



**AFRICA CENTER  
FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES**

# **WASHINGTON DIPLOMATIC SEMINAR**

## **SYLLABUS**

**19-20 November 2019**

**Washington, D.C.**



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### SYLLABUS

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## ABOUT THE AFRICA CENTER

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

### VISION

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

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

### MISSION

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

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

### MANDATE

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

Website: [www.africacenter.org](http://www.africacenter.org)

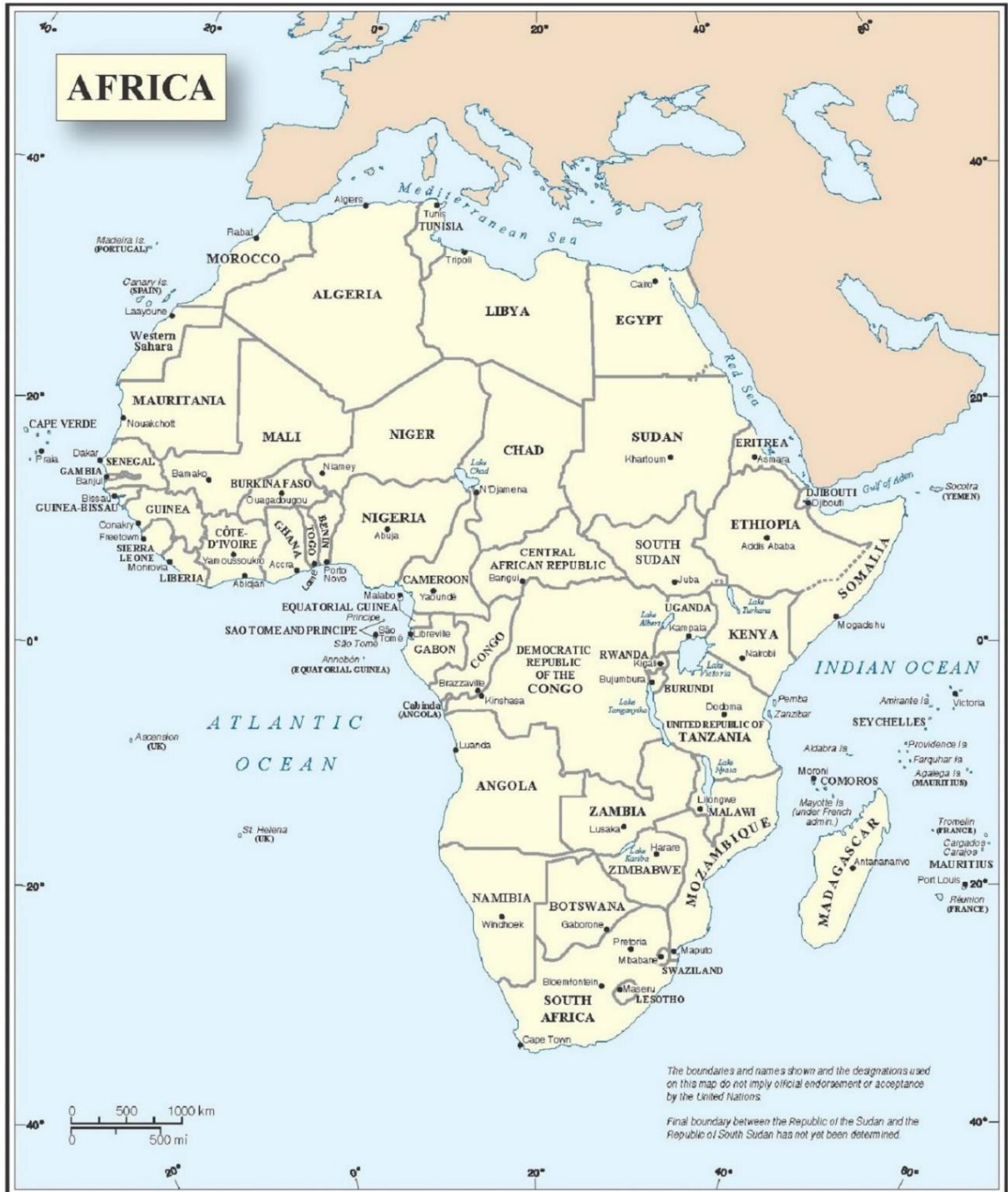
## Introduction

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

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

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

# Map of Africa



Map No. 4045 Rev. 7 UNITED NATIONS  
November 2011

Department of Field Support  
Cartographic Section

*Boundary representation is not authoritative.*

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

### Objectives:

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

### Background

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

#### *The Executive Branch*

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

#### *The Legislative Branch*

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

### *The Judiciary*

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

### *The Department of State*

The secretary of state is the principal representative of the U.S. president abroad. At the State Department, the Bureau of African Affairs focuses on the development and management of U.S. policy concerning the continent. The Bureau seeks to advance the Administration’s Africa Strategy, which focuses on three core objectives:

- 1) Advancing trade and commercial ties with key African states to increase U.S. and African prosperity;
- 2) Protecting the United States from cross-border health and security threats; and
- 3) Supporting key African states’ progress toward stability, citizen-responsive governance, and self-reliance.

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

### *The United States Agency for International Development*

The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) is the lead U.S. development agency. USAID, as it summarizes its mission, “demonstrates America’s good will around the world; increases global stability by addressing the root causes of violence; opens new markets and generates opportunity for trade; creates innovative solutions for once unsolvable development challenges; saves lives; and advances democracy, governance, and peace.”

### *The Interagency Process*

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



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

## **U.S. National Security Strategy**

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

At heart, the NSS is intended to prioritize U.S. national interests, as the administration sees them, derive national security objectives from those interests, and describe the ways and means that the administration will use to pursue those objectives. The NSS typically addresses strategy in both functional and geographical contexts, addressing specific threats and sometimes presenting discrete strategies for different regions of the world. The NSS, ultimately, is what the president wants it to be, and as a result, National Security Strategies differ significantly in organization, scope, format and content from administration to administration. The NSS is the source document for more specialized and focused strategies produced by different elements of the U.S. executive branch.

### **Further Reading:**

Mark F. Cancian, et al., "Formulating National Security Strategy: Past Experience and Future Choices," Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), October 6, 2017, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/formulating-national-security-strategy>.

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

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



Mara Karlin, "How to Read the 2018 National Defense Strategy," Brookings Institution, January 21, 2018, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/01/21/how-to-read-the-2018-national-defense-strategy/>.

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

## Session 2: Departments of State and Defense: U.S Africa Policy

### Objectives:

- To examine the roles of the U.S. Departments of State and Defense in implementing U.S. policies in Africa and to understand U.S. strategic objectives on the continent.
- To map out major Department of State programs and policies in Africa.
- To understand the roles and differences between the Joint Staff, Military Services and Geographic Combatant Commands in formulating and implementing U.S. policy.
- To discuss these policies and share perspectives as African diplomats and security professionals.

### Background

#### *State Department*

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

Within the State Department, the Bureau of African Affairs is led by Ambassador Tibor Nagy. As noted, the Africa Bureau defines its mission as focusing “on the development and management of U.S. policy concerning the African continent. The Administration’s Africa Strategy, signed by President Trump, focuses on three core objectives: 1) Advancing trade and commercial ties with key African states to increase U.S. and African prosperity; 2) Protecting the United States from cross-border health and security threats; and 3) Supporting key African states’ progress toward stability, citizen-responsive governance, and self-reliance.”

In addition to the Africa Bureau, a number of bureaus and offices within the State Department are involved in U.S. Africa policy, including the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (DRL); the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations (CSO); the Bureau of Counterterrorism and Countering Violent Extremism (CT); and the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM), among others. The U.S. Agency for International Development (which will be more fully presented in Session 4) also plays a large role in U.S. Africa policy and programs.

#### *Defense Department*

The U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) is charged with protecting the United States. All military capability is orchestrated by the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Staff through the combatant command structure. Whereas, the Secretary of Defense exercises authority, direction, and control over the department, the President of the United States is the Commander-in-Chief, and the institution is firmly under civilian control. While the Department of State is the lead

agency for foreign assistance and handles some training of foreign military forces, DOD interacts with foreign defense establishments for the following purposes:

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

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

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

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

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

*AFRICOM:*

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

be Egypt, which would remain the responsibility of CENTCOM due to its strategic role in the Middle East. The establishment of AFRICOM was driven by the growing strategic relevance of the continent due to critical U.S. interests, vis-à-vis issues such as HIV/AIDS, oil, global trade, armed conflict, and terrorism and the desire to create a more centralized and effective approach.

On September 28, 2007, the Senate confirmed AFRICOM's first commander, Army General William E. Ward. The command began initial operations in October 2007 from facilities in Stuttgart, Germany becoming fully operational on October 1, 2008. U.S. Army Gen. Stephen J. Townsend became the fifth commander of the United States Africa Command on July 26, 2019.

AFRICOM is unique in several respects. First, it is the only U.S. command to have the prevention of conflict, rather than warfighting, as the key focus. Second, it does not have any dedicated troops. Third, AFRICOM is a command with numerous interagency personnel detailed to its headquarters. Related, it is also the only command with two co-equal deputies, one a civilian the other a military official.

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

### **Further Reading:**

Remarks by National Security Advisor Ambassador John R. Bolton on the Trump Administration's New Africa Strategy, Issued on: December 13, 2018, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-national-security-advisor-ambassador-john-r-bolton-trump-administrations-new-africa-strategy/>

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

Marian L. Lawson and Emily M. Morgenstern, "Foreign Aid: An Introduction to U.S. Programs and Policy," Updated April 16, 2019, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R40213.pdf>.

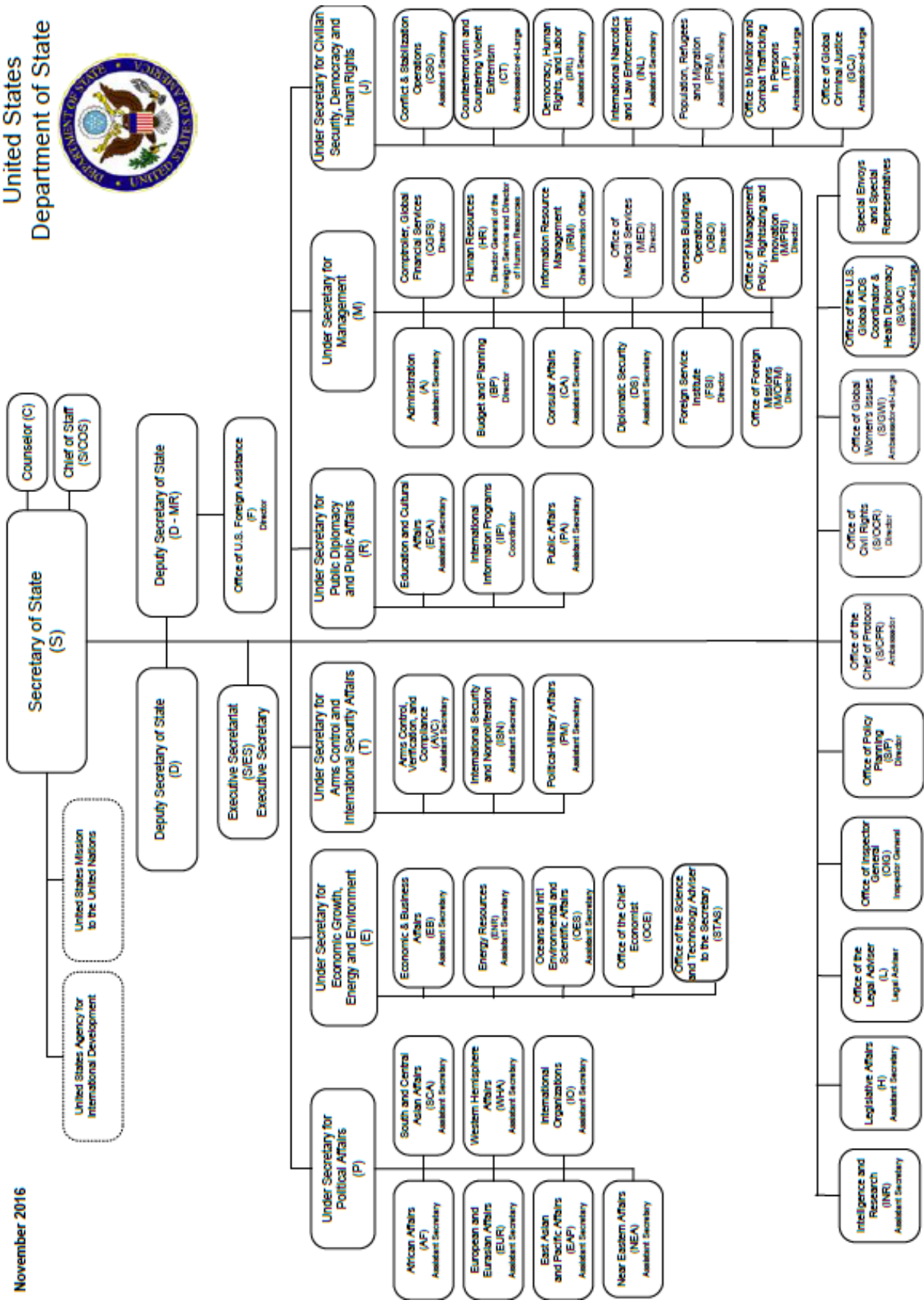
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John Vandiver, "AFRICOM at 10: Training partners is still the focus, but the fight has grown," *Stars and Stripes*, October 12, 2017, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL34003.pdf> <https://www.stripes.com/news/africom-at-10-training-partners-is-still-the-focus-but-the-fight-has-grown-1.492131>

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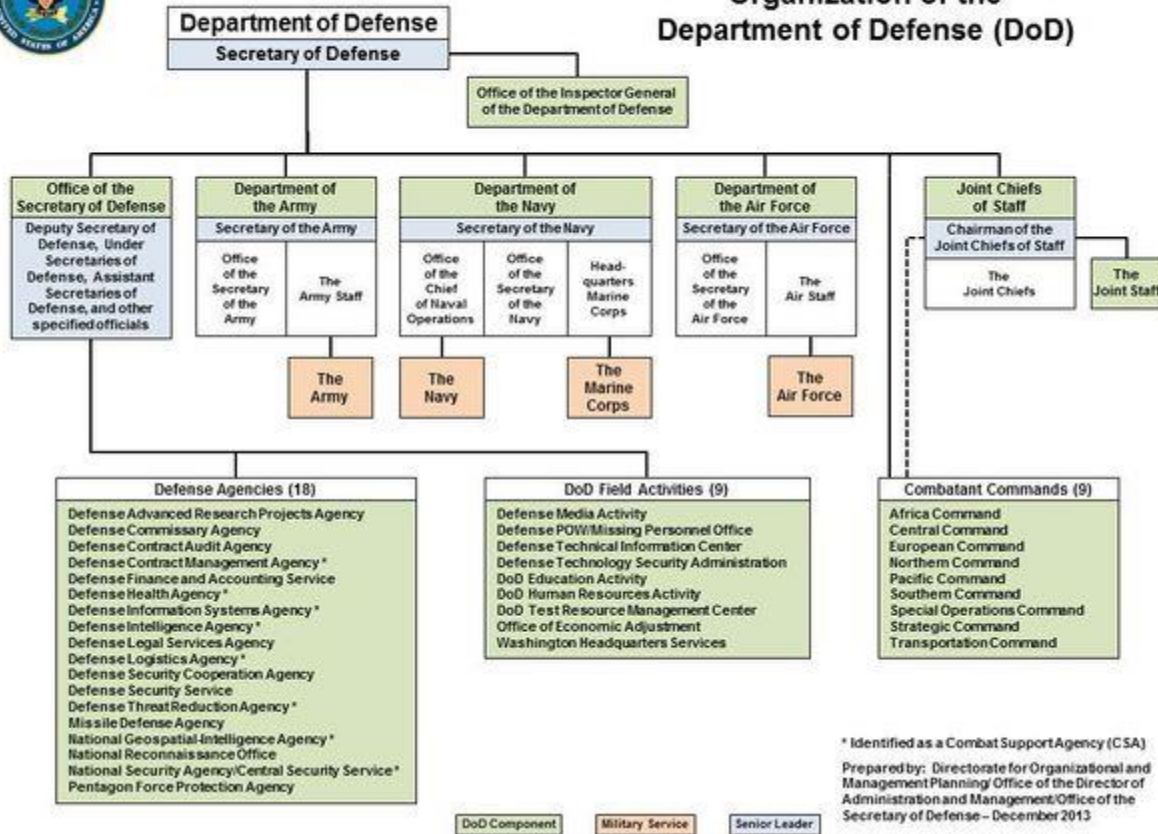
John Norris and Carolyn Kenney, "From Threat to Opportunity: Rethinking U.S. Relations in Africa, June 19, 2018,  
<https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/reports/2018/06/19/452354/from-threat-to-opportunity/>.





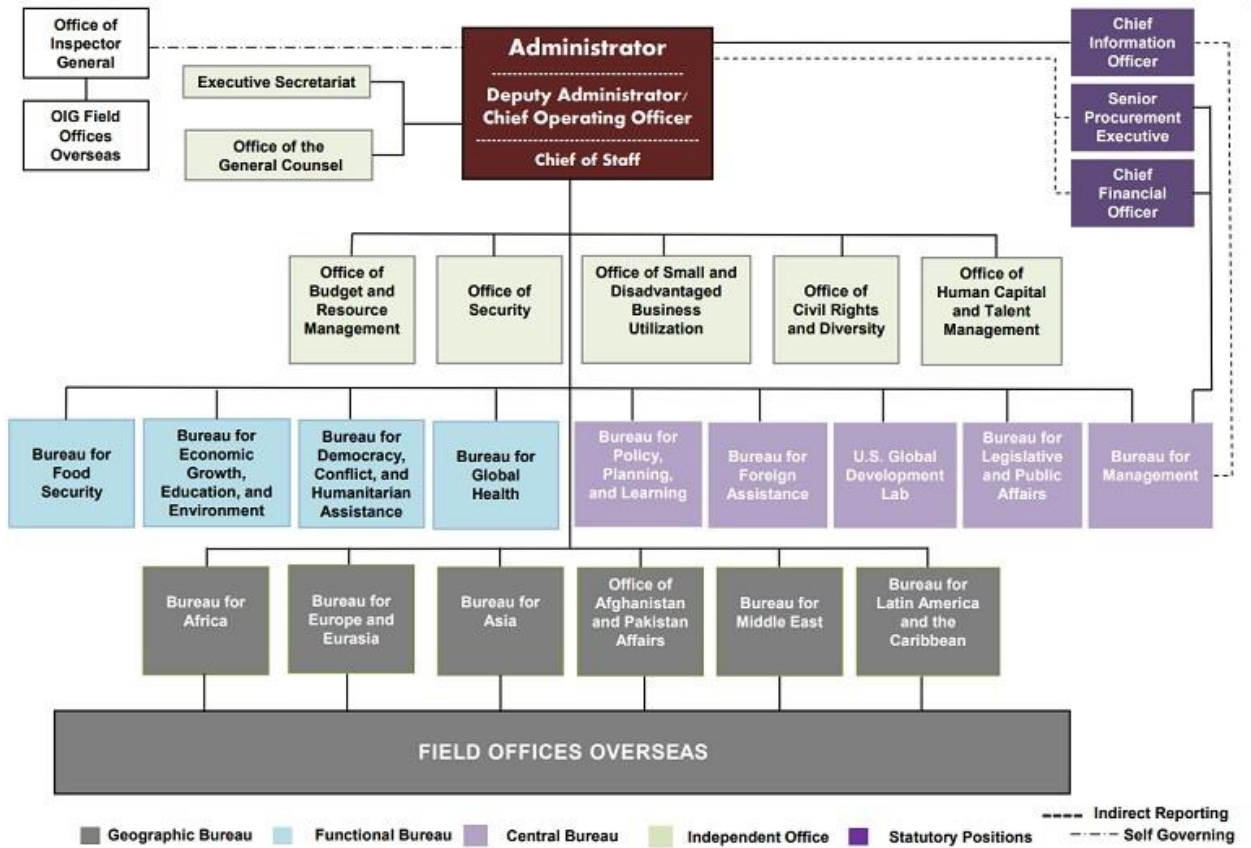


## Organization of the Department of Defense (DoD)





# USAID ORGANIZATIONAL CHART



## Session 3: The Role of the U.S. Congress

### Objectives:

- To provide a framework for assessing the interaction between the legislative and the executive branches.
- To identify the role of the U.S. Congress in foreign policy and in overseeing foreign assistance, including security assistance.
- To examine U.S. policy toward Africa within the context of the shifting legislative landscape.

### Background

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

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

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

Additionally, the Judiciary Committees have jurisdiction over immigration.

#### *Appropriation of Funds*

The President submits an annual budget, but it is Congress that determines spending levels and makes appropriations. As such, Congress can affect foreign policy by its spending decisions which at times reflect domestic constituencies. Foreign aid is particularly vulnerable to spending cuts, as it does not necessarily have a domestic constituency though it is a subject of great interest to some civil society organizations, faith based groups, and others. In contrast, defense- and security-related programs tend to have more visible domestic support both because their relationship to security at home is often more obvious and because their bearing on U.S. jobs seems more direct.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Toni Johnson, “Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, January 24, 2013 (<http://www.cfr.org/united-states/congress-us-foreign-policy/p29871>).

## *Congressional Oversight and Other Powers*

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

Notably, the president has authority to wage war, but only Congress can authorize hostilities and declare war. The 1973 *War Powers Resolution* requires the president to consult Congress before troops are sent to a hostile situation; inform congress within 24 hours of the commitment of U.S. troops; and cease military actions within 60 days, if Congress fails to declare war or authorize the use of force.<sup>2</sup> Many presidents consider the *War Powers Resolution* an infringement on presidential powers; debates continue to exist on the level of hostilities require congressional approval.<sup>3</sup> The Authorization of the Use of Force (AUMF) and current conflicts continues to be the subject of considerable debate in Congress.

### *International Agreements*

While the executive branch negotiates treaties, the Senate must approve them with a two-thirds majority, in order to ratify the treaties. In their deliberations, the Senate can also amend treaties. However, the president can issue an executive order, in lieu of senate approval – at times a time-consuming process. In fact, about 90 percent of all of the U.S’ international agreements are accomplished through executive order.<sup>4</sup> But, executive orders can easily be reversed by another administration.

### **Further Reading:**

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

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

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<sup>4</sup> Toni Johnson, “Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, January 24, 2013 (<http://www.cfr.org/united-states/congress-us-foreign-policy/p29871>).

L. Elaine Halchin and Frederick M. Kaiser, "Congressional Oversight," Congressional Research Service, October 17, 2012, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/97-936.pdf>.

Todd Garvey and Daniel J. Sheffner, "Congress's Authority to Influence and Control Executive Branch Agencies," Updated December 19, 2018 Congressional Research Service, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R45442.pdf>

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A New Authorization for Use of Military Force against the Islamic State: Issues and Current Proposals Matthew C. Weed Specialist in Foreign Policy Legislation February 21, 2017, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R43760.pdf>.

## Session 4: U.S. Security and Development Programs and Partnerships

### Objectives:

- To survey the landscape of U.S. security programs.
- To discuss how U.S. security assistance programs seek to enhance partnerships, strengthen capacity and defense institutions, and promote human security.
- To examine the role of USAID and programs to enhance development.

### Background

#### *Department of State Programs:*

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

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

#### *Department of Defense Programs:*

#### Defense Security Cooperation Agency

The U.S. Government funds many security assistance programs to assist partner countries in building security capacity and strengthening relationships. DOD's lead agency for security cooperation is the Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA). Its primary mission is to support the objectives of the Geographic Combatant Commands (such as the U.S. Africa Command), which are responsible for U.S. military engagement, including security cooperation programs, in specific geographic areas. DSCA's programs intend to strengthen alliances and partnerships, promote American principles and values, enhance U.S. security through African military preparedness, and promote democracy on the continent. DSCA aligns its international military training and education program activities with guidance on security cooperation and supports the regional strategic plans (also known as the Theater Security Cooperation strategy) of the Combatant Commands. These plans describes the security environment, identifies engagement goals, and lists associated activities that support those objectives. Key DSCA programs include, but are not limited to:

#### Foreign Military Sales (FMS):

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

#### Foreign Military Sales Financing/Credit (FMF):

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

#### Leases:

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

#### International Military Education and Training (IMET):

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

#### Drawdown:

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

#### Excess Defense Articles (EDA):

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

#### Regional Centers for Security Studies

DSCA is the executive agent of the five Regional Centers for Security Studies, of which the Africa Center is one. The Regional Centers are valuable strategic communication tools for dialogue on U.S. security policy with key allies and partners in a regional context. The Regional Centers' mission is to foster regional cooperation on security issues through dialogue with foreign military, civilian, and non-governmental officials. Regional Centers accomplish their mission primarily through multilateral leadership development courses, conferences, and seminars, as well as through bilateral workshops, outreach events, and research publications.

#### *USAID Programs:*

USAID writes,

Our model for development expands and deepens partnerships with African governments, businesses, universities, and civil society—as well as with the new generation of leaders, thinkers, entrepreneurs, and innovators, who are leading the transformation of their societies. While the governing principles of our work apply across the continent, our strategies are tailored to each country’s singular challenges and opportunities. We will continue to work together to realize the promise of a more peaceful, more productive, more prosperous 21st century Africa. We:

- Boost agricultural productivity through the Feed the Future Initiative by addressing the root causes of chronic hunger and poverty and spurring economic growth in a region with incredible resources and arable land;
- Strengthen health systems so that countries can help their children survive, overcome the threat of malaria, give mothers the support they need to give birth safely, and turn the tide against the HIV/AIDS epidemic on the continent;
- Support democracy, human rights, and good governance to help governments fight corruption, expand space for civil society, help citizens choose their leadership and strengthen the trend toward democratization;
- Increase resilience to climate shocks by helping communities adapt to erratic rainfall and longer, harsher droughts – weather effects we know will hit Africa hardest; and
- Lead quick responses to humanitarian crises to save lives and help prevent instability and loss, critical in a region prone to destabilizing droughts and food emergencies

**Further Reading:**

- Defense Security Cooperation Agency, “Learn More about Security Assistance,” <https://www.dsca.mil/2014-foreign-customer-guide/learn-more-about-security-assistance>.
- The Security Assistance Monitor, <https://securityassistance.org/africa>
- Tina S. Kaidanow, Acting Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, “Managing Security Assistance To Support Foreign Policy,” Senate Foreign Relations Committee, September 26, 2017, <https://www.state.gov/t/pm/rls/rm/2017/274436.htm>
- Assistant Secretary Puneet Talwar, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, U.S. Department of State, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health Policy, June 4, 2015, “Security Assistance to Africa” <https://www.foreign.senate.gov/download/talwar-testimony-06-04-15>.
- Lauren Ploch Blanchard, Congressional Research Service, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health, Hearing: U.S. Security Assistance in Africa, June 4, 2015, <https://www.foreign.senate.gov/download/blanchard-testimony-06-04-15>
- Emily M. Morgenstern et al., “Transformation at the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID),” June 19, 2019, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R45779.pdf>.



## Session 5: Public Opinion and Policy: NGO Perspectives

### Objectives:

- To discuss the role of NGOs and advocacy organizations in the formulation and implementation of U.S. foreign assistance policy.
- To examine the role of public opinion in this process, on issues such as health, development, and peacekeeping.
- To consider most effective ways of communication to enhance understanding of Africa in the United States.

### Background

While diagrams of government structures and organizational charts are useful illustrations, they create an incomplete picture of U.S. policy making. Recognizing the role of NGOs and civil society more broadly is important to understanding the appropriations and authorization processes in Congress and can help shed light on the ways in which some issues become higher priorities or more visible policy questions than others. Similarly, understanding the contours of American public opinion when it comes to issues affecting Africa or foreign and security policy as a whole is also significant in assessing U.S. policy.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), civil society, and faith based groups all play influential roles in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy and the delivery of U.S. foreign assistance. According to the U.S. State Department:

Approximately 1.5 million NGOs operate in the United States. These NGOs undertake a wide array of activities, including political advocacy on issues such as foreign policy, elections, the environment, healthcare, women's rights, economic development, and many other issues. They often develop and address new approaches to social and economic problems that governments cannot address alone. Many NGOs in the United States operate in fields that are not related to politics. These include volunteer organizations rooted in shared religious faith, labor unions, groups that help vulnerable people, such as the poor or disabled, and groups that seek to empower youth or marginalized populations. Indeed, NGOs exist to represent virtually every cause imaginable. Their sources of finance include donations from private individuals (American or foreign), private sector for-profit companies, philanthropic foundations, or grants from federal, state, or local government. Sources of finance may also include foreign governments. There is no prohibition in U.S. law on foreign funding of NGOs; whether that foreign funding comes from governments or non-government sources.<sup>5</sup>

The Washington, D.C. global policy community has created a complex web of relationships among NGOs, congressional staff and members, and executive agency personnel and leadership,

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<sup>5</sup> <https://www.state.gov/non-governmental-organizations-ngos-in-the-united-states/>

and many individuals shift from one role to another within this network over the course of their careers. When it comes to the smaller subset of those involved or interested in Africa policy, the network is even tighter. Diplomatic personnel can make important contributions to these Washington-based conversations.

**Recommended Reading:**

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in the United States, FACT SHEET, BUREAU OF DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND LABOR, JANUARY 20, 2017,  
<https://www.state.gov/non-governmental-organizations-ngos-in-the-united-states/>

NOVEMBER 29, 2018

Conflicting Partisan Priorities for U.S. Foreign Policy  
Terrorism, protecting U.S. jobs top the public's agenda, <https://www.people-press.org/2018/11/29/conflicting-partisan-priorities-for-u-s-foreign-policy/>

Kaiser Family Foundation, "The U.S. Government and Global Health," Jul 30, 2019,  
<https://www.kff.org/global-health-policy/fact-sheet/the-u-s-government-and-global-health/>

## Session 6: Spotlight on Trafficking in Persons: From Proposed Legislation to Policy Today

### Objectives:

- To examine the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) as a case study in U.S. law and policy.
- To discuss the Trafficking in Persons tier system and mechanisms by which countries are addressing trafficking crimes and supporting survivors.
- To understand the origins and objectives of the U.S. Human Rights Report and U.S. human rights policy more broadly, including efforts to combat human trafficking and “Leahy laws”.

### Background:

As the Congressional Research Service has written, “Trafficking in persons, or human trafficking, refers to the subjection of men, women, and children to exploitative conditions that may be tantamount to slavery. Reports suggest that human trafficking is a global phenomenon, victimizing millions of people each year and contributing to a multi-billion dollar criminal industry. Common forms of human trafficking include trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation, forced labor, and debt bondage. Other forms of human trafficking include trafficking for domestic servitude and the use of children in armed conflict (e.g., child soldiers).”<sup>6</sup>

Trafficking, as noted, is a global problem, but it poses some particularly acute challenges in Africa. In the State Department’s 2019 Trafficking in Persons Report, 13 African countries were listed as “Tier 2 Watch List” and 8 countries were listed as “Tier 3.” Such assessments have significant consequences and Tier 3 listing results in restrictions on non-humanitarian, non-trade related assistance, including security assistance, although the president may elect to issue a waiver in full or part.

The annual Trafficking in Persons Report is required, under the terms of the Child Soldiers Prevention Act of 2008, to include a list of foreign governments identified during the previous year as having governmental armed forces or government-supported armed groups that recruit and use child soldiers, as defined under the TVPA. Of the 11 countries listed in 2019, five were African. As stated in the report, “Governments identified on the list are subject to restrictions, in the following fiscal year, on certain security assistance and commercial licensing of military equipment” including prohibitions on “International Military Education and Training, Foreign Military Financing, Excess Defense Articles, and Peacekeeping Operations, with exceptions for some programs undertaken pursuant to the Peacekeeping Operations authority.”

The issue of Trafficking in Persons is part of a broader set of human rights concerns. Upholding democratic principles and respect for human rights are fundamental to U.S. foreign policy. These principles manifest themselves in a variety of ways from the suspension of non-humanitarian assistance after unconstitutional changes in government to the linkage of development funds to

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<sup>6</sup> <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R44581.pdf>

governance, such as through the Millennium Challenge Corporation to the vetting of institutions and individuals in terms of human rights records. In the security sector, the “Leahy Law” restricts funds to units or individuals with a history of gross violations of human rights, while the institutionalization of the women, peace, and security agenda seeks to broaden security sector stakeholders. These issues help shape U.S. policy both as a reflection of values and the conviction that adherence to such practices leads to greater human security and broader stability.

#### *Leahy Laws*

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

#### **Additional Reading:**

Liana Rosen and Michael Weber, Congressional Research Service, Updated January 7, 2019  
Human Trafficking and Foreign Policy: An Introduction,  
<https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/IF10587.pdf>.

Trafficking in Persons and U.S. Foreign Policy Responses in the 114th Congress Liana W. Rosen  
Specialist in International Crime and Narcotics August 5, 2016,  
<https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R44581.pdf>

U.S. Department of State, 2019 Trafficking in Persons Report,  
<https://www.state.gov/reports/2019-trafficking-in-persons-report/>.

Africa Lags in Protections against Human Trafficking  
By the Africa Center for Strategic Studies  
July 27, 2018  
<https://africacenter.org/spotlight/africa-lags-in-protections-against-human-trafficking/>

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

Daniel Mahanty, “The ‘Leahy Law’ Prohibiting US Assistance to Human Rights Abusers: Pulling Back the Curtain,” June 27, 2017, <https://www.justsecurity.org/42578/leahy-law-prohibiting-assistance-human-rights-abusers-pulling-curtain/>

ENACT, Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime, “Trafficking in persons in conflict contexts,” <https://globalinitiative.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/2019-06-30-tip-policy-brief-10.pdf>

## **Session 7: A Discussion with U.S. Ambassadors**

### **Objectives:**

- To engage in a conversation about diplomatic roles within the Washington landscape.
- To hear insights from U.S. ambassadors about their previous experiences within the U.S. interagency and abroad.
- To share perspectives on engagement in Washington.

This session will be a more informal conversation among diplomatic colleagues.