Discussion Questions:

- What roles do the three branches of U.S. government in the formulation of foreign policy?
- What influences the formation of U.S. foreign and defense policies?
- How does public opinion affect U.S. policy?
- How can you understand U.S. defense and foreign policy priorities?
- How do the U.S. National Security and National Defense Strategies address Africa or African partners?

Further Reading:

Toni Johnson, "Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy," *Council on Foreign Relations*, January 24, 2013, (<http://www.cfr.org/united-states/congress-us-foreign-policy/p29871>).

James M. Goldgeier and Elizabeth N. Saunders, "The Unconstrained Presidency: Checks and Balances Eroded Long Before Trump," August 14, 2018, <https://www.cfr.org/article/unconstrained-presidency-checks-and-balances-eroded-long-trump>.

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United States Government, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, December 18, 2017, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905-2.pdf>.

United States Government, *Summary of the National Defense Strategy of the United States of America*, 2018, <https://dod.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2018-National-Defense-Strategy-Summary.pdf>.

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Center for Global Development, "Foreign Assistance Agency Brief: United States Agency for International Development, March 22, 2017, <https://www.cgdev.org/publication/foreign-assistance-agency-brief-usaid>.

Session 2: The U.S. Department of State: Africa Policy, Roles, and Structures

Format: Plenary presentation, followed by question and answer session

Objectives:

- To understand the role of the U.S. Department of State in implementing U.S. strategic policies in Africa.
- To understand major Department of State programs and policies in Africa.

Background

The U.S. Department of State (DoS) advises the President on foreign policy issues and executes U.S. policies and programs abroad. It negotiates treaties and agreements with foreign nations, speaks for the United States in the United Nations and other international organizations in which the United States participates, and represents the United States in international fora. Throughout these endeavors, DoS engages in consultations with the American public, the Congress, other U.S. departments and agencies, and foreign governments. Within the State Department, the Bureau of African Affairs is led by Ambassador Tibor Nagy.

Building Security Capacity in Africa

As outlined in the 2012 *U.S. Strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa*, a key strategic objective is advancing peace and security on the continent. To achieve this end, the State Department is committed to the following actions¹:

- Counter al-Qa'ida and other terrorist groups;
- Advance regional security cooperation and security sector reform;
- Prevent transnational criminal threats;
- Prevent conflict and, where necessary, mitigate mass atrocities and hold perpetrators accountable; and
- Support initiatives to promote peace and security.

Discussion Questions:

- What are the major foreign policy issues and concerns in Africa for the United States?
- Which State Department policies and programs address those issues and concerns?
- How is U.S. foreign policy perceived in Africa?

¹ "U.S. Strategy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa" June 2012,
<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/209377.pdf>.

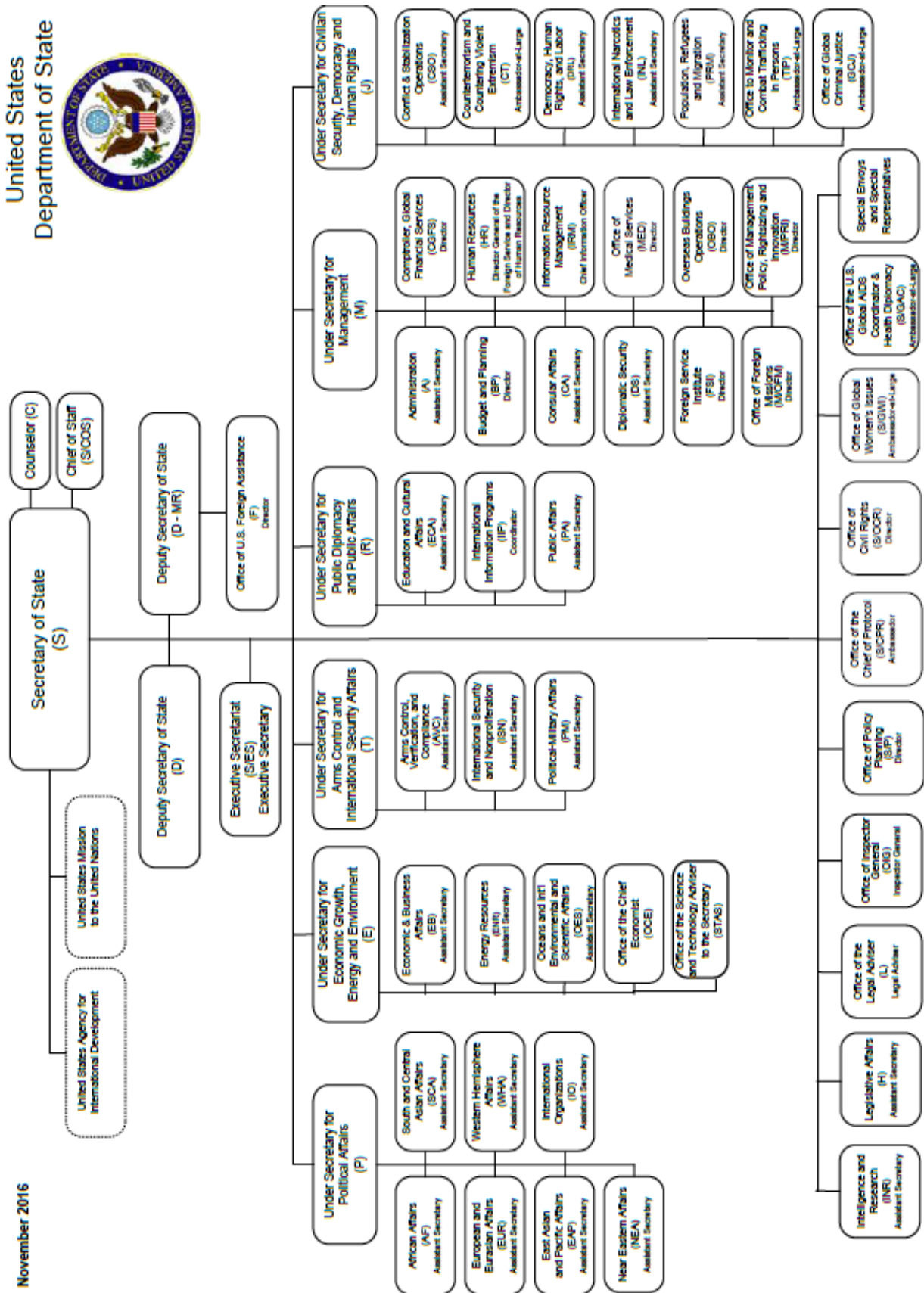
Further Reading:

Congressional Research Service, “Sub-Saharan Africa: Key Issues, Challenges, and U.S. Responses, March 2017, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R44793.pdf>.

CATO Institute, CATO Handbook for Policymakers, “U.S. Policy toward Sub-Saharan Africa,” <https://www.cato.org/cato-handbook-policymakers/cato-handbook-policy-makers-8th-edition-2017/us-policy-toward-sub-saharan>.

John Norris and Carolyn Kenney, “From Threat to Opportunity: Rethinking U.S. Relations in Africa, June 19, 2018, <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/reports/2018/06/19/452354/from-threat-to-opportunity/>.

United States Department of State



Session 3: Department of Defense: Policies, Roles, and Structures

Format: Plenary presentation, followed by question and answer session

Objectives:

- To understand U.S. strategic objectives in Africa.
- To understand the mission of the U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) and its role in developing and implementing U.S. policies in Africa.
- To understand the roles and differences between the Joint Staff, Military Services and Geographic Combatant Commands in formulating and implementing U.S. policy.

The U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) is charged with protecting the United States. All military capability is orchestrated by the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Staff through the combatant command structure. Whereas, the Secretary of Defense exercises authority, direction, and control over the department, the President of the United States is the Commander-in-Chief, and the institution is firmly under civilian control. While the Department of State is the lead agency for foreign assistance and handles some training of foreign military forces, DOD interacts with foreign defense establishments for the following purposes:

- Cultivating defense relationships that promote specific U.S. security interests;
- Developing military capabilities of friends and allies;
- Improving information and intelligence sharing to harmonize views on security challenges;
- Establishing peacetime, contingency, and en route access for U.S. forces.

Multiple elements within the Department of Defense have a role to play in the planning and implementation of U.S. policies toward Africa, including the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD), the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), and the U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM).

The Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) is the principal staff element of the Secretary of Defense in the exercise of policy development, planning, resource management, fiscal, and program evaluation responsibilities. OSD includes the immediate offices of the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, Under Secretaries of Defense, Director of Defense Research and Engineering, Assistant Secretaries of Defense, General Counsel, Director of Operational Test and Evaluation, Assistants to the Secretary of Defense, Director of Administration and Management, and such other staff offices as the Secretary establishes to assist in carrying out assigned responsibilities.

The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is the formal principal military adviser to the President, Secretary of Defense, and the National Security Council. The Chairman functions under the authority, direction, and control of the President and Secretary of Defense, transmits communications between the President and/or Secretary of Defense and Combatant Commanders, and oversees activities of Combatant Commanders as directed by the Secretary of Defense.

The National Security Council (NSC) is the principal forum for considering national security policy issues requiring presidential determination. Along with its subordinate committees, the NSC is the principal means for coordinating, developing, and implementing national security policy. The President, Vice President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, and Secretary of Energy are statutory members of the NSC. The Director of National Intelligence and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff are statutory advisers to the NSC.

The director for strategic plans and policy (J-5) bears overall responsibility within the Joint Staff for interagency affairs. The J-5 directorate serves to focus the Joint Staff on particular NSC and HSC matters for policy and planning purposes and represents or accompanies the Chairman or Vice Chairman in interagency meetings dealing with strategy, plans, or policy issues. The Joint Staff J5 proposes strategies, plans, and policy recommendations to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to support his provision of "best military advice" across the full spectrum of national security concerns to the President and other national leaders and to ensure those recommendations are informed by a larger strategic context coordinated with interagency and alliance partners, account for the view and requirements of the combatant commanders, and assess risk in executing the national Military Strategy.

AFRICOM:

In February 2007, President Bush announced his intent to create a new command for Africa. At the time, responsibility for the African continent was divided between three U.S. commands: European Command (EUCOM), Central Command (CENTCOM), and Pacific Command (PACOM). The new, unified command would take over responsibility for the entire continent including the maritime regions. The one exception to AFRICOM's area of responsibility would be Egypt, which would remain the responsibility of CENTCOM due to its strategic role in the Middle East.

The establishment of AFRICOM was driven by the growing strategic relevance of the continent due to critical U.S. interests, vis-à-vis issues such as HIV/AIDS, oil, global trade, armed conflict, and terrorism. On September 28, 2007, the Senate confirmed AFRICOM's first commander, Army General William E. Ward. The command began initial operations in October 2007 from facilities in Stuttgart, Germany becoming fully operational on October 1, 2008. Today, General Thomas D. Waldhauser is the commander of AFRICOM. There is no plan to move the facility from Germany to Africa.

AFRICOM is unique in several respects. First, it is the only U.S. command to have the prevention of conflict, rather than warfighting, as the key focus. Second, it does not have any dedicated troops. Third, AFRICOM is a command with numerous interagency personnel detailed to its headquarters. Related, it is also the only command with two co-equal deputies, one a civilian the other a military official. Presently, Ambassador Alexander Laskaris, a senior U.S. diplomat, serves as the deputy to the commander for civil-military activities (DCMA) while Lieutenant General James C. Vechery is the deputy to the commander for military operations (DCMO) of AFRICOM.

To promote U.S. strategic objectives, AFRICOM works with African states and regional organizations to help strengthen stability and security in the region. It does this through a variety of programs and initiatives targeted at improving national and regional security capabilities, military professionalism, and good governance. For example, the command's Accord series are joint exercises to enhance the capabilities of the U.S. and African forces in UN and AU peacekeeping operations. In the same vein, in 2014, AFRCIOM participated in Operation United Assistance to leverage the unique capabilities the U.S. military could bring to bear to help keep the Ebola epidemic under control.

Discussion Questions:

- From DOD's perspective, what are the top security-related concerns in Africa?
- Which DOD policies address these concerns?
- How do the various elements within the Department of Defense interact on African policy and programs?
- What is the relationship between AFRICOM's efforts and U.S. diplomatic and development objectives?
- How is AFRICOM perceived by Africans and other foreign countries?

Further Reading:

Ploch, Lauren. Africa Command: U.S. Strategic Interests and the Role of the U.S. Military in Africa. Congressional Research Service (CRS). July 22, 2011

John Vandiver, "AFRICOM at 10: Training partners is still the focus, but the fight has grown," *Stars and Stripes*, October 12, 2017, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL34003.pdf>
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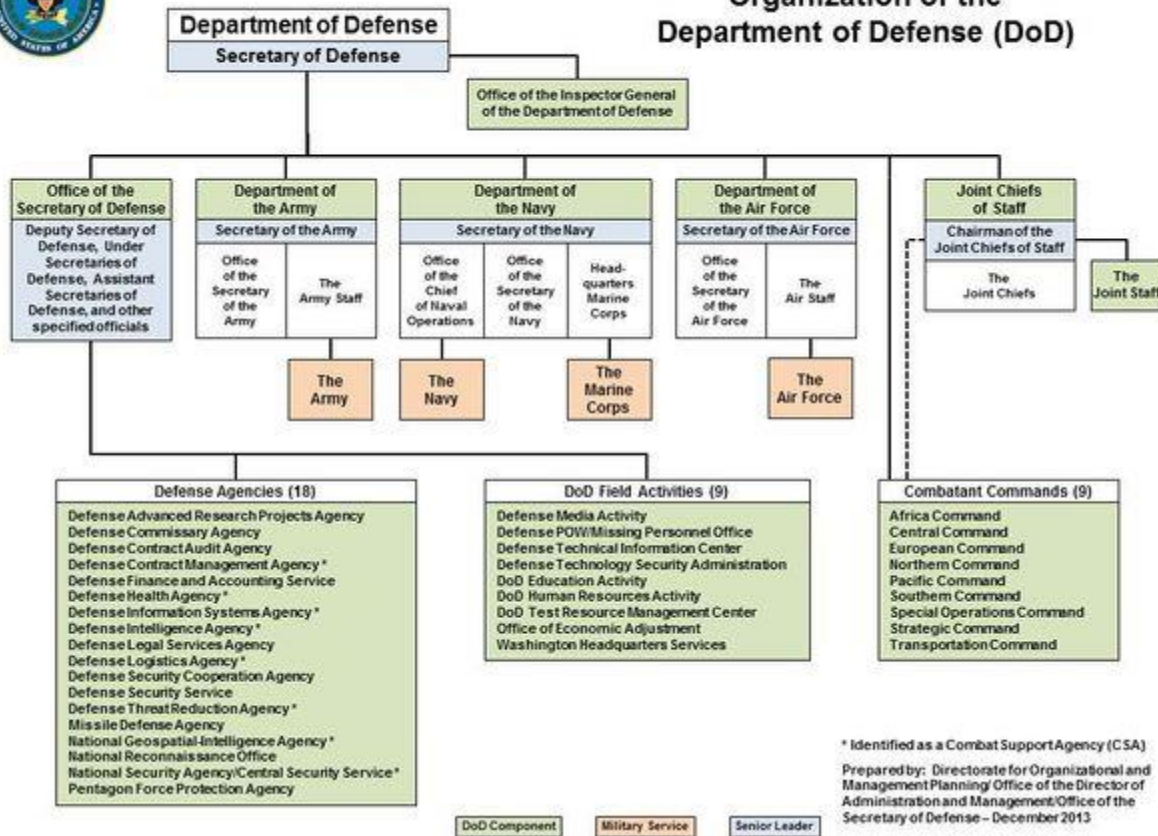
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<https://warroom.armywarcollege.edu/special-series/anniversaries/different-kind-command-africom-10-years-part-2/>.

Dr. Michelle S. Atchison, "Department of Defense (DOD) Primer for Researchers,"
http://research.utsa.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Primer_for_DOD_Researchers.pdf.

LTG (ret.) David Barno and Dr. Nora Bensahel, "The Military Is from Mars, Civilians Are from Venus: Avoiding Planetary Collisions in the Conference Room," 22 March 2016,
<https://warontherocks.com/2016/03/the-military-is-from-mars-civilians-are-from-venus-avoiding-planetary-collisions-in-the-conference-room/>.



Organization of the Department of Defense (DoD)



Session 4: U.S. Security Programs and Partnerships

Format: Plenary presentation, followed by question and answer session

Objectives:

- To understand the landscape of U.S. security programs.
- To understand how U.S. security assistance programs seek to enhance partnerships, strengthen capacity and defense institutions, and promote human security.

Background

Department of State Programs:

As one means to achieve U.S. goals, the State Department engages in direct security assistance to security sector agencies, in the shape of training and funding. While a large proportion of the assistance is bilateral, the Department also takes a regional approach. It has, for instance, helped to expand the peacekeeping capacity of the Economic Community of West African States. The State Department also works through the Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI) to increase the capacity of African militaries in peacekeeping missions – through the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) Program – and improve the professionalization of African militaries, through the African Military Education Program. Other key programs funded by DoS in recent years have included:

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

Department of Defense Programs:

Defense Security Cooperation Agency

The U.S. Government funds many security assistance programs to assist friendly countries build security capacity and strengthen partnerships formed through cooperative international engagements. DOD's lead agency for security cooperation is the Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA). Its primary mission is to support the objectives of the Geographic Combatant Commands (such as the U.S. Africa Command), which are responsible for U.S. military engagement, including security cooperation programs, in specific geographic areas. DSCA's programs intend to strengthen alliances and partnerships, promote American principles and values, enhance U.S. security through African military preparedness, and promote democracy on the continent. DSCA ensures that its international military training and education program activities align with guidance on security cooperation and support the regional strategic plans (also known as the Theater Security Cooperation strategy) of the Combatant Commands. These

plans describes the security environment, identifies engagement objectives, and lists associated activities that support those objectives. Key DSCA programs include, but are not limited to:

Foreign Military Sales (FMS):

The FMS program sells defense articles and services (including training) in support of U.S. foreign policy and national security objectives. These articles and services are typically sold from DOD stocks or through purchase under DOD-managed contracts.

Foreign Military Sales Financing/Credit (FMF):

Foreign Military Sales Financing (FMF) finances, through grants or loans, the acquisition of U.S. military articles, services, and training. In helping countries meet legitimate defense needs, FMF promotes U.S. national security interests by strengthening coalitions with friends and allies, cements cooperative bilateral military ties, and enhances interoperability with U.S. forces.

Leases:

The lease program allows other countries or international organizations to lease DOD articles up to 5 years. Leases may provide defense articles for testing purposes, to help countries determine whether to procure the article, or to allow the USG to respond to an urgent foreign requirement.

International Military Education and Training (IMET):

IMET enables the U.S. to positively influence the development of foreign military institutions and their roles in democratic societies, with courses on defense resource management, military justice, civil-military relations, and human rights. IMET also helps the U.S. build regional security arrangements, fight terrorism, shape the strategic landscape, protect shared interests, and promote stability. The Expanded IMET extends courses to non-governmental organizations and national parliamentarians, who would not normally be part of a defense-related training program.

Drawdown:

Drawdown allows the U.S. President to retire defense articles and services from active service and transfer them to a foreign government, in response to military emergencies, humanitarian catastrophes, peacekeeping needs, or counter narcotics requirements.

Excess Defense Articles (EDA):

The EDA program transfers excess U.S. defense equipment at reduced or no cost to eligible foreign governments. Usually, the recipients bear the costs of packing, handling, restoring, and transporting the defense articles. Recipients may purchase follow-on support, such as maintenance, from DOD through the FMS program.

Regional Centers for Security Studies

DSCA is the executive agent of the five Regional Centers for Security Studies, of which the Africa Center is one. The Regional Centers are valuable strategic communication tools for dialogue on U.S. security policy with key allies and partners in a regional context. The Regional Centers' mission is to foster regional cooperation on security issues through dialogue with foreign military, civilian, and non-governmental officials. Regional Centers accomplish their mission

primarily through multilateral leadership development courses, conferences, and seminars, as well as through bilateral workshops, outreach events, and research publications.

Discussion Questions:

- How do U.S. Government agencies make decisions to support some security cooperation programs and reject others?
- How do countries best evaluate what sort of U.S. security cooperation programs most effectively mesh with their own needs?
- How can the United States and partner nations evaluate the effectiveness and impact of security assistance programs?

Further Reading:

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- Assistant Secretary Puneet Talwar, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, U.S. Department of State, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health Policy, June 4, 2015, “Security Assistance to Africa” <https://www.foreign.senate.gov/download/talwar-testimony-06-04-15>.
- Lauren Ploch Blanchard, Congressional Research Service, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health, Hearing: U.S. Security Assistance in Africa, June 4, 2015, <https://www.foreign.senate.gov/download/blanchard-testimony-06-04-15>

Session 5: Perspectives on Peacekeeping

Format: Plenary presentation, followed by question and answer session

Objectives:

- To provide a common understanding of the roles and missions of the United Nations in Africa.
- To provide an overview of U.S.-UN relations.
- To provide a common understanding of the ways in which UN peacekeeping efforts interface with U.S. interests in Africa.
- To learn about potential future directions in peacekeeping and peace support operations.

Early peacekeeping missions were guided by the principles of neutrality, impartiality, and the use of force only in self-defense and often involved supervision of a ceasefire or armistice agreement. More recently, UN peacekeeping missions have been given more robust mandates and rules of engagement.

UN peacekeeping missions have also become more complex and multidimensional. They now encompass peacebuilding functions such as security sector reform, institution-building, and efforts to ensure the rule-of-law. Many are also charged with preparing post-conflict countries for elections. Given this broader array of responsibilities, UN peacekeeping forces involve far more than military troops; they now typically include civilian police and personnel with experience in humanitarian assistance and reconstruction and development. The UN frequently partners with a variety of international actors, including states, regional organizations, and local and international non-governmental organizations.

U.S.-UN Relations and Their Impact on African Security

Despite having played a critical role in the creation of the UN in 1945, relations between the U.S. and the world body have often been strained. The creation of the International Criminal Court (ICC) was a major point of contention. The UN spent considerable political capital and resources concluding the Rome Statute establishing the ICC in 1998. The U.S., however, has not ratified the Rome Statute because of concerns about American military personnel being subject to its jurisdiction. The Obama Administration has softened its stance toward the ICC by adopting a position of constructive engagement rather than the outright hostility of the Bush Administration. President Obama has sent representatives to the ICC Assembly of States and to the ICC Review Conference. Despite these signs of improved dialogue, the Administration has made no decision about formally presenting the Rome Treaty to the Senate for ratification. The U.S. continues to conclude “Article 98” bilateral immunity agreements with foreign countries; these treaties guarantee that foreign signatories won’t refer Americans for investigation and prosecution by the ICC.

In addition to the issues surrounding the ICC, the relationship between the U.S. and UN is also influenced by U.S. domestic politics. The perceived inefficiency and mismanagement of the UN

has resulted in the U.S. frequently delaying payment of all or part of its annual and supplemental assessments. This puts a tremendous financial strain on the UN and gives the U.S. more leverage to assert its interests within the organization. Despite the differences of opinion between the U.S. and the UN on some issues, there is considerable cooperation and agreement on the Millennium Development Goals, the Peace Building Commission, counterterrorism efforts, and improvements in the way the UN addresses human rights.

Discussion Questions:

- What are the most important issues confronting the United Nations when it comes to promoting peace in Africa?
- How do peacekeeping and peace support operations advance security goals in Africa?
- What are the major security issues that the African Union, the United Nations, and other partners will face in the next five years?
- How does the UN implement policies and programs in Africa and which ones are the most important to U.S. national strategies and programs?

Further Reading

Paul Williams, "Peace Operations in Africa: Lessons Learned Since 2000," Africa Center for Strategic Studies, July 2013, <http://africacenter.org/publication/peace-operations-in-africa-lessons-learned-since-2000/>.

Browne, Marjorie Ann. United Nations Peacekeeping: Issues for Congress, Congressional Research Service, February 11, 2011
<https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33700.pdf>.

Session 6: The Role of the U.S. Congress

Format: Plenary presentation, followed by question and answer session

Objectives:

- To provide a framework for understanding the interaction between the legislative and the executive branches.
- To identify the role of the U.S. Congress in foreign policy.
- To understand the role of Congress in overseeing security assistance.
- To understand where Africa fits on the legislative landscape.

Background

While the executive branch formulates most foreign policy, the Congress is critical to its implementation. Congress appropriates money for foreign policy and defense programs, provides institutional oversight on executive actions, programs, and policies, confirms senior officials, and ratifies international agreements. As noted by Jonathan Masters for the Council on Foreign Relations, friction between the two branches is by design: “The periodic tug-of-war between the president and Congress over foreign policy is not a by-product of the Constitution, but rather, one of its core aims.”

Two key congressional roles that are important to understand are appropriation and authorization. Key committees, from the perspective of a diplomat working in Washington include:

- The House Foreign Affairs Committee (HFAC) and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC) and the subcommittees on Africa for both committees;
- The House Armed Services Committee (HASC) and the Senate Armed Services Committee (SASC)
- The House and Senate Committees on Appropriations and their subcommittees on Foreign Operations for both committees

Additionally, the Judiciary Committees have jurisdiction over immigration.

Appropriation of Funds

The President submits an annual budget, but it is Congress that determines spending levels and makes appropriations. As such, Congress can affect foreign policy by its spending decisions – which at times reflect domestic constituencies. Foreign aid is particularly vulnerable to spending cuts, as it does not have a domestic constituency. In contrast, defense- and security-related programs do have domestic support both because their relationship to security at home is often more obvious and because their bearing on U.S. jobs seems more direct.²

² See Toni Johnson, “Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, January 24, 2013 (<http://www.cfr.org/united-states/congress-us-foreign-policy/p29871>).

Congressional Oversight and Other Powers

As explained by the Congressional Research Service, “Congressional oversight of policy implementation and administration has occurred throughout the history of the United States government under the Constitution. Oversight—the review, monitoring, and supervision of operations and activities—takes a variety of forms and utilizes various techniques. These range from specialized investigations by select committees to annual appropriations hearings, and from informal communications between Members or congressional staff and executive personnel to the use of extra-congressional mechanisms, such as offices of inspector general and study commissions. Oversight, moreover, is supported by a variety of authorities—the Constitution, public law, and chamber and committee rules—and is an integral part of the system of checks and balances between the legislative and executive branches.”

Notably, the president has authority to wage war; only Congress can authorize hostilities and declare war. The 1973 *War Powers Resolution* requires the president to consult Congress before troops are sent to a hostile situation; inform congress within 24 hours of the commitment of U.S. troops; and cease military actions within 60 days, if Congress fails to declare war or authorize the use of force.³ Many presidents consider the *War Powers Resolution* an infringement on presidential powers; debates continue to exist on the level of hostilities require congressional approval.⁴

International Agreements

While the executive branch negotiates treaties, the Senate must approve them with a two-thirds majority, in order to ratify the treaties. In their deliberations, the Senate can also amend treaties. However, the president can issue an executive order, in lieu of senate approval – at times a time-consuming process. In fact, about 90 percent of all of the U.S’ international agreements are accomplished through executive order.⁵ But, executive orders can easily be reversed by another administration.

Discussion Questions:

- What are Congress’s roles, responsibilities, and powers in U.S. foreign policy?
- What are congressional perspectives on Africa?
- What is the role of Congress in terms of U.S. security assistance programs?
- How does public opinion influence U.S. policy?

³ Toni Johnson, “Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, January 24, 2013 (<http://www.cfr.org/united-states/congress-us-foreign-policy/p29871>).

⁴ Library of Congress, “War Powers,” <http://www.loc.gov/law/help/war-powers.php>.

⁵ Toni Johnson, “Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, January 24, 2013 (<http://www.cfr.org/united-states/congress-us-foreign-policy/p29871>).

Further Reading:

Jonathan Masters, "U.S. Foreign Policy Powers: Congress and the President," Council on Foreign Relations, March 2, 2017, <https://www.cfr.org/background/US-foreign-policy-powers-congress-and-president>.

Christopher Deering, *Congress' Role in Foreign Policymaking*, May 2009, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/Deering.pdf>.

Curt Tarnoff and Marian Lawson, "Foreign Aid: An Introduction to U.S. Programs and Policy," Congressional Research Service, June 17, 2016, p. 6 <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R40213.pdf>.

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Hicks, Kathleen H., Lauter, Louis, and McElhinny, Colin. *CSIS Report: Beyond the Water's Edge: Measuring the Internationalism of Congress*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2018.

Session 7: Democracy, Inclusion, and Security

Format: Plenary presentation, followed by question and answer session

Objectives:

- To provide the context for the promotion of human rights in U.S. foreign policy.
- To connect the importance of human rights and inclusive approaches as part of achieving human security.
- To integrate gender issues within the broader contexts of U.S. policy.
- To highlight the value the U.S. government places on democratic norms and respect for equality.

Background

Upholding democratic principles and respect for human rights are fundamental to U.S. foreign policy. These principles manifest themselves in a variety of ways from the suspension of non-humanitarian assistance after unconstitutional changes in government to the linkage of development funds to governance, such as through the Millennium Challenge Corporation to the vetting of institutions and individuals in terms of human rights records. In the security sector, the “Leahy Law” restricts funds to units or individuals with a history of gross violations of human rights, while the institutionalization of the women, peace, and security agenda seeks to broaden security sector stakeholders. These issues help shape U.S. policy both as a reflection of values and the conviction that adherence to such practices leads to greater human security and broader stability.

Each year, the Department of State issues Country Reports on Human Rights Practices. As then Acting Secretary of State John J. Sullivan stated in April 2018:

“Now in their 42nd year, these reports are a natural outgrowth of our values as Americans. The founding documents of our country speak to unalienable rights, fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law – revolutionary concepts at the time of our founding that are now woven into the fabric of America and its interests both at home and abroad.

“Promoting human rights and the idea that every person has inherent dignity is a core element of this administration’s foreign policy. It also strengthens U.S. national security by fostering greater peace, stability, and prosperity around the world. The Human Rights Reports are the most comprehensive and factual accounting of the global state of human rights. They help our government and others formulate policies and encourage both friends and foes to respect the dignity of all individuals without discrimination.

This year, we have sharpened the focus of the report to be more responsive to statutory reporting requirements and more focused on government action or inaction with regard to the promotion and protection of human rights. For example, each executive summary includes a paragraph to note the most egregious abuses that occurred in a particular

country, including those against women, LGBTI persons, persons with disabilities, indigenous persons, and members of religious minorities.”⁶

Leahy Laws

Senator Patrick Leahy of Vermont sponsored the Leahy Law on Human Rights as a means to ensure that human rights are protected around the world. Both the U.S. department of State and the Department of Defense have Leahy Laws. Beginning in 1998, Congress prohibited the U.S. government from providing equipment and training to any unit of the security forces that has committed gross human rights violations, such as torture, extrajudicial killing, enforced disappearance, and rape. Exceptions to Leahy laws may be when U.S. equipment is needed for disaster relief, humanitarian, or national security emergencies. When there is a determination that the government of the country takes steps to bring those responsible for the human rights abuses to justice, assistance may resume. Units barred by Leahy laws can receive training on rule of law and human rights

Women, Peace, and Security

According to McKinsey Global Institute’s recent study, narrowing the gender gap in work and society would add \$12 trillion to the world’s gross domestic product. This finding is in line with other reports showing that greater equality leads to more growth and development. Following on the United Nations Security Council Resolution of 2000 (UNSCR 2000), which set the stage for the women, peace and security agenda, the State Department created the Office of Global Women’s Issues and developed the U.S. National Action Plan, to ensure women’s inclusion in all phases of conflict resolution, prevention, and peacebuilding. The Office of Global Women’s Issues exists to “ensure that women’s issues are fully integrated in the formulation and conduct of U.S. foreign policy.”

Discussion Questions:

- In what ways do human rights concerns shape U.S. foreign policy?
- How do National Action Plans and other measures to advance the international agenda for women, peace, and security fit within broader U.S. policies?
- How can African Defense Attachés work with U.S. government agencies in addressing any concerns and promoting human rights?

Additional Reading:

U.S. Department of State, “Leahy Fact Sheet: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor” <http://www.humanrights.gov/pdf/fact-sheet/leahy-fact-sheet-508.pdf>.

U.S. Government, U.S. National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security, 2016, <http://www.state.gov/s/gwi/priorities/wps/267512.htm>.

⁶ John J. Sullivan, Acting Secretary of State, “Remarks on the Release of the 2017 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices,” April 20, 2018, <https://www.state.gov/s/d/2018/280666.htm>.