



**AFRICA CENTER
FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES**

Emerging Security Sector Leaders Seminar

SYLLABUS

Washington, D.C.

10 – 28 June 2019



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

Map of Africa

Opening Session and Course Overview

Keynote Panel: Africa's Evolving Security Landscape: Constraints and Opportunities

Module 1: Strategic Leadership

Plenary Session 1: Strategic Leadership

Plenary Session 2: Critical Thinking

Plenary Session 3: Leadership and Change

Plenary Session 4: Democratic Governance of Africa's Security Sector

Plenary Session 5: National Security Strategy Development

Module 2: Strategic Approaches

Plenary Session 6: Violent Conflict Trends

Plenary Session 7: Democratization Trends

Plenary Session 8: Transnational Crime

Plenary Session 9: Violent Extremism

Plenary Session 10: Maritime Security

Module 3: Regional Security Mechanisms in Africa

Plenary Session 11: Regional Approaches

Plenary Session 12: The African Peace and Security Architecture

Plenary Session 13: Subsidiarity and Regional Organizations

Plenary Session 14: UN and A3

Plenary Session 15: UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA)

Plenary Session 16: UN Sustainable Development Goals

Module 4: Leveraging Africa's External Actors

Plenary Session 17: Leveraging External Assistance

Plenary Session 18: The European Union

Plenary Session 19: U.S. Security Assistance

Plenary Session 20: China

Plenary Session 21: Other Bilateral Partners

Plenary Session 22: Multilateral Institutions

Introduction

In a constantly dynamic world where security challenges continue to evolve, it is important for African leaders to be equally dynamic and adaptable. Making smart strategic decisions in a world that is volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous provides some competitive advantage. While managing uncertainty is difficult, strategic leaders not only anticipate uncertainty but also seek to capitalize on it and use it as an opportunity for transformational change.¹

The Africa Center for Strategic Studies is organizing this program to assist African security sector leaders (both military and civilian) in developing an adequate set of skills to tackle their continent's security concerns.

There has never been time in modern African history when the issue of leaders and quality of leadership have been so important. The need for an African leadership that has the competence to comprehend the threats, challenges and opportunities of globalisation, the imperatives of democratisation and good governance, the vision of a preferred future and the capacity and commitment to realise it, is clearly crucial. In light of the endemic problems facing Africa the first generation of African leaders have been subjected to severe criticism.

(Prof. Ahmed Mohiddin, Africa Leadership, 1998)²

¹ See Patrick Porter, "Taking Uncertainty Seriously: Classical Realism and national Security," *European Journal of International Security* Vol. 1, Issue 2 (July 2016), 239-260.

² See Ahmed Mohiddin, "Africa Leadership: The Succeeding Generation, Challenges and Opportunities," 1998; Available at <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/CAFRAD/UNPAN007927.pdf>

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)

Why Conduct This Program?

There is a consensus among African leaders, scholars and practitioners that effective, ethical and strategic leadership is central to the continent's success. Participants have already received a considerable amount of instruction on professionalism, ethics, and leadership/decision-making through formal military education and non-academic experiences. However, as Gen. Frimpong stated, "Good leaders develop through a never-ending process of self-study, education, training, and experience."³ Furthermore, participants' nomination by their government to attend this program indicates that their past performance and their potential in these areas are held in high regard. We will honor these accomplishments and seek to build upon them in a meaningful and useful way.

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

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

Academic Approach

Recognizing the diversity of challenges and opportunities in security sector governance, this program will seek to more intentionally capture important lessons and sound practices through:

- a) Plenary sessions that reinforce peer learning by focusing on practical applications and sound security sector governance principles;
- b) Small group discussions that reinforce the learning objectives and challenge participants to address both whole of government and more specific technical issues;
- c) Case Studies as research methods involving an up-close, in-depth, and detailed examination of a number of countries' experience, as well as their related contextual conditions;
- d) A writing assignment consisting in a 4-6 page original individual paper;
- e) An interactive simulation exercise designed to reinforce concepts analyzed during the course and encourage you to think strategically about how best to apply them.

The workshop will be conducted in English, French, and Portuguese. The program will be conducted under a strict policy of non-attribution.

Simulation Exercise:

This exercise will use a fictitious case study to challenge participants to use the principles of effective leadership and decision-making at the strategic level, discussed in module 1; to address an array of collectively-reinforcing security threats, similar to those analyzed in module 2; taking into account the AU peace and security architecture as discussed in module 3, and bringing to

³ Brigadier General Daniel K. Frimpong, "Appendix Two," *Leadership and the Challenges of Command*, AFRAM Publications, (Accra: 2003), p. 156.

bear external leverage and assistance to resolve a conflict, as explored in module 4. This exercise has two broad aims. First, participants will be given an opportunity to collaborate on a problem-solving exercise. Second, participants will demonstrate the centrality of effective leadership and strategic decision-making in bringing about transformational reform in Africa.

Program Format and Requirements

Strategic leadership and approaches, ethical decision-making and standards of exemplary behavior will serve as the program's central tenets. These themes will run through the following four modules: Strategic Leadership, Strategic Approaches, Regional Security Mechanisms, and Leveraging Africa's External Actors. The modules are inter-related and mutually reinforcing. The third module, dealing with regional security mechanisms, will be reinforced with a fieldtrip at the AU-UN and UN in New York.

The Syllabus

This syllabus provides an overview of academic material and key policy questions related to ethical and strategic leadership in Africa's security sector. The document is organized along the lines of the four modules for this program. For each module, the syllabus gives a brief introduction and frames questions for discussion. We provide selected articles, whose primary purpose is to ensure that you and your colleagues may take maximum advantage of the presentations. The Africa Center realizes that the syllabus probably covers more issues and materials than can be sufficiently discussed in the available time. We hope that you use these materials as resources even after the program concludes.

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

Map of Africa



Opening Session and Course Overview

Format: Plenary presentation

Objective:

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

Background:

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

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

1. *Strategic Leadership*: This module will address the challenges inherent to exercising leadership at the strategic level. It will emphasize the importance of effective leadership in security sector governance, and analyze Africa's experience (both military and civilian) throughout history. The discussion seeks to highlight key principles of effective leadership and will examine how they could be applied in African countries. It explores the concept of critical thinking and how it can generate change. This module also introduces participants to the design, resourcing and implementation of national security strategies. It ends with a group discussion on the strong correlations between strategic leadership and change.
2. *Strategic Approaches*: Besides highlighting current and emerging security challenges facing Africa, this module will address the role of the security sector in meeting these challenges from a strategic approach. The primary aim of this module is to provide the context within which effective strategies are developed and executed.
3. *Regional Security Mechanisms*: Although building cooperative security mechanisms is not new in Africa, it has gained some momentum lately with the African Union. The transnational nature of many threats has forced African nations to embrace regional security mechanisms. This module will be explored through a set of sessions in concert with the AU representation at the UN in New York.
4. *Leveraging Africa's External Actors*: This module will explore the roles that international partners play in enhancing security in order to assist the continent in achieving peace and stability. It will help assess various actions that the international community is undertaking to reach that end. The module will provide African security professionals with the opportunity to discuss Africa's role on the international scene. The module ends with a brief back on key points on Africa's relationship with external partners.

Keynote Panel: Africa's Evolving Security Landscape: Constraints and Opportunities

Format: Plenary presentation

Objectives:

- Map out the international environment.
- Discuss the constraints and opportunities of international politics.
- Explore ways in which African countries can successfully navigate their way out of the intricacies of international interactions among nations.

Background:

In an evolving and globalizing world where autarchy is no longer an option, it takes a comprehensive grasp of international politics to play one's hand well and navigate adequately with both compass and vision. Regardless of one's position on Africa's contribution to, and role in the world, it remains painfully true today that the continent is struggling to provide genuine security to its people. Consequently, a paradigm shift is required to better master the key determinants of international behaviors and outcomes.

For decades now, the conventional approach to understanding Africa in international relations is to treat African states as merely as the recipients of other actors' whims.⁴ Challenging this approach, this program seeks to consider African states and political actors as serious, real historical subjects/agents in their own right. Assessing agency, therefore, invites analysis of the concrete impact of African states acting collectively in international fora as well as the extent to which Africa is utilized by other actors, explores opportunities and/or constraints for such African collective or individual state projects.

In a nutshell, African security leaders should understand that their continent continues to be greatly affected by the interests and ambitions of external powers, and African agency requires attention to both the domestic shaping of that agency as well as the wider international structures within which it is exercised.

Discussion Questions:

- How do you assess Africa's role in the international environment?
- How is globalization affecting your country and your continent?
- Within a globalized world, how are African leaders dealing with strategic security issues?
- How should African leaders turn constraints into opportunities?

Required Reading:

Sharkdam Wapmuk and Oluwatooni Akinkwotu, "The Dynamics of Africa in World Affairs: From Afro-Pessimism to Afro-Optimism? *Brazilian Journal of African Studies*, 2, 4 (July-Dec 2017): 11-29; <https://seer.ufrgs.br/rbea/article/view/75450/47053>
Available in Portuguese: <https://doi.org/10.22456/2448-3923.75450>.

⁴ See Christopher Clapham, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival*, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Module I: Strategic Leadership

This first module constitutes the matrix within which the 3-week conversation will occur. Some leaders wait for certainty, relying on existing assumptions that can rapidly change, losing the opportunities to shape the future. Others accept uncertainty as a given and take necessary steps to anticipate the future.⁵ Arguably, leaders who succeed in uncertain world are those who are strategic, constantly trying to understand and track forces for change in their socio-political environment. They seek the right balance between knowledge and imagination. They know how to think about uncertainty, and how to organize themselves to reduce surprise and manage risk.⁶

Africa needs critical thinkers who have the ability to clearly define their objectives and develop a strategic action plan with each objective broken down into tasks and each task having a list of needed resources and a specific timeline. In essence, these leaders should display an ability to design flexibility into their plans by creating some benchmarks in their thinking to review progress.⁷ Then, they use those benchmarks as a guide and recognize the opportunity to revise their plans as needed. They possess an innate ability to be proactive and anticipate change, rather than being reactive to changes.⁸

To pave the way for the remaining dialogue, this module sets the stage for the concepts of strategic leadership and approaches that frame the three-week program. It delves into the notion of strategic leadership and discusses the importance of critical thinking and how sound leadership paired with critical thinking can lead to change. It also includes sessions on democratic governance of the security sector and on how to develop, resource and implement a national security strategy. Overall, it is important to remember that effective leadership is at every level (strategic, operational and tactical) and is as much about thinking as it is about motivating and following through...

⁵ See <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/sponsored/gradschoolforum/nyu-school-professional-studies>

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ See <https://www.cssp.com/CD0808b/CriticalStrategicThinkingSkills/>

⁸ Ibid.

Plenary Session 1: Strategic Leadership

Format: Plenary presentation
Discussion groups

Objectives:

- Provide a foundation for the first module by analyzing the tenets of strategic leadership in an African context.
- Explore ways in which strategic leadership could constitute a prerequisite for change.

Background:

According to Wren and Price, leadership is “a mutual influence process among leaders and followers in which each participant operates as part of a collective in a complicated and ever-shifting environment in an effort to achieve desired goals.”⁹ Although there are different approaches to the study of leadership, this program focuses on strategic leadership, i.e. the ability to think strategically in a volatile and uncertain environment, and to provide transformational leadership and shape outcomes.

African Philosophy: A quick glance at African history reveals that such leadership whereby the leader acknowledges that he or she is leading because of followers’ consent can be found in several African regions as demonstrated by the Southern African *Ubuntu* philosophy.¹⁰ *Ubuntu* is an ethic or humanist philosophy focusing on people’s allegiances and relations with each other. A similar philosophy hinging on the thought that through our interaction with our fellow human beings, we discover our own human qualities, is found in West Africa in the *Kurukan Fuga*¹¹ or the Manden Charter that established the Federation of Mandinka clans under one government, and outlined laws by which the Malinke people should live.

Strategic Leadership Characteristics: Far from using force or threats, strategic leadership relies on dialogue to gain the support of its team members by influencing them in a way that incite contributions to success. Strategic leaders are always looking ahead as opposed to trying to catch up to trends or looking behind them.¹² They keep their hand on the pulse of their institution to make sure that they are prepared for what is coming next. Open to alternative views, they encourage their team members to question them and challenge them on actions and plans in order to hear new ideas and see new points of view.¹³

Approaches to Strategic Leadership: Instead of complete control over decision-making, strategic leadership creates an enabling environment in which subordinates are encouraged to participate in decision-making by offering their own opinions, insights, and suggestions. What distinguishes leadership from strategic leadership lies in the discipline of thinking.¹⁴ With a vision and a compelling mission, the strategic leader will attract the right people, those who will commit to achieving the long-term goals and objectives of the institution, thus providing the intrinsic

⁹ J. Thomas Wren and Terry L. Price, *The Values of Presidential Leadership*, New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2007, p. 215.

¹⁰ See <https://historyplex.com/ubuntu-african-philosophy>

¹¹ See <https://en.unesco.org/mediabank/23135/>

¹² See <https://study.com/academy/lesson/strategic-leadership-definition-characteristics-examples.html>

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ See Mark Grandstaff and Georgia J. Sorenson, *Strategic Leadership: The General’s Art*, Vienna, VA: Management Concepts, 2009.

motivation needed to deal with hardships and setbacks. Strategic leadership also promotes a stimulating environment where people can grow and deploy their talents and skills in achieving institutional objectives.

Discussion Questions:

- What nuance, if any, do you see between leadership and strategic leadership?
- What types of leadership/decision-making challenges do you and your peers routinely face in your country?
- Are leadership/decision-making principles changing in your military? If yes, why? How are they changing?

Required Readings:

Eckert, R. and Rweyongoze, S., 2015. Leadership Development in Africa: A Focus on Strengths. White Paper. Center for Creative Leadership. <https://www.ccl.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/leadershipDevelopmentAfrica.pdf>

Kwesi Aning and Joseph Siegle, "Deep Commitment, High Expectations: The Values of the Next Generation of African Security Sector Leaders," *Africa Defense Forum*, 12 July 2018. <http://adf-magazine.com/deep-commitment-high-expectations/>

Available in French: <http://adf-magazine.com/engagement-profond-attentes-elevees/?lang=fr>

Session 2: Critical Thinking

Format: Plenary presentation
Discussion groups

Objectives:

- Discuss what strategic thinking entails.
- Examine its role in the development, implementation and assessment of security strategy in Africa.

Background:

Leading cognitive psychologist Dianne Halpern offers the following working definition for critical thinking:

“Critical thinking is the use of those cognitive skills or strategies that increase the probability of a desirable outcome. It is used to describe thinking that is purposeful, reasoned, and goal directed—the kind of thinking involved in solving problems, formulating inferences, calculating likelihoods, and making decisions, when the thinker is using skills that are thoughtful and effective for the particular context and type of thinking task.”¹⁵

She emphasizes the importance of a conscious and deliberate use of a process-based approach in assessing and solving a problem. This approach seeks discipline in avoiding cognitive errors to identify and consider options, finally selecting the best option on clear and considered criteria.¹⁶

Even in a field that produces a complex and fraught environment for critical thinking, the challenges that face African security professionals stand out. African security threats are predominantly irregular and have their roots in a diverse and complex set of social, economic and political issues that defy straight-forward solutions.¹⁷ In this context the traditional tools and systems of the security sector can be unreliable, or even part of the problem in cases where the security sector may have become corrupted or politicized.¹⁸ This places a high burden on the decision-maker to identify problems, tools and solutions when many orthodox security approaches may be ineffective or counter-productive.

One approach to problem solving in complex, limited information problem sets is the Problem-Driven Iterative Adaptation (PDIA) method, as described by Andrews, Pritchett and Woolcock. PDIA is based on starting with the problem, and generating solutions through iteration using four core principles:

“First, PDIA focuses on solving locally nominated and defined problems in performance. Second, it seeks to create an “authorizing environment” for decision-making that encourages “positive deviance” and experimentation. Third, it embeds this experimentation in tight feedback loops that facilitate rapid experiential learning. Fourth,

¹⁵ Halpern, D. F. (2014). *Thought and knowledge: An introduction to critical thinking* (5th ed.). New York, NY, US: Psychology Press.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Williams, Paul. *War and Conflict in Africa* (2nd Ed.) Polity Press (2016), p.38-40.

¹⁸ Ouedraogo, Emile. *Advancing Military Professionalism in Africa* (2016) <https://africacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/ARP06EN-Advancing-Military-Professionalism-in-Africa.pdf>

it actively engages broad sets of agents to ensure that reforms are viable, legitimate, relevant and supportable.”¹⁹

A process like PDIA might assist African countries in building state capability and fostering policy implementation.

Discussion Questions:

- Why is critical thinking an important and necessary skill in governance?
- How can critical thinking skills be applied to strategic, operational, and tactical problems?
- What are the four (4) core principles of PDIA?
- How can PDIA help close the capability gaps in Africa?

Required Readings:

Matt Andrews, Lant Pritchett, Michael Woolcock, “Escaping Capability Traps through Problem Driven Iteration Adaption (PDIA),” *CID Working Paper No. 240, June 2012*. <https://www.cgdev.org/publication/escaping-capability-traps-through-problem-driven-iterative-adaptation-pdia-working-paper>

¹⁹ Matt Andrews, Lant Pritchett, Michael Woolcock, “Escaping Capability Traps through Problem Driven Iteration Adaption (PDIA),” *CID Working Paper No. 240, June 2012*. <https://www.cgdev.org/publication/escaping-capability-traps-through-problem-driven-iterative-adaptation-pdia-working-paper>

Plenary Session 3: Leadership and Change

Format: Plenary session
Discussion group

Objectives:

- Discuss leadership as a key ingredient in society's progress.
- Explore how effective leadership strategies assist in dealing with adversity.
- Highlight the importance of adaptability for effective leadership.

Background:

A combination of current and emerging security and development challenges demand transformational leaders, who, through the strength of their vision and personality, could inspire followers to change expectations, perceptions and motivations to work towards common goals. Strategic leadership is about setting and not just reacting to agendas, identifying problems, and initiating change that makes for substantial improvement rather than managing change.²⁰ Strategic leadership is about anticipating shocks and disasters. Their adaptive capacity enables strategic leaders not only to change but, more importantly, to be the catalyst for such change.

To trigger a "change in the rules of the game," and therefore count as an example of transformational change, leaders had to go beyond simply improving the effectiveness of the existing system.²¹ When strong leaders confine their activities to the efficient implementation of the existing rules of the game, this constituted good management rather than leadership. Leadership requires leaders to observe that the existing rules of the game are preventing the full realization of a particular developmental good, and that it is necessary to institute a new set of norms and patterns of behavior.²² The leader then needs to set out a vision for change, and embark on a process that can facilitate that change.

Africa needs a new cadre of leaders aware of the way international politics or relations work, in order to know what to do, how, when, and with whom. To successfully manage change, a leader must demonstrate skills and tools that include strategy formulation (discursive leadership) as well as the effective implementation of the strategy. Strategic leadership provides a clear vision (visionary leadership) by communicating the medium and long-term direction of an institution. It provides the mechanisms by which organizations encourage and support innovation and knowledge creation. In addition, strategic leadership gives a vision of the roadmap that allows an institution to evolve and innovate. It instills meaning in subordinates for the roles they must play in fulfilling this vision and encourages them to face new situations and new challenges through motivated responses.

Discussion Questions:

- Why/how is leadership important for facilitating change and what does 'leadership' mean in the African context?
- How can we study leadership for transformational change in Africa?

²⁰ Craig Pearce, "Follow the Leaders," MIT Sloan Management Review/ Wall Street Journal, B8, 12.

²¹ Suda Perera, E. Houston Shearon, Paul Jackson and Heather Lyne de Ver, "What Enables or Disables Leadership for Transformational Change in Africa?" *Uongozi Institute Research Paper* 55, May 2018, p. 3.

²² Ibid.

- Where leadership has facilitated change, what factors have led to the emergence of this leadership?
- What factors prevent leadership processes from fully realizing transformational change?

Required Readings:

Suda Perera, E. Houston Shearon, Paul Jackson and Heather Lyne de Ver, "What Enables or Disables Leadership for Transformational Change in Africa?" *Uongozi Institute Research Paper 55*, May 2018.

<http://publications.dlprog.org/RP55.pdf>

Sam Adeyemi, "Africa does not Need Charity, it Needs Good Leadership," *World Economic Forum on Africa*, 4 May 2017.

<https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/05/africa-doesn-t-need-charity-it-needs-good-leadership>

Landry Signé, "Accountability, demand for democracy drive leadership change in Africa," *The HILL*, 13 June 2018.

<https://thehill.com/opinion/international/391671-accountability-demand-for-democracy-drive-leadership-changes-in-africa>

Plenary Session 4: Democratic Governance of Africa's Security Sector

Format: Plenary session
Discussion group

Objectives:

- Define the concept and key elements of democratic governance of the security sector.
- Outline the key norms, values and principles, as well as the structures, processes and procedures that underpin democratic civil-security sector relations.
- Share success stories and lessons that might provide benchmarks and guidance for Security Sector Reform.

Background:

A key challenge in most African countries is how create a secure environment that is conducive to development, poverty reduction, good governance and, in particular, the growth of democratic states and institutions based on the rule of law. Thanks to support from international partners, security sector reform has been trying to create professional security institutions that meet the needs of citizens, society, and the state and which operate within the rule of law and under effective democratic control.²³ A security sector cannot be viewed as functional if it is deficient in terms of adequate governance. A security sector can be considered as dysfunctional if it does not provide security to neither the state nor its people in an efficient and effective way or, even worse, if it becomes the very cause of insecurity.

The proper governance and regulation of the security sector does require an informed and active legislature, a clear governmental policy framework and laws, effective civilian executive authorities and an active civil society to keep the security sector accountable, transparent and efficient. Overall, there are four aspects of democratic governance that are critical for the security sector are: a) transparency; b) accountability; c) the legal basis of the security sector; and d) oversight.²⁴ The ultimate purpose is to ensure that security institutions (armed forces in particular) are governed according to the principles of democratic control and accountability. The biggest challenge, however, is to craft ways to reconcile a military strong enough to do anything the civilians ask with a military subordinate enough to do only what the civilians authorize.²⁵

Discussion Questions:

- Why should we care about the security sector and why its governance critical?
- To whom should the security forces pledge allegiance? A political party, an individual, or the Constitution? Why?
- What principles, structures, and processes are useful to establishing effective democratic civil-security sector relations?
- What are the obligations of the security sector/military to society? Similarly, what are the obligations of society and civil authorities to the security sector?

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ See Nicole Ball and Kayode Fayemi, *Security Sector Governance in Africa: A Handbook*, p. 4.
http://www.ssronline.org/ssg_a/index4.cfm?id=16&p=16

²⁵ See Feaver, Peter D. 1996. "The Civil-Military Problématique: Huntington, Janowitz, and the Question of Civilian Control," *Armed Forces and Society*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 149-178

Required Readings:

Oluwakemi Okenyondo, "Governance, Accountability and Security in Nigeria," *Africa Security Brief*, No. 31, 21 June 2016. Available in French and Portuguese.

<https://africacenter.org/publication/governance-accountability-security-nigeria-html/>

Mathurin C. Houngnikpo, "Africa's Militaries: A Missing Link in Democratic Transitions," *Africa Security Brief* No. 17, 31 January 2012. Available in French and Portuguese.

<https://africacenter.org/publication/africas-militaries-a-missing-link-in-democratic-transitions/>

Plenary Session 5: National Security Strategy Development

Format: Plenary session
Discussion group

Objectives:

- Understand some key elements of the national security strategy development process.
- Discuss practical steps for initiating, drafting and approving a national security strategy.
- Understand how national security strategy is resourced and how it defines responsibilities for its implementation.
- Discuss the mechanisms and institutions for security sector interagency collaboration, coordination, harmonization and decision-making.

Background:

One of the core functions of a nation-state is to provide for the security and safety of its citizens. Many African states have enshrined this commitment in their constitutions. However, they often fail to uphold it in practice. A shifting security landscape, and a revolution in the definition of security itself, demands a fundamental rethinking of national security strategy development. Decision-makers must prioritize and manage security threats within the context of this new paradigm. A well-designed formulation process is critical to meeting this objective.

A state's unique set of national interests and values will shade the contours of its national strategy. However, these principles are never in stasis, because the notion of national security continues to evolve. Some nevertheless caution against an overly expansive definition of national security. It should also be noted that policy and strategy are distinct. While national security policy lays out broad priorities within the context of a national vision, the strategy describes how, including with what resources, it means to achieve them. Various countries are at different stages and are undergoing different experiences. Ultimately, every country must follow the 5 Ps, i.e., People, Process, Priorities, Product and Partnerships.

In terms of funding, resource management has far-reaching implications for national security in Africa. An effective national security strategy will align spending with security. When spending and procurement decisions are not grounded in strategy, scarce resources may be squandered on unnecessary equipment and inappropriate ventures. While international assistance is welcome, it should never be the main or only funding source.

A national security strategy should designate the roles and responsibilities of the institutions charged with carrying out objectives. It should also determine mechanisms to coordinate their activities and decisions. As a comprehensive review of national security threats, a national security strategy document should inform of a clear division of labor. In the end, the national security strategy development process provides an opportunity to collectively assess the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of relevant institutions in addressing security challenges.

Discussion Questions:

- How well are national values and interests defined in your country?

- Do you see any rationale for crafting a national security strategy for your country? If yes, what would be the purpose and scope of coverage of the national security strategy development?
- How does a national/regional security strategy help to align resources with security threats?
- How are roles and responsibilities assigned to security institutions and agencies in your country/region? Are there overlaps in these roles and responsibilities, and how are they addressed?

Required Readings:

Cancian, M., Schaus, J., Shah, H. and Hopkins, A., 2017. *Formulating National Security Strategy: Past Experience and Future Choices*. Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). <https://www.csis.org/analysis/formulating-national-security-strategy>

Caudle, S., 2009. "National Security Strategies: Security from what, for Whom, and by What Means." *Journal of Homeland Security and Emergency Management* Vol. 6(1): 1-26. <https://www.degruyter.com/view/j/jhsem.2009.6.1/jhsem.2009.6.1.1526/jhsem.2009.6.1.1526.xml>

Case Studies:

- Botswana: [English](#)
- Burkina Faso: [English](#) | [Français](#) | [Português](#)
- Côte d'Ivoire: [English](#) | [Français](#) | [Português](#)
- Liberia: [English](#) | [Français](#) | [Português](#)
- Madagascar: [English](#) | [Français](#) | [Português](#)
- Nigeria: [English](#)
- Senegal/Sénégal: [English](#) | [Français](#) | [Português](#)
- South Africa/Afrique du Sud: [English](#)
- South Sudan/Soudan du Sud: [English](#) | [Français](#) | [Português](#)

Module II: Strategic Approaches

How to think strategically in a volatile, uncertain environment and thereby provide transformational leadership and shape outcomes remains a key challenge in Africa. Yet, strategic leaders face are often multi-faceted problems that can involve ethical dilemmas. Henceforth, they must move beyond thinking tactically and take a longer term, broader approach to finding solutions. For short-term effectiveness and long-term success, strategic leadership relies on strategic processes and strategic approaches: Strategic processes are a force for change within an institution while strategic approaches are how strategies built through strategic processes is put in place.²⁶

Taking into account the coherence of structures, processes and management methods, the strategic leader must display behaviors and ways of doing things that are in line with national core values and strategic orientations. Among other things, he/she must ensure that the allocation of financial and human resources at all levels of the institution is in support of the values and strategic directions. The strategic approach to resolving key challenges also calls for an interagency method for managing security challenges in order to promote a definition of a consolidated national position during the strategic planning process.

Consequently, African states must have relatively effective and well-functioning interagency mechanisms for managing security challenges. We will need instruments that are generally based on risk analysis methods, emergency organization to respond to the crisis and measures of consequence management. An appropriate interdepartmental methodological framework will be needed to develop and implement a coherent strategy that combines all military, diplomatic and development activities to address security challenges.

Through this module, we will see that the security threats African countries face, and which their security sectors must deal with, span the spectrum from internal civil strife and armed conflict caused by disputes over either limited national resources or power, to democracy's travails, to international drug and human smuggling to radical violent extremism potentially leading to terrorist activity. The scope of security threats in Africa is in itself a serious challenge. Therefore, responses of African states to current and emerging challenges – whether civil or military in nature – will hinge disproportionately on their security sectors' level of preparedness. It is critically important, therefore, that African security sector leaders focus with renewed commitment on anticipating, planning, responding, and managing these challenges.

Unless African leaders address critical security threats facing their continent from a strategic perspective, it is unlikely that they will succeed. While developing a strategic approach to security challenges is difficult, the result often makes the difference between an average and an exceptional leader. In the end, strategic leadership can only be achieved when the leader is strategic in his/her approach to various challenges facing the nation.

²⁶ See Matthew Lynch, "Elements of Strategic Leadership," 11 Apr 2016; <https://www.theedadvocate.org/elements-of-strategic-leadership/>

Plenary Session 6: Violent Conflict Trends

Format: Plenary session
Discussion groups

Objectives:

- Explore the typology of violent conflicts in Africa.
- Analyze the strategic implications of conflict trends in Africa.

Background:

While, armed violence is globally declining in Africa and the trend is more pronounced when measuring fatalities relative to population size.²⁷ The drop in deaths from traditional conflict is offset by a perceptible rise in violent conflict associated with internal conflict. A significant proportion of this violence is related to poor governance with states being notable perpetrators.²⁸

In addition, a significant proportion of violent conflict is sub-regional, with groups like Boko Haram and Al Shabaab being examples. Conflict in Africa is also becoming more complex as the numbers of conflict actors have increased. Rebel (and extremist) groups are more numerous and often fracture into additional groupings. The link between transnational organized crime and terrorism also appears to be strengthening, with groups like Boko Haram and Al Shabaab developing links with ISIS and Al Shabaab.

Discussion Questions:

- What type of conflict affects your country/subregion the most?
- What are the impacts of conflict on your country/subregion/continent?
- What relations, are there between conflict and socio-economic and political problems?

Required Readings:

Ingrid Vik Bakken and Siri Aas Rustad, "Conflict Trends in Africa, 1989-2017," *PRIO Conflict Trends* 06, 2018.

<https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Conflict%20Trends%20in%20Africa%20201946%E2%80%932017%20Conflict%20Trends%20Report.pdf>

Raymond Gilpin, "Understanding the Nature and Origins of Violent Conflict in Africa," in *Minding the Gap: African Conflict Management in a Time of Change* by P. Aall and C. Crocker, 2016.

²⁷ Jakkie Cilliers, "Violence in Africa: Trends, Drivers and Prospects to 2023," *Africa Report* 12, Aug 2018, p. 3.

²⁸ Ibid.

Plenary Session 7: Democratization Trends

Format: Plenary session
Discussion groups

Objectives:

- Examine the progress African countries have made and the key challenges and opportunities they face in the process of achieving representative, democratic governance.
- Discuss major challenges of constitutional political succession, military coups, clientelism and corruption, and ethnic and religious tensions as they relate to governance performance.
- Explore the relationship between political developments, governance trends and security in Africa.

Background:

The state of democracy in Africa is arguably one of the most controversial and difficult questions facing the continent today. While many countries are making obvious progress to improve state-society relations, others appear to be regressing. Negative trends are being reinforced by global trends towards nationalism and authoritarianism. Whether democracy can be designed so that it better fits African realities, remain key questions that academics, researchers and media commentators continue to grapple with.²⁹

As much as there are advances in democratization, there are equally ‘democratic rollbacks’ and the entrenchment of autocracy, albeit under the guise of electoralism in multi-party contexts. While it is important to acknowledge achievements of the continent’s success stories, it is also crucial to recognize the way in which elections have encouraged corruption and exacerbated ethnic tensions.³⁰

The 2018 *Freedom in the World*³¹ report identified three key trends that have broad implications for the continent’s democratic trajectory:

Trend No. 1 - Regions are diverging.

Trend No. 2 - Countries with fast-growing populations tend to be more autocratic.

Trends No. 3 - Countries that have weakened presidential term limits are growing more authoritarian.

Though Africa is trending toward successful, accountable, and constitutional leadership change, setbacks persist. Not all transitions have been smooth, nor free and fair. Moreover, leadership change is not necessarily a sign of the quality of a country’s democracy.³² Overall a picture of complexity and of contradictory trends is revealed, one in which it is difficult to establish clear and definite patterns.

²⁹ See Nic Cheeseman, “How to Design more Stable Democracies that better Fit African Realities,” The Conversation, 24 July 2015; Available at <https://theconversation.com/how-to-design-more-stable-democracies-that-better-fit-african-realities-45057>

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ See Freedom House, *2018 Freedom in the World: Democracy in Crisis*, Washington, DC, 2019.

³² See <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/accountability-and-demand-for-democracy-drive-leadership-changes-in-africa/>

Discussion Questions:

- What are the key challenges to entrenching democracy in Africa?
- What practical measures can African countries take to entrench democracy and the benefits that flow from it?
- How have African leaders either enhanced or inhibited democracy and the development of their continent?
- What factors, either endogenous or exogenous, explain Africa's democratization challenges?

Required Readings:

Richard Joseph, "Dilemmas of Democracy and State Power in Africa," *Brookings Op-Ed*, 7 Jan 2016.

<https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/dilemmas-of-democracy-and-state-power-in-africa/>

Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi, "Africa's Waning Democratic Commitment," *Journal of Democracy* 26/1 (2015), 101-113. <http://muse.jhu.edu/article/565642>

Plenary Session 8: Transnational Crime

Format: Plenary session
Discussion Group

Objectives:

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

Background:

Transnational crime, at its core, is a lucrative business. It is overwhelmingly motivated by financial gain and seeks out opportunities that offer high profits and low risks/costs. Criminals not only derive financial benefit from illicit revenues, they also use the proceeds to sustain operations and fund further criminal activity, all of which is a threat to individual nations and the international community.³³ Due to their adaptability, organized criminal groups are quick to adopt new technology, moving operations online or using anonymous digital currency that enables them to maximize profits as well as stay ahead of law enforcement.³⁴

Instead of being a blessing, Africa's rapid technological development, including its e-commerce industry and mobile technologies, has generated a proliferation of cybercrime and illicit online activities. Taking advantage of the continent's weak IT infrastructure, criminal networks are designing such threats as ransomware, new malware and social media scams to achieve their goals. Online identity theft is also a rising phenomenon, with the threat of terrorists purchasing forged documents as part of "packages" sold online to enter other countries.³⁵ Furthermore, traffickers are also diversifying and interconnecting their activities, including drug trafficking, people smuggling, arms trafficking, wildlife crime, illegal logging, cultural artefacts trafficking as well as fake medicines. Unfortunately, **trans-regional illicit trafficking is fueling greater insecurity and instability across Africa.**

Discussion Questions:

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

Recommended Readings:

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

Eric Tamarkin, "The AU's Cybercrime response: A positive start, but substantial challenges ahead," *ISS Policy Brief*, January 2015. <https://issafrica.org/research/policy-brief/the-aus-cybercrime-response-a-positive-start-but-substantial-challenges-ahead#>

³³ See Global Financial Integrity, *Transnational Crime and the Developing World*, March 2017, p. 1

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Maritime Executive, "China Dismantles Major Ivory Trafficking Syndicate," Texas A&M University, 14 Jan 2019; <https://www.maritime-executive.com/article/china-dismantles-major-ivory-trafficking-syndicate>

Plenary Session 9: Violent Extremism

Format: Plenary session
Discussion groups

Objectives:

- Survey the different violent extremist organizations operating in Africa.
- Assess national and regional approaches to countering violent extremism.

Background:

Transnational organized crime and violent extremism are increasingly interconnected. Criminals, terrorists and armed insurgents alike are profiting from crime and, through illicit trafficking routes and networks, are moving people and products, creating fault lines from one region to the next across Africa.

It is not far-fetched to say that the rise in terrorism and violent extremism in Africa has exacerbated existing political, economic and societal tensions. It has also amplified and extended violent conflict nationally and regionally.³⁶ Among other drivers are social, political and economic factors. These factors are interlinked and collectively reinforcing. Some of these groups also hide behind religion to conduct lucrative illicit activities.

African nations and their international partners have increasingly coupled traditional counterterrorism (CT) efforts with newer preventative measures aimed primarily at undermining VEOs' ability to find support and recruits from surrounding populations. In particular, the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT), seeks to serve as a focal point for sharing sound practice, policy-relevant analysis and building capacity through a suite of seminars and training programs.³⁷

Discussion Questions:

- What VEOs are operating in your country and region? How have these organizations affected the security environment in which you work?
- How should CVE efforts be combined with traditional CT efforts to have the greatest effect in your country or region?
- What concrete and practical measures can African nations take, working at the national, regional, and international levels, to better counter VEOs on the continent?

Required Readings:

Marisha Ramdeen, "Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism in Africa," *Conflict Trends*, 2017/2, 21 July 2017.

<https://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/countering-terrorism-violent-extremism-africa/>

Cilliers, Jakkie. "Violent Islamist Extremism and Terror in Africa." *Institute for Security Studies Paper* 286 (2015).

³⁶ See Marisha Ramdeen, "Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism in Africa," *Conflict Trends* 2017/2, 27 July 2017.

³⁷ See <http://www.peaceau.org/en/page/2-3591-static-about-african-centre-for-study-and-research-on-terrorism-ACSRT>.

Plenary Session 10: Maritime Security

Format: Plenary session
Discussion groups

Objectives:

- Explores maritime safety and security in Africa.
- Evaluates existing collaborative arrangements to safeguard Africa's maritime interests.

Background:

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

Piracy and Armed Robbery at Sea

While the threat had been abated off Somalia for almost five years, and the modalities and frequency of attacks in the Gulf of Guinea have shifted, the risk of Piracy and armed robbery attacks on commercial vessels is as present as ever. Instability caused by Yemen's conflict has resulted in ideological attacks on ships of certain flags, the use of unmanned underwater systems to harm vessels, and terrorist involvement in piracy activity.

Fisheries

IUU fishing threatens African fisheries, a vital source of food and jobs to millions of Africans. Some estimate Africa's fishing stocks will be decimated in forty years, while others project a doubling of Africa's population in that same period. Without drastic collaborative, cooperative and coordinated measures, dwindling fishing resources and population growth will result in food insecurity, with concomitant effects on security.

Crude Oil Theft

Crude oil theft is a highly organized and financed operation that deprives oil-producing countries of much needed revenue streams and destabilizes local communities. This often happens with the complicity of the police and military who turn a blind eye to these nefarious activities of pirates or oil bunkering.³⁸

³⁸ See Marine Guide Blog, "Solutions to Piracy and Oil Bunkering in Nigeria Waters," 2 May 2018; <https://marineandoffshoreinsight.com/solutions-to-piracy-and-oil-bunkering-in-nigeria-waters/>

If maritime security is the protection from threats to the freedom or good order at sea, Africa, despite its efforts, has yet to efficiently deal with the prevention of intentional damage to its seas.

Discussion Questions:

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

Required Readings:

Ian Ralby, "Trends in African Maritime Security," *ACSS Spotlight* 15 March 2019.

<https://africacenter.org/spotlight/trends-in-african-maritime-security/>

André Standing, "La Criminalité dans la Pêche Commerciale en Afrique: Une Menace pour la Sécurité Humaine," *Bulletin de la Sécurité Africaine* No. 33, 5 Déc 2017.

<https://africacenter.org/fr/publication/criminalite-peche-commerciale-afrique-menace-securite-humaine/>; Available in English and Portuguese.

Module III: Regional Security Mechanisms in Africa

Cognizant of the need for regional organizations to take up the resolution of conflicts in their region, the UN Charter Chapter VIII discusses regional arrangements for peace and security, and encourages localized agency in conflict resolution. Regionalization of international politics, collapse of the Cold War security architecture, inability of anyone state or organization to manage the resulting world order, the growth of regional powers and the desire on their part as well as other regional states to seek greater control over their strategic environment, and growth of economic regionalism are some of the reasons that underscore this growing interest and attention.³⁹

Unlike in the formative years of the UN when regional arrangements were seen as competing with and detrimental to the universal approach embodied in the UN, it is now widely accepted that global and regional institutions can and should work together in promoting international peace and security. Regional actors have shown a deep interest in conflict management in their respective regions, and they can provide legitimacy, local knowledge and experience, and some resources.⁴⁰

Despite the language, governmental and institutional barriers resulting from colonialism, the Cold War and post-Cold War dynamics African countries are gradually coming together to address both national and transnational security issues they are facing. The resources required to respond to and manage these diverse threats and vulnerabilities, explored under module 2, are beyond the means of any single African country.

This module reviews contemporary regional security efforts through a review of the interactions between the AU and the UN. Various sessions will cover the African Peace and Security architecture, the concept of subsidiarity, the role of the African Group (A3) at the UN, UN Peacekeeping endeavor in Africa, and the UN Sustainable Development Goals.

³⁹ See Muthiah Alagappa, "Regional Arrangements, the UN, and International Security: A Framework for Analysis," in Weiss T.G. (eds) *Beyond UN Subcontracting*. International Political Economy Series. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 1998, p. 4.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Plenary Session 11: Regional Approaches

Format: Plenary session
Discussion group

Objectives:

- Discusses how regional security strategies and initiatives may enhance security outcomes across the continent.
- Explores the role of the African Union and Regional Economic Communities.

Background:

For a continent where “it takes a village to raise a child” and where fighting communities come together to iron out their dispute, it should not surprise anyone that Africa is embracing regional approaches to conflict.⁴¹ The nature and complexity of conflicts in Africa call for regional approaches. However, regional approaches should complement rather than replace national and global approaches to conflict management, and the dynamics between the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and regional economic communities (RECs) reflects that.⁴²

While desirable, the impact of regional approaches has been mixed. One reason is weak institutional capacity at the AU and RECs. This derives from unclear mandates, inadequate resources and human capacity constraints. In addition, regional approaches in Africa suffer from negative international perceptions regarding legitimacy, governance, and effectiveness. These negative perceptions undermine international support.

Despite the challenges many believe that only regional approaches can enhance the ability of African countries to achieve their peace and security objectives, and the APSA is a useful platform toward such goal.

Discussion Questions:

- Why are regional approaches more appropriate for Africa’s security landscape?
- How well are regional approaches faring on the continent?
- What role should the AU play in the development of ASF’s Regional Brigades?
- Other than the resource constraints, what major obstacles does the PSC face in bringing the ASF concept to full operational capability?

Required Reading:

Jan Vanheukelom and Sophie Desmidt, “Regional Peace Architecture in Africa: A Reality Check,” *European Centre for Development Policy Management Discussion Paper* No. 249, Mar 2019.
<https://ecdpm.org/wp-content/uploads/DP-249-Regional-peace-architectures-in-Africa-A-reality-check.pdf>

⁴¹ See IPA, “Regional Approaches to Conflict Management in Africa,” *IPA Seminar Report*, Aug 2001, p. 2.

⁴² Ibid.

Plenary Session 12: The African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)

Format: Plenary session
Discussion group

Objectives:

- Explore the APSA Roadmap 2016-2020.
- Provide an overview of challenges and opportunities of regional and sub-regional responses to security issues.

Background

The critical issue that appeals to most Africans, in the field of safeguarding peace and security, remains the question of how far the pan-African organization (the African Union-AU), which aims to lead the continent towards peace and security prosperity to which its potentialities of human and material resources predispose it, can go in ensuring the realization of its ambitions. Arguably, Africa is one of the regions of the world where security issues are not only a hindrance to development but also and above all a threat of destabilization or even bankruptcy of certain states. In addition to these political violence, transnational crime, from drug trafficking to arms trafficking to illegal financial flows and human trafficking (as discussed in previous sessions), threaten the continent and puts a strain on states.

For the African Union, the task of safeguarding peace and security is an essential task, ideally to take charge of the multiple conflicts that proliferate on the continent's soil and to take ownership of appropriate peace and security operations in Africa; or, at least, to participate effectively alongside the UN Security Council in the management of these crises. Thus, since the creation of the African Union in 2002, States have examined the proliferation of crises that hinder the progress of Africa and which constitute a major concern to the extent that the principle of non-interference privileged by the OAU has given way to that of "non-indifference" adopted by the AU.

Having admitted that sub-regional and regional cooperation is a vital factor in the political, economic and social development of the continent, the AU has, since 2002, designed and enacted a complex and comprehensive system in its African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) involving the continental institution itself (AU), member-states, regional economic communities (RECS), civil society and international partners to respond to security challenges on the continent.

Through the APSA, African leaders see in the creation of this architecture a desire to empower African mechanisms for safeguarding peace and security and an opportunity to better multiply these mechanisms to respond to the many risks and threats. Essentially, this architecture is based on a decision-making body (The Council for Peace and Security); on mechanisms for analysis and evaluation (The Continental Early Warning System and the Council of Elders) and finally on an instrument of action (the African Standby Force).

In order to substantially contribute to achieving the goals of the AU initiative on "Silencing of the Guns: Pre-requisites for realizing a conflict-free Africa by the year 2020", the "APSA Roadmap

2016-2020,” became the strategic document, which builds on the achievements and challenges resulting from the implementation of the previous APSA Roadmap (2011-2013).⁴³

The African continent is making efforts to organize, design and intensify political support for its peace and security architecture. The steps taken in the new African Union are much more effective than those at the disposal of the former OAU, the breakthroughs and advances are tangible and palpable; but the AU must redouble its efforts to improve the conception of the continental and regional structures of this architecture.

Discussion Questions:

- What difference did the transformation of the OAU into an AU makes in terms of conflict prevention, management and resolution?
- Is the APSA living up to its missions?
- What are your views on the AU position of non-indifference as opposed to the OAU’s non-interference into member states’ internal affairs?
- How well is Africa doing with the concept of “African solutions to African problems?”

Required Readings:

Yann Bedzigui, “Enhancing AU responses to Instability: Linking AGA and APSA,” *ISS Policy Brief*, 1 Jan 2018. <https://issafrica.org/research/policy-brief/enhancing-au-responses-to-instability-linking-aga-and-apsa>

Available in French: <https://issafrica.org/fr/recherches/note-danalyse/lunion-africaine-face-aux-defis-conjoints-de-securite-et-gouvernance>

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

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

⁴³ See AU, “Main Successes of the AU in Peace and Security, Challenges and Mitigations Measures in Place,” *AU Press Release*, 27 January 2017; <https://au.int/en/pressreleases/20170127/main-successes-au-peace-and-security-challenges-and-mitigation-measures-place>

Plenary Session 13: Subsidiarity and Regional Organizations

Format: Plenary session
Discussion group

Objectives:

- Discuss subsidiarity as a governance principle.
- Explore its advantages and disadvantages in the African context.
- Discuss Regional Economic Communities.

Background:

The principle of subsidiarity hinges on the driving idea that public functions should be exercised as close as possible to the citizen. Only if the 'closest' authority is not in a position to perform a function or to do it effectively will this function be allocated to a 'higher' level of government. Subsidiarity assumes that 'closer' authorities are better suited to respond to certain social demands stemming from their community.⁴⁴ Subsidiarity fulfils two fundamental tasks: first, to prevent decisions from being restricted to a single tier of government and, second, to ensure that policies are decided and implemented at the most appropriate level.⁴⁵ In the African context, conflict mediation should therefore be directly supported and, where appropriate, led by Regional Economic Communities (RECs).

As a principle, "subsidiarity assists in determining ways to organize the division of labor in overlapping or asymmetric hierarchies. In and of itself, subsidiarity is not enough to do so. Instead, it is often linked to several other, mutually supportive principles."⁴⁶ Despite the principle of subsidiarity, the analysis of the situation on the ground reveals certain handicaps that still hinder the appropriation by Africa of its mechanisms for safeguarding peace and security on the continent. Inequalities between the resources available to the RECs and the disparities between them, particularly at the economic and military levels, have affected the level of operationalization of the Regional Brigades of the African Standby Force. The degrees of preparation and the rates of advancement are thus made at unequal speeds. These inequalities of development from one region to another and consequently from one Regional Brigade to another hamper the interoperability of forces, the ultimate phase of operationalization.

The relationship between the Peace and Security Council (PSC) and the brigades of regional economic communities remains delicate. From the PSC protocol defining this interaction, it is a relationship of partnership and cooperation of equals without hierarchical structures or decisions despite the provision of subparagraph iii of the article IV of the aforementioned protocol, which timidly suggests a certain primacy of the African Union over regional communities in terms of peace and security. Other articles, however, give the impression of a lack of hierarchy between the African Union and its regional partners. This is the case of subparagraph iv of the same article, which makes the subsidiarity, complementarity and comparative advantages of the guiding concepts of the relationship:

⁴⁴ See Carlo Panara, "The Principle of Subsidiarity," in The sub-national dimension of the EU: A legal study of multilevel Governance, 2015, (pp. 79-125).

⁴⁵ See Law Explorer, "The Principle of Subsidiarity," 07 Nov 2016; <https://lawexplores.com/the-principle-of-subsidiarity/>

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

“Respect for the principles of subsidiarity, complementarity, as well as the respective comparative advantages of the Parties, in order to optimize the partnership between the Union, the RECs and the Coordination Mechanisms in the promotion and maintenance of peace, security and stability.”⁴⁷

Established under the Abuja Treaty in 1991, the RECs were tasked with facilitating regional economic integration between members of the individual regions and through the wider African Economic Community (AEC). Faced with conflicts of all kinds, the RECS are increasingly involved in coordinating AU Member States’ interests in wider areas such as peace and security, development and governance.⁴⁸

The AU currently recognizes eight RECs, the:

- Arab Maghreb Union (UMA)
- Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)
- Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD)
- East African Community (EAC)
- Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)
- Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
- Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)
- Southern African Development Community (SADC).⁴⁹

Each REC was responsible for the establishment of a standby brigade, a military logistics depot and one or more training centers. In addition to its standby brigade, each REC was expected to have a permanent planning facility, a cadre headquarters from which its brigade is assembled. Despite some progress at the regional level, the AU was forced to create in 2013 “African Immediate Crisis Response Capacity” (AICRC), as a temporary strategic alternative to the African Standby Force, which was not yet operational. Renewed efforts are currently underway to operationalize the regional brigades and the African Standby Force.

Discussion Questions:

- How does subsidiarity help organize the division of labor in overlapping or asymmetric hierarchies?
- What are the key challenges the AU and RECS face in discharging their duties?
- Does multiple and overlapping memberships help or hurt RECs in fulfilling their missions?

Required Readings:

Yann Bedzigui, “AU Summit 30: Clearer Lines Are Needed between the AU and RECs,” ISS Today, 22 Jan 2018.

<https://issafrica.org/iss-today/au-summit-30-clearer-lines-are-needed-between-the-au-and-recs>

Siphamandla Zondi, “African Union Approaches to Peacebuilding,” *AJCR* 2017/1, 12 Sep 2017. <https://www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/african-union-approaches-peacebuilding/>

⁴⁷ See Subparagraph iv of Article 4 of PSC Protocol.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

Plenary Session 14: The UN and the A3

Format: Plenary session
Discussion group

Objectives:

- Provide a brief background of the UN Security Council.
- Analyze the role of the African Group or the A3.

Background:

In its vision of a free, peaceful and prosperous continent driven by its people, the African Union (AU) has forged various partnerships over the years. A key visible partnership is the one with the United Nations in the area of peace and security. In the fulfillment of its mandate, and as provided for in the PSC Protocol, the PSC has established ties with the UN Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.⁵⁰ The African Union and the United Nations undertook to enhance collaboration, cooperation and coordination in the search for sustainable solutions to ongoing and future challenges, based on the principles of complementarity, comparative advantage, burden-sharing and collective responsibility to respond early, coherently and decisively in order to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts.⁵¹

The UN-AU relationship goes way back when the then Organization of African Unity (OAU) was invited to participate in UN sessions as an observer in 1965. Three years later, the OAU made its status permanent with an office in New York in 1968. In its search to assert its position as a unifying group for African states at the UN, the OAU created an office to serve as secretariat of the African Group.⁵² This office became The African Union Observer Mission which activities span across peace and security, political, economic and social affairs.

In 2010 the UN Secretary-General and the Chairperson of the AU Commission (AUC) set up the Joint Task Force on Peace and Security, comprising senior officials who meet biannually, to promote coordination on strategic issues of common concern.⁵³ A significant development has been the establishment of the UN Office to the African Union (UNOAU), based in Addis Ababa and headed by a UN official with the status of Under Secretary-General. In 2014 UNOAU and the AU Peace and Security Department prepared the Joint UN-AU Framework for an Enhanced Partnership in Peace and Security (UN-AU 2014). The Framework is an operational document that aims to make the partnership more systematic, effective and results-oriented by facilitating collaboration throughout the conflict cycle, from the earliest indications of emerging conflict.⁵⁴

The Member States in the United Nations General Assembly are divided into various geographical groupings through which elections are conducted into various UN bodies and agencies. Africa is allocated 3 non-permanent members of the Security Council (A3), 14 members on ECOSOC, 13 Members on the Human Rights Council and the President of the General

⁵⁰ See AU, "Report of the Chairperson of the Commission on African Union-United Nations Partnership: The Need for Greater Coherence," PSC/AHG/3 (CCCXCVII), Sep 2013, p. 1.

⁵¹ See AU, "Greater Collaboration to Ensure Peace, Security and Development in Africa," 11 July 2018.

⁵² See <https://www.africanunion-un.org/our-mission>

⁵³ See Laurie Nathan, "Will the Lowest be First? Subsidiarity in Peacemaking in Africa," Paper Presented at ISA, Atlanta, 16-19 Mar 2016, p. 5.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

Assembly in years ending 4 and 9. The Africa Group, made up of the 54 African Union Member States, coordinates its efforts on various topics, ranging from health and migration to issues of peace and security. Although the group is chaired by an Ambassador from a Member State, with the position rotating monthly, the A3 plays a pivotal role in engaging the Security Council. The rotating chair insures the strategic coherence needed to coordinate and arrive at decisions that, though best for their countries, do not sacrifice the peace, cohesion and priorities of the continent.⁵⁵

The cooperation between the AU and the UN in the area of peace and security covers a number of collaborative activities were undertaken in different fields. In the face of complex conflict situations, the two organizations have been able to devise innovative ways of addressing the challenges at hand.⁵⁶ Arguably, significant progress has been achieved in the partnership between the two organizations. Yet, much remains to be done. The complexity of the peace and security challenges confronting the continent means that no single organization can effectively address them on their own. The leverage of both institutions is enhanced when they undertake coordinated and complementary efforts.⁵⁷

Discussion Questions:

- How well is the UN discharging its mission in the world?
- How does the UN contribute to peace and security in Africa?
- How do you assess the cooperation between the UN and the AU?

Required Reading:

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

⁵⁵ See <https://www.africanunion-un.org/history-of-the-mission>

⁵⁶ Nathan, op. cit.

⁵⁷ See AU, "Report of the Chairperson of the Commission on African Union-United Nations Partnership, op. cit. p. 9.
[Africa Center for Strategic Studies](#)

Plenary Session 15: UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA)

Format: Plenary session
Discussion group

Objective:

- Examine the work of the UN Peacekeeping Operations and Political Affairs.
- Assess the impact of peacebuilding activities on the continent.

Background:

Following the reform of the United Nations peace and security infrastructure on 1 January 2019, the UN brought together the former Department of Political Affairs (DPA) and the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office. DPA and the former Department of Peacekeeping Operations (now the Department of Peace Operations, or DPO) also merged their previously parallel regional divisions to create a single structure, the Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA), to provide more coherent political analysis and strategic advice in the service of prevention, peacekeeping and peacebuilding after conflict.⁵⁸

While not envisioned in the Charter, peacekeeping has become a key mission of the UN, and several operations have been conducted in Africa. Quite often, the former department of political affairs was involved in peacekeeping activities on the continent. The Department of Political Affairs (DPA) used to manage a number of field-based Special Political Missions (SPMs), most in Africa, under very challenging security environments. Many of these missions have complex mandates – including in areas such as the strengthening of national systems of justice, police and corrections; human rights and transitional justice – which often have implications on the rule of law, both directly and indirectly.⁵⁹

The newly-created Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA) will play a central role in United Nations efforts to prevent deadly conflict and build sustainable peace around the world. DPPA monitors and assesses global political developments with an eye to detecting potential crises and devising effective responses. The Department provides support to the Secretary-General and his envoys in their peace initiatives, as well as to UN political missions around the world. DPPA is also an agile platform for crisis response, capable, with the assent of countries concerned, of rapidly deploying mediators and other peacemaking expertise worldwide and cooperating closely with regional organizations on the frontlines of conflicts.⁶⁰

Although the UN has assisted Africa and despite some progress on the ground, African intervention forces continue to face several perennial challenges including financing. Other problems include a lack of relevant equipment and such political issues as adequate mandates and rules of engagement.

Discussion Questions:

- How do you assess how well the UN has handled peacekeeping activities in the world in general and in Africa in particular?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages of peacekeeping in Africa?

⁵⁸ See <https://dppa.un.org/en/about-us>

⁵⁹ See <https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/un-and-the-rule-of-law/departments-of-political-affairs/>

⁶⁰ See <https://dppa.un.org/en/about-us>.

- Have you ever been deployed in peacekeeping activities on the continent?

Required Readings:

Paul Williams, "Peace Operations in Africa: Lessons Learned since 2000," Africa Center for Strategic Studies, *Africa Security Brief*, No. 25, July 2013. <https://africacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/ASB25EN-Peace-Operations-in-Africa-Lessons-Learned-Since-2000.pdf> (also available in French and Portuguese).

<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/departments-of-peace-operations>

<https://dppa.un.org/en>

Plenary Session 16: The UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

Format: Plenary session
Discussion group

Objectives:

- Examine the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).
- Discuss the implications for citizen-centric security across the continent.

Background:

Back in 2000, the Millennium Declaration was agreed upon by 189 governments. It was an international agreement on a global vision of poverty reduction, peace and security, environmental protection, human rights and democracy, with goals to be achieved by 2015. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which gave concrete direction for the implementation of the Millennium Declaration.⁶¹ In spite of significant progress, not all goals were met by 2015 and progress has been uneven across goals and countries.

In order to arrive at a new agenda, the UN General Assembly adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in September 2015. Unlike the Millennium Declaration, the 2030 Agenda applies to developing, emerging and industrial countries equally in order to create more global partnership. Central goals of the 2030 Agenda have been set with the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which include 169 targets. The SDGs supersede the MDGs which have expired in 2015 and seek to stimulate international action. They are designed to balance the three dimensions of sustainable development: economic, social and environmental.⁶²

Among the SDGs, goal 16 specifically addresses peace, justice and strong institutions in order to provide security and justice to the citizens. Within the security-development nexus, it is agreed that without peace, stability, human rights, and effective governance based on the rule of law, achieving sustainable development is unlikely. Consequently, the SDGs aim to significantly reduce all forms of violence, and work with governments and communities to find lasting solutions to conflict and insecurity. Strengthening the rule of law and promoting human rights is key to this process, as is reducing the flow of illicit arms and strengthening the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance.⁶³

Discussion Questions:

- What difference is there between the MDGs and the SDGs?
- How confident are you that African countries will fulfill the SDGs?
- How can you contribute to achieving the SDGs?

Required Reading:

Mariama Sow, "Figure of the Week: Africa's Progress on the SDGs and Agenda 2063," *Brookings Africa in Focus* 16 Nov 2017.

⁶¹ See GIZ, From Millennium Development Goals to Sustainable Development Goals, Bonn: GIZ; <https://www.genderingermandevelopment.net/from-millennium-development-goals-to-sustainable-development-goals.html>

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ See <http://www.sdgfund.org/goal-16-peace-justice-and-strong-institutions>

<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2017/11/16/figure-of-the-week-africas-progress-on-the-sdgs-and-agenda-2063/>

ICLEI, "From MDGs to SDGs: What are the Sustainable Development Goals?" ICLEI BRIEFING SHEET - Urban Issues, No. 01.

<http://localizingthesdgs.org/library/251/From-MDGs-to-SDGs-What-are-the-Sustainable-Development-Goals.pdf>

Module IV: Leveraging Africa's External Actors

For decades, International relations theorists have typically assumed that African countries are simply too weak to be able to shape outcomes at the international level in a meaningful way. African states have thus often been treated as a residual category without effective agency.⁶⁴ The question of power through the framework of agency that has received little critical thinking is now being challenged. African leaders are now grasping the degree to which they have room to maneuver within the international system and exert influence internationally.

After the regional security mechanisms and interactions among Africans on the one hand, and between Africa and the UN on the other, this module seeks to look into ways in which the nature of the social world facilitates or inhibits African leaders' abilities to act. While the causes of state failure on the continent do not lie entirely in predatory agency, it remains a fact that Africa has not fared too well on the international scene. Arguably, analyses of Africa that continue to depict the continent as largely peripheral to the main forces of change also fail to appreciate the manner in which the continent has become an important terrain for the emerging politics of the world's major players.

Given the nature of international politics, African leaders have not been, arguably, very successful at playing their hands. While some have managed to make some personal gains, a close analysis of their performance reveals that, besides common positions on some international issues such as the climate or the environment, most of them have not benefited their countries. In contrast to the conventional approach of studying how external actors impacted on Africa's international relations, some scholars are scrutinizing the rapidly increasing role of African states, leaders and other political actors on the international scene.⁶⁵ In such a global and competitive political environment, it is practically impossible for change to occur by itself. African agency will be crucial to the re-awakening of the continent. Whereas agency is limited by the opportunities available, strategic leadership can be a comparative advantage.

This final module provides an overview of key external partners impacting Africa's security sector: The United States, European Union, China, and other bilateral partners. While it can help nations address their security concerns, external assistance, if not properly handled, may incidentally undermine the very security it was meant to strengthen. Sessions on leveraging security assistance and Africa's international security relations provide context to understanding how to effectively manage external partnerships. To increase leverage and effectiveness of security assistance, African states and institutions must clearly understand their security environment, its strengths, weaknesses, and objectives in order to make informed decisions. African states should put their relations with other nations on a new footing and to establish strategic partnerships, based on shared values and aims at promoting common interests and achieving shared strategic objectives.

⁶⁴ See Christopher Clapham, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival*, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

⁶⁵ See William Brown and Sophie Harman, eds. *African Agency in International Politics*, New York: Routledge, 2013.

Plenary Session 17: Leveraging External Partnership

Format: Plenary session
Discussion group

Objectives:

- Examine external security assistance models.
- Highlights the potential for effective leadership to manage/coordinate donor assistance.
- Investigates the links between national security and security assistance coordination.

Background:

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

External partners strive to provide assistance to meet their own foreign and security policy objectives; these may or may not match those of African states. Moreover, external partners seldom coordinate among themselves, to identify areas of comparative advantage or alignment with African objectives and realities. This mismatch of objectives may render security assistance ineffective, wasting valuable resources. Consequently, many analysts have called for more coordination among donors and between external partners and African states. For example, the United States may gain by coordinating military and peacekeeping training with France; unlike the U.S., France has a wider network of peacekeeping-related schools; as a recent example, U.S.-France cooperation on the peacekeeping school in Bamako has resulted in lower costs overall and more training relevancy for participating nations.⁶⁶

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

Discussion Questions:

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

Required Readings:

Susan Willett, "Development and Security in Africa: A Challenge for the New Millennium," in Geoff Harris, ed. *Demilitarising sub-Saharan Africa*, Pretoria: Institute of Security Studies, 2004, 101-120.

⁶⁶ Michael Drager, "French Military Education in Africa: New Cooperation Possibilities for the United States? April 29, 2016, *Security Assistance Blog*, <http://securityassistance.org/our-work/blog/author/26264>.

Development and Security in Africa: A Challenge for the New Millennium

Myrto Hatzigeorgopoulos, « *L'assistance militaire : quel rôle dans la prévention des conflits en Afrique ?* », Institut Royal Supérieur de Défense, 2016. www.irsd.be.

Plenary Session 18: The European Union

Format: Plenary session
Discussion groups

Objectives:

- Analyze the evolving relationship between European nations and the African continent.
- Examine lessons from the Joint Africa-EU Strategy partnership.

Background:

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

The Joint Africa-EU Strategy lays out a roadmap for effective collaboration between the European Union and the African continent in priority areas, all of which have direct implications for security. Since its establishment, the strategy has been the basis for significant intervention in African security issues. Substantial support has been provided to the African Union, as well as to regional organizations like ECOWAS and IGAD.⁶⁷ While this approach has been a welcome change, relatively weak coordination and overly bureaucratic processes have limited the strategy's effectiveness. Furthermore, the use of multiple financing instruments has, in some cases, contributed to redundancy, duplication and waste.⁶⁸

The 5th gathering of European and African leaders, rechristened "EU-AU Summit", sought to explore the future of cooperation between both continents in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire in November 2017. For the first time, the African Union (AU) rather than "Africa", officially appears as the European Union's partner. As usual, there was a great deal of discussion on youth, migration, security and governance. Both sides strongly commit to work jointly under the agreed theme of "Investing in Youth for Accelerated Inclusive Growth and Sustainable Development," with the objective of bringing concrete benefits to their young populations and future generations.⁶⁹

Discussion Questions:

- How do you assess current security-related partnerships between the European Union and African countries?

⁶⁷ See http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-13-367_en.htm

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ See https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/news-and-events/african-union-european-union-summit-start-cote-divoire_en

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

Required Readings:

The European Union and African Union: Key Partners, *EU-AU Factsheet*, 21 Jan 2019.

https://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/sites/default/files/documents/factsheet_eu_au-21-1-2019.pdf

European Union, “Strengthening the EU’s partnership with Africa: A new Africa-Europe Alliance for Sustainable Investment and Jobs,” *State of the Union 2018*, 12 Sep 2018.

<https://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/en/stay-informed/publications/factsheet-strengthening-eus-partnership-africa>

Plenary Session 19: U.S. Security Assistance

Format: Plenary session
Discussion group

Objectives:

- Examine the objectives and mechanisms of US security assistance to Africa.
- Assess the impact and effectivity of US security assistance.

Background:

The State Department focuses on four key U.S. security objectives in Africa: capacity-building for African peace support operations; conflict prevention, mitigation, and resolution; military professionalization; and counterterrorism (CT) capacity-building. To achieve these goals, the State Department 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.

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) is the lead U.S. government agency for foreign aid and assistance and operates under the authorities and guidance of the Secretary of State. USAID advances U.S. foreign policy objectives through support for economic growth, agriculture, trade, global health, democracy, conflict prevention, and humanitarian assistance, among other initiatives. USAID has 22 missions in Africa and 3 regional offices on the continent.

The U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) is charged with deterring war and protecting the United States. It does this by maintaining military forces, the main elements of which are the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and Air Force. While the Coast Guard is an arm of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), it also has traditional military capabilities and responsibilities that are exercised as directed by DHS and DOD. In cases of emergency, the Reserve and National Guard augment the regular military forces.

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

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

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

In February 2007, the President announced his intent to create a new command for Africa. At the time, responsibility for the African continent was divided between three U.S. commands: European Command (EUCOM), Central Command (CENTCOM), and Pacific Command (PACOM). The establishment of AFRICOM was driven by the growing strategic relevance of the continent to critical U.S. interests. To promote U.S. strategic objectives, AFRICOM works with

African states and regional organizations to help strengthen stability and security in the region. It does this through a variety of programs and initiatives targeted at improving national and regional security capabilities, military professionalism, and good governance.

Discussion questions:

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

Required Readings:

U.S. Strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa, 2018.

General Thomas Waldhauser, "United States Africa Command 2019 Posture Statement," Feb 7, 2019. <https://www.africom.mil/>

Angela Mahoney et al., *US Presence and the Incidence of Conflict*, Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corporation 2018, pp. 57-82.

file:///C:/Users/DELL/Downloads/RAND_RR1906.pdf

Plenary Session 20: China

Format: Plenary session
Discussion groups

Objectives:

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

Background:

The relations between China and the African continent must be approached from a strategic approach, inscribed in history and privileging the economic aspects, in particular commercial. The approach must also recall the antiquity of certain links, and especially to evoke the real geographical revolution that represents for Africa the increasing irruption of Chinese actors and capital, since China does not reason any more only by ideological and political affinities, but first by economic pragmatism. The considerable increase in its energy and raw material needs and its desire to assert itself as a power on the world stage have become the essential driving force behind Chinese policy towards Africa.

Since the beginning of the 2000s, the Chinese presence in Africa is more and more noticed. In the beginning, some Africans have welcomed a revenge on Westerners displaced from their traditional markets, but today they wonder if it is not a Chinese neocolonialism. At first, China became interested in Africa as a supplier of raw materials, oil and some metals, which were necessary for its growth as the "world factory." Today, the conquest of Africa is part of the leading role that China wants to play in the world. Naturally, this is causing a great power rivalry. While China sees Africa as a reservoir of energy and mining commodities, African states see Beijing as an ideal trading partner, which does not impose specific political conditions on its suppliers and even provides them with diplomatic support. However, Sino-African relations generate displeasure from frustrated nations, concerned too, to diversify their oil supply.

Arguing that it was also a victim of colonialism, China relies on this argument, sincere or not, to be accepted by African leaders who continue to attribute the delay of their countries to colonialism. This is how China has become Africa's largest trading partner. According to the Chinese Ministry of Commerce, Chinese imports from the continent were \$ 75.3 billion in 2017 for exports of \$ 94.7 billion.⁷⁰ China imports oil, minerals and timber from Africa and exports consumer goods, including mobile phones, medicines, machinery and vehicles. Chinese investments, aid or loans are not subject to any political conditions, such as respect for democracy or human rights, and thus allow some African countries to circumvent Western sanctions. This is an added attraction of Chinese aid to undemocratic African governments.

It should be noted that the Chinese adventure is not without pitfalls. For some time now, Western experts in Africa have been arguing that China is taking a lot of risks in Africa, and will come up against the same problems as Western companies, namely, corruption, partial justice, administrative strangleholds and so on. Moreover, now that many Africans go to China,

⁷⁰ See Yves Montenay, "Présence chinoise en Afrique : vers une Chinafrique ?" Contrepoints 29 Oct 2018 ; <https://www.contrepoints.org/2018/10/29/328983-presence-chinoise-en-afrique-vers-une-chinafrique>

especially for their studies or business, they discover a popular racism behind the politeness of Chinese notables who receive them. And since there are many Chinese in Africa, the problem is also on the continent. The Chinese would gladly feel for their African employees that they work less than they do and do not always understand very quickly. Africans blame them for bringing compatriots instead of hiring Africans. And, when they hire them, to behave in very rough manners.

And then, it is relatively simple to lend money to African states that will use it to pay the Chinese companies that make the roads, and to be reimbursed by taking on the natural resources of the country concerned. There is therefore a certain dependence, economic, political and possibly cultural. In addition, the project initially called “the Silk Roads” and now “Belts and Roads,” also includes training programs for officials, courts, standards ... It is, definitely, another way to push Africans to a system of governance analogous to the Chinese, moving them further away from Western influence.

Relations between China and Africa seem to have lost any selective dimension: ALL African countries are concerned. This new continental dimension was first concretized by the widespread diffusion of Chinese products at very competitive prices on the markets. Over the past decade, the organization of Sino-African forums in China (Beijing, 2000, 2006, 2012 and 2018) and in Africa (Ethiopia 2003, Egypt 2009 and South Africa 2015) has shown that China intends to pursue an offensive and pragmatic African policy. Traditionally, China had a pattern of doubling or tripling previous pledges: from \$5 billion in 2006 to 10 in 2009, to 20 in 2012, and to 60 in 2015. Deviating from this pattern, China’s financing pledge at the 2018 Summit remains the same as three years ago. While no one expects China’s financing pledges to continue to double or triple indefinitely, the stagnation of any growth indirectly reflects a cautious attitude on China’s part.⁷¹ Furthermore, it behooves African leaders to determine whether Chinese cooperation would not be an iron fist in a velvet glove offering deceptive charm of the win-win model.

Discussion Questions:

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

Required Readings:

Wenjie Chen et Roger Nord, “Réévaluation des Partenariats Mondiaux de l’Afrique: Approches pour Affronter le Nouvel Ordre Mondial,” *Brookings Report*, 27 avril 2018.

<https://www.brookings.edu/research/reevaluation-des-partenariats-mondiaux-de-lafrique/>
Available in English.

Wekesa, Bob. “FOCAC, African agency and Africa’s China policy.” *L Dialogue* (2017): 2.

⁷¹ See Yun Sun, “China’s Financial Commitments to Africa: Adjustment and Recalibration,” *Brookings Africa in Focus*, 5 Sep 2018; <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2018/09/05/chinas-2018-financial-commitments-to-africa-adjustment-and-recalibration/>

Plenary Session 21: Other Partners: Turkey, India, and the Gulf States

Format: Plenary session
Discussion groups

Objectives:

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

Background:

Although China's increasing interests in Africa seem to be igniting great power rivalry, China is not the only challenge to the West's dominance in the scramble for Africa's resources. India, Russia, Brazil, and Turkey are also investing heavily in Africa. Middle Eastern countries are among the other countries that are being increasingly involved across the continent. Non-traditional security assistance partners now play a more significant role in providing security assistance. Focusing on Turkey, India, and the Gulf States shows Africa's heterogeneity in international relations and strategic interests of different partners.

Turkey

Somalia is central to Turkey's Africa policy; it aims to distinguish it from other external partners by demonstrating commitment to Somalia. Indeed, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's visit in 2011 was the first visit of a non-African leader in 20 years.⁷² Promoting a policy of "Humanitarian Diplomacy,"⁷³ Turkey's engagement with Somalia is seen as highlighting a different type of assistance, one of showing commitment to partnership. To this point, Turkey's engagement continued despite attacks by Al-Shabaab that killed diplomatic officials and staff at Turkish Airlines (which occurred in 2011, 2013, and 2015); the 2015 attack was just prior to President Erdogan's visit. But, Turkey's interest is also a strategy to diversify away from its dependence on the Middle East, raise its profile internationally, and expand its relationship with Africa's Muslim communities.⁷⁴

India

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

⁷² David Shinn, "Turkey's Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa: Shifting Alliances and Strategic Diversification," Chatham House, September 2015.

⁷³ Saferworld, June 2015

⁷⁴ David Shinn.

Here, India invests heavily in peacekeeping: of the 7,676 Indian troops, 80 percent are deployed to the UN missions in South Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo. India has also contributed \$1 million to AMISOM.⁷⁵

Gulf States

The Gulf States' have established roles in peacemaking, cultivated ties to extremists' groups, and drawn Africa into intra-Gulf States' relations. Qatar, more than other Gulf States, has played the role of a mediator in African conflicts. Most notably, Qatar convened warring parties in Darfur, resulting in the 2011 Doha Agreement. At the same time, Qatari and Saudi supported groups have been linked extremist groups in the Sahel and Somalia.⁷⁶ Finally, fissures in Gulf States relations reflect on Africa's foreign policy. As Saudi Arabia intensified its intervention in Yemen's civil war, Djibouti, Sudan and Somalia severed diplomatic ties with Iran, while Eritrea rents out its ports, and along with Senegal and Somalia, sent troops to fight on behalf of Saudi Arabia. In exchange for this support, the countries hope to overcome economic challenges, caused by international sanctions, war, and limited natural resources. Most recently, the Saudi-led coalition to isolate and sanction Qatar for supporting extremists' groups, was followed by the withdrawals of a number of African ambassadors from Qatar.⁷⁷

Discussion Questions:

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

Required Readings:

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

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

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<https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/india-africa-briefing-book-brookings-india.pdf>
⁷⁶ Lidet Tadesse Shiferaw, "The Role of Gulf States in Peace and Security and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa," Istituto Affari Internazionali, *Working Paper* 16, August 19, 2016. <http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iaiwp1619.pdf>.

⁷⁷ Rashid Abdi, "A Dangerous Gulf in the Horn: How the Inter-Arab Crisis is Fuelling Regional Tensions," Crisis Group, August 3, 2017. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/dangerous-gulf-horn-how-inter-arab-crisis-fuelling-regional-tensions>; Hamza Mohamed, "Africa and the Gulf crisis: the peril of picking sides," *Aljazeera*, June 15, 2017. <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/06/africa-gulf-crisis-peril-picking-sides-170615100929852.html>

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Plenary Session 22: Multilateral Institutions

Format: Plenary session
Discussion groups

Objectives:

- Explore Africa's role in the multilateral system.
- Discuss the relationships between Africa and the multilateral institutions.
- Assess multilateral institutions' contributions to Africa's development.

Background:

In 1944, as the Second World War neared its end, a conference was convened by the victorious countries in Bretton Woods, in the United States. It was there that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund were born – in the hope that they would provide the foundations of a peaceful and prosperous future for the world.⁷⁸ Several decades later, these two multilateral institutions occupy a dominant position in the global political economy, but they are the target of powerful attack – both in the streets and in the media. And over the years, they have been joined by a whole range of other multilateral institutions.⁷⁹

Multilateral institutions reflect the power relations prevailing at their point of origin and tend, at least initially, to facilitate worldviews and beliefs (for instance in the merits of neoliberal economics) in accordance with these power relations. This implies that power relations are embedded in all multilateral institutions, even if these are supposedly based on diffuse reciprocity and formal equality among the member countries.⁸⁰

As social institutions around which the experiences of actors converge, multilateral institutions possess a clear coercive quality; and member states and other actors in the institutions, whether they like it or not, are expected to perform certain roles; the costs to actors who choose not to participate on these terms are uncertain and possibly very high.⁸¹ Ultimately, it behooves African leaders to approach dealing with multilateral institutions from a strategic perspective with a clear understanding of the rules of the game and a solid grasp of potential costs and benefits.

Discussion Questions:

- What is Africa's role in the multilateral system?
- What are your expectations vis-à-vis multilateral institutions?
- How efficient have the multilateral institutions been in assisting African countries to reduce poverty?

Required Readings:

Jim Yong Kim, "The World Bank Strategy in Addressing Fragility in sub-Saharan Africa," *Brookings Africa in Focus*, 28 Jan 2019.

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⁷⁸ See Morten Bøås and Desmond McNeill, "Introduction: A 'Critical Engagement' Approach to Multilateral Institutions," in *Multilateral Institutions: A Critical Introduction*, London: Pluto Press, 2003, p. 1.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

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