UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

THE DYNAMICS OF US AFRICOM ON AFRICA's SECURITY CHALLENGES

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Abstract

This research study discusses the topic US Africa Command and the dynamics it brings into Africa's security challenges. It seeks to trace the extent to which Africa is saddled with complex security challenges that are both state centric and human related. These security challenges impede on Africa's socio- economic development. Among the most inimical challenges are; civil wars, terrorism, rampant transnational crimes, poaching, and proliferation of small arms and light weapons. Pandemic diseases like HIV/AIDS, Ebola and malaria have also not spared the continent. The study looks at the political and economic dynamics of the US AFRICOM in Africa to try and determine if these may escalate Africa's insecurity. An overview of the military industrial complex and regional security complexes is discussed to determine the real causes and dynamics to the security dilemma in Africa. The studyexplores a brief look at China's role in Africa and the extent to which both America and China are entangled in a hegemonic war that is likely to erupt in Africa. The study uses to some extent the AU peace and security architecture to explore Africa's preparedness to tackle security challenges and as an early warning mechanism for outbreaks of conflict.In the main, the study argues that a hegemonic war between the US and China is the real security challenge with a possibility of erupting in Africa rather than the AFRICOM per se.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my father, Leonard LiphanguMukokomania.k.a.*'LL Cool J'*, who passed away in 1997. I celebrate your life and your staunch dedication to the quest to acquire knowledge. Your towering persona and memory will never depart from us *Mdambele*.

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Declaration

This serves to declare that the following research is my original work and has never been presented for the award of any degree in any other university.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACBSP	African Coastal and Border Security Programme
ACDS	African Chiefs of Defence and Security
ACOTA	African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance Program
ACRI	African Crisis Response Initiative
ACRF	African Crisis Response Force
AMISOM	AU Mission in Somalia
APC	Armored Personnel Carriers
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
APF	African Peace Facility
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
CAAU	Constitutive Act of the African Union
CENSAD	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
CEWS	Continental Early Warning System
CEWARN	Central Africa Early Warning System
CivPol	Civilian Police
COMESA	Common Market of East and Southern Africa
CJTF-HOA	Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECOBRIG	Economic Community of West African Countries Standby Brigade

ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African Countries
ECOWARN	ECOWAS Early Warning System
EAC	East African Community
EASBRIG	East African Community Standby Brigade
EDA	Excess Defence Articles
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
FOCAC	Forum of Chinese- Africa Cooperation
FOMAC	Force Multinationale de l'Afrique Central
FOB	Forward Operating Base
IMET	International Military Education and Training
IMO	Intermediate Military Objectives
IR	International Relations
ISDSC	Inter State Defence and Security Committee
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MIIB	Mo Ibrahim Institute of Governance
MSC	Military Staff Committee
NASBRIG	North Africa Regional Standby Brigade
NVD	Night VisionDevices
OECD	Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
OFR	Operation Focus Relief
PANWISE	Pan African Network of the Wise

PLANELM	Planning Element
POW	Panel of the Wise
PSO	Peace Support Operations
PSOD	Peace Support Operations Division
RECs	Regional Economic Centers
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCBRIG	Southern African Standby Brigade
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SOC	Special Operations Command
TCC	Troop Contributing Countries
TSCTI	Trans Sahara Counter- Terrorism Initiative
UAV	Unmanned Aerial Vehicles
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

DISSERTATION ON THE DYNAMICS OF US ARICOM ON AFRICA'S SECURITY CHALLENGES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUD TO THE STUDY

1.1 **Introduction**

This chapter gives a background of the topic of study. It seeks to trace and determine the extent, causes and interventions to security challenges in Africa and the factors that were introduced by the security dynamics of the US AFRICOM or any other external entities such as the advent of China as a global challenger to Africa's insecurity. As such, it presents the premise as outlined by the statement of the problem and hypothesis of the study that heterogeneous security complexes in Africa's regionalization are more likely to bring about a security dilemma than the US AFRICOM. Accordingly it outlines the objectives of the study which are to explore the security challenges of Africa in light of the USAFRICOM. To achieve this, a literature review is carried out to consider previous scholarly viewpoints and identify the gap of the study and hence the justification for carrying it out. A theoretical framework is also introduced that will guide the study. Finally, the methodology and summary of gaps identified is presented.

Background

Africa is saddled with an abundance of security challenges that impede on its socio-economic development. Among the most inimical challenges are; civil wars, terrorism, rampant transnational crimes, poaching, and proliferation of small arms and light weapons. Pandemic diseases like HIV/AIDS, Ebola and malaria also add to Africa's concerning security situation. Other socio- economic problems that have a direct bearing on security such as refugee problems, poverty, and internally displaced persons (IDPs) further exacerbate the challenges. Whereas this may be so, it would appear that most African countries have not been able to eradicate or at least effectively bring these challenges under control. Furthermore, at the level of the African Union (AU), it does not appear that adequate solutions have been put in place to eradicate these challenges. This is despite the fact that the African countries seem committed to put structures in place at the regional level to create a conducive environment for developmental efforts. Hence, the African approach does not appear to be bearing fruit and neither does it put Africa in a healthy state from which it may be able to gainfully participate in international politics.

While most of these challenges appear to be recent and arising in the post- independence period of the 1960s, some scholars do not agree with this viewpoint. Rather, they attribute the unfortunate situation to be a result of the heritage of colonialism in which principles of divide and rule amongst others were used as governance tools. This state of affairs can be traced back as far as the Treaty of Berlin of April 1885 during the scramble for Africa. Accordingly, Tageum Fah argues that;

> *"Colonial heritage is the necessary point of departure of the African international affairs. The state system- which is, transnational vectors notwithstanding, the fundamental structural basis of the international realm- inherits the colonial partition. Few African states have a meaningful pre- colonial identity, [….], but most are products*

of the competitive subordination of Africa- [.....] by seven great powers (Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Portugal, Italy and Spain)."[1]

In light of the above, the tendency of states in their approach to security challenges has been akin to the Hobbesian conceptualization of security. Thomas Hobbs' preposition was that due to man's natural inclination for greed, nations exist in a perpetual antagonizing international arena of self- help in which each nation looks to its own security usually to the detriment of other states.[2] Hobbes demonstrates in his writings that this state of nature leads to what he calls 'a war of each against all'. Hence, Buzan et al note that due to this state of affairs, "international security is rooted in the traditions of power politics".[3]

In Morgenthau's view then, power is the key to three fundamental assumptions of this paradigm. First, that the state is the basic actor and thus accounts for behavior of the nation in international relations (IR). Secondly, that political life is divided into domestic and international arenas each one subject to its own laws. In this manner, at the domestic level, the state has a 'social contract' with its populace and therefore is contracted to and has sufficient power to regulate the activities of its nationals by maintaining order and stability. However, in the third instance, at the international milieu, there is no such leviathan to control the desires of man and therefore this arena is characterized by anarchy.[4]

It follows therefore that, the traditional approach to national security is concerned with the relationship between people and their government in terms of maintaining law and order. This relationship then creates a duty on the state institutions and those who hold significant offices of

[1]Tageum Fah GL. 2010. Dealing with AFRICOM: The Political Economy of Anger and Protest. The Journal of Pan African Studies. Vol. 3, no6.
[2] Handelman H and Ethridge ME. 2008. Politics in a Changing World; A Comparitive Introduction to Political Science, 5th Ed. Wadsworth, Boston
[3] Buzan B et al. 1998. Security: A New Framework for Analysis. Lynne Rienner Publishers. London.
[4] Nye jr S and Welch DA. 2007. Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation: An Introduction to Theory and History. 9th Ed. Pearson Education. New York.

the state to protect individuals against external and internal threats. In this way, state survival depends in the external milieu in so far as its material capabilities are concerned and the extent to which it has established coalitions or alliances with other states. This approach to security is championed by classical realists such as Thucydides, Niccole Machiavelli and Hans Morgenthau who are of the view that power in politics of all kinds is paramount, but also they recognize the confines within which it ought to be exercised in order to avoid self- defeating tendencies.[5]

The other dimension of the security problematic for Africa can be found in the 1994 United Nations (UN) Human Development Report that articulated security to also embrace the notion of human security. Fierke observes that this new notion of security in- fact builds on an idea that gained momentum after World War Two (WWII) that is, that people's rights are also equally important as those of states when securing national interest.[6] The realities of the human aspect in security cannot be ignored because after all, it is those same individuals who give rise to the state. Thus, the states actions should always be founded on due consideration that in the first instance, the very existence of the state arise from man's 'social contract' with the sovereign as theorized by Thomas Hobbes. In tandem with this, the importance of the human security approach is also captured by Kofi Annan the former Secretary General of the UN who proffered a wider conceptualization of security to include human security that lays emphasis on seven key factors of human security including physical, community, health, political, economic, food, and environmental security, when he pronounced that;

> *"Human security in its broadest sense, embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfill his or her*

[5] Dunne T et al. 2013. International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity. 3rd Ed. Oxford University Press. Oxford.
[6] Fierke KM. 2007. Critical Approaches to International Security. Polity Press. Cambridge.

own potential. Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Freedom from want, freedom from fear and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment- these are the interrelated building blocks of human- and therefore national – security".[7]

Conversely, what obtains now is that Africa remains by and large saddled with complex security challenges and underdeveloped due in part to the legacy of the colonial era, but also due to its inability to get its house in order. As a result, this inhibits Africa from optimally interacting with the international community given its abundance in natural resources. Despite this skewed post-colonial history and security complexities, one would have reasonably expected that the level of development in Africa fifty years after independence would be much higher. The area of concern especially, is the level of dire human security problems that leave many people worse off than during the colonial era. In contrast, the Asian countries notably the five 'Asian Tigers' which gained independence only a decade prior to some African countries, have managed to attain much higher levels of development. In addition, they have reasonably been able to manage their security challenges better. Therefore, these security concerns have raised alarms to western countries especially the US. Accordingly, in the wake of the September 11 2001 (9/11) terrorist attack on the United States of America (US), the US has through various instruments and forums taken cognizance of the increasing significance of Africa's security challenges to its own national security priorities.

Consequently, the rise in insecurity in Africa and the threat to the US national interests mainly from terrorism, led President George Bush on 6th February 2006 to announce America's intention to establish a combatant command in Africa with the purpose of promoting US national

[7]Abass A. 2010. Protecting Human Security in Africa. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

security objectives and improving humanitarian efforts in Africa.[8] The new command was named the US Africa Command or USAFRICOM. This new security approach by the US represented a change in national security strategy direction in which the US had up till then not found any strategic imperative of establishing a meaningful footprint in Africa.

The intention of the US in setting up a command in Africa was however met by mixed reaction from African states resulting in the AFRICOM not taking the form and shape for which it was intended by basing it in one of the African countries. Instead, after it was officially launched in 2008, the US co- located the new command with the European Command (EUCOM) in Stuttgart, Germany with the hope that it would be fully relocated to Africa by 2012. However, to date this has not been the case. The accusation to the US actions is that they are not benevolent but that this is a mere ploy to secure natural resources and other US national security interests[9]. The further criticism was that, the advent of the AFRICOM may create a security dilemma for Africa should it set up in one of the African states and therefore further exacerbate the security situation in Africa.

However, an important thing to note is that when countries make significant security decisions to move large forces to another country it is usually not a fortuitous undertaking. Rather, they do so through some deliberate process of national security strategy formulation guided by the national interests' together with the worldview and values that they possess. In a similar breath, it is assumed that countries that receive or reject large scale beneficial assistance accordingly ought to have engaged in some thought process. In contrast, other countries that choose to adopt an impartial approach in the wake of clear existential threats on their interest's areas such as China

[8] Tageum Fah GL. 2010. Dealing with AFRICOM: The Political Economy of Anger and Protest. The Journal of Pan African Studies. Vol. 3, no6.
[9] Ibid

also should be doing so guided by some moral compass. Hence in this context, the pursuit of national interests by the US or African states to satisfy their interests in terms of political, economic, physical or cultural identity should be explored. This will be done against the background of some countries inaction such as China.

This study is therefore informed by the need to contribute to improving national security policy decision making. The study aims to find out the conception of security challenges and regional dynamics that come into play against the political and socio- economic dynamics of the Africa-US relations. It then looks at the devolution and formulation of security strategy at the regional levels including the interdependence of the regions. The process of the US foreign policy formulation and the impact thereof on Africa is also briefly looked at. A brief look at China's approach to Africa is also discussed. In doing so, the study intends to recommend how the African continent should evaluate its security conception and make improvements to its regional security framework such that it may be more responsive in addressing its complex security challenges and therefore improve its developmental agenda.

1.2 **Statement of the Research Problem**

The eight UN Millennium Development Goals commonly referred to as MDGs were adopted by world leaders at the Millennium conference in 2000. These serve as a collective commitment by the world leaders towards reducing human security challenges such as poverty, disease and other chronic socio- economic impediments to global development by the year 2015. Together with these, state- centric security challenges like trans- national crimes, civil wars, terrorism, poaching and small arms proliferation abound. These have caused complex security challenges that the continent has so far not been able to effectively eradicate. In view of this, the

US proposed a US Combatant Command to be established in Africa for the purpose of partnering with African countries to combat these security challenges.

On the contrary though, African states have disparaged an initiative by the US to set up an AFRICOM in concert with Africa to help find and implement solutions towards combating security challenges. The apprehension it would appear, is that the US's intentions are not bona-fide but rather driven by the pursuit of their national interests which would in turn import security challenges to Africa. This study therefore seeks to establish whether the establishment of the AFRICOM in the continent might be directly related to further insecurity.

1.3 **Justification of the Study**

Africa has been suffering from underdevelopment due in part to complex security challenges. These challenges are wide and varied and the continent has this far not been able to effectively tackle them. This is despite the fact that Africa has an abundance of natural resources, it is the second largest continent, and its geo- strategic position between Europe, the far east and the far west provides potential opportunities for trade and growth. Despite this endowment though, Africa has not been able to create a conducive environment in which socio- economic development may flourish.

In addition, in the current international arena, to reduce uncertainty western countries carry out deliberate security strategy formulation processes such as at the EU and the US in order to streamline decision making and securitization of major issues. It would appear however, that the AU did not carry out a deliberate foreign policy analysis and regional security strategy analysis to inform decision making on its approach to the US AFRICOM. Therefore, a seamless articulation of Africa's current security challenges and its security architecture would go a long

way in putting together strategies for improving Africa's interaction with the international milieu and assist it to make informed collective decisions in terms of security. This study will therefore stand to benefit policy makers at the regional and national level in making informed security decisions and allow both the Academia and general public to be able to evaluate security decision making to the extent that it benefits the continent.

1.4 Research Objectives

The objective of this research work is to explore the security challenges in Africa and how the US AFRICOM impacts on security in African. Accordingly, the study will look at the following specific objectives to satisfy the aim:

1.3.1 To investigate the political and socio- economic impacts of the Africa- US AFRICOM security dynamics in Africa.

1.3.2 To explore the preparedness of Africa's regional security strategy in tackling security challenges in Africa.

1.3.3 To investigate how the AFRICOM is assisting the AU security architecture.

1.5 Literature Review

Africa has many and varied security challenges which impact negatively on its developmental agenda. The security challenges could be state centric and also human related security issues. To add on to this, the advent of the US AFRICOM portends to worsen the security challenges. According to Baldwin, there are both nomadic and empirical arguments to the nature and magnitude of security challenges. The issue is with regard to who should be the main focus between the state and humanity when considering security issues.[10] However, while

[10] Baldwin DA. 1997. The Concept of Security. Review of International Studies. Vol 23.

there is evidently a new thinking in security, the overriding factor according to Wolfers is that, security is a value which is subjective to every nation especially with regard to how much they consider their inclination to satisfy their values. Buzan on the other hand, argues that security cannot be isolated for treatment at any single level and therefore, treatment in one effectively begets the other. Accordingly, security takes the shape of a security dilemma or an insecurity dilemma.

The insecurity dilemma arises due to the competition by various forces within the society for protection, provision of resources and increased vulnerability occasioned by intervention and control by outside actors. These could be other states, communal groups or multinational corporations. The security dilemma on the other hand, arises due to states quest to increase the level of their security within the global competitive environment, which action in turn elicits insecurity on other actors who are then inclined to find measures to likewise increase their security levels.[11] On all these instances however, Wolfers observes that 'security is a value', because states are perceived to be the providers or guarantors of domestic 'political goods', being order, liberty, justice, welfare and so forth.[12]

The supposition that the AFRICOM would aggravate Africa's security challenges is not clear; however, what is clear is that Africa phases challenges that have to do with civil wars, small arms proliferation, transnational crimes, and problem of refugees, poverty and chronic diseases like malaria, Ebola, HIV/AIDS, and child malnutrition. While the continent is endowed in natural resources, it has however not been able to translate this benefit to meet its challenges due to weak governments, corruption, illegitimate political processes and natural resources

[11] Baldwin DA. 1997. The Concept of Security. Review of International Studies. Vol 23.
[12] Ibid

mismanagement. The paradox that Africa has according to Gilbert et al, is that the continent has enormous natural resources like large amounts of the world's crude oil in Nigeria, Angola, Sudan, Algeria, Libya, Gabon, and Equatorial Guinea that she has not been able to utilize to uplift its livelihood. These oil reserves for instance far surpass the oil supply to the US from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait combined which on the other hand have had far much better returns on investment. Despite its endowment, the continent remains the poorest in the world and is home to thirty four of the world's fifty least developed countries (LDC).[13]

The reviewed literature also indicates that there has been a shift in the conceptual and therefore policy reassessment of states around the notion of security towards embracing the human dimension of security. This comes about largely due to the urging of the 1994 UN Human Development Report. What the theory does not bring out however, is an explanation of why states that experience security challenges and are reliant on donor assistance would at times prefer to turn back some of the assistance. The aspiration of individual countries is therefore not pronounced in relation to its existence within a pool of countries.

In furtherance to this line of thought, Abass holds that part of the security challenges of Africa, arise from an inability to protect human security. He identifies natural resources and the failure to put structures in place for their management and proper utilization as a causal factor. He argues that although there have been some governance efforts in putting structures like the Kimberley process, the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, the Diamond Development Initiative and the Nigeria- Sao Tome Joint Development amongst others, the linkage between Africa's natural resources and conflict goes without saying.[14]

[13] Gilbert DL et al. 2009. The United States Africa Command: Security for Whom? The Journal of Pan African Studies, vol. 2, no 9.
[14] Abass A. 2010. Protecting Human Security in Africa. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

The Hobbesian classical realist theory holds that political interaction among societies takes place in a continual 'power politics' or 'realpolitik' environment. This is done in order to maximize national interests and ensure survival and competition for resources. Accordingly, Morgenthau holds the view that these interests should be understood from a realist perspective and should therefore be construed to mean an urge for power. Mearsheimer agrees with this position and states that the global environment is actually a "brutal arena where states look for opportunities to take advantage of each other".[15] Consequently, these result in an international system that is characterized self- help due to a lack of a higher authority. This same view is also held by Thucydides and Morgenthau in their postulation that politics is a struggle for maximizing power among individuals and states and the resultant benefits of those resources.[16]

Buzan notes that, traditionally security was rooted in individual's power politics that defined the anarchic global environment. However, the post-cold war world saw states which were originally inclined to one of the bipolar superpowers grappling with measures of reducing their insecurity. Thus, international relations assumed a more regional and continental character as the principal organizing force. Buzan further demonstrates that, the shift towards regionalism is due to the great powers declined motivation to pursue ideological rivalries unless their interests were immediately and strongly affected.[17]

This notion explains the US reaction following the 9/11 attack that claimed a lot of life's in the US itself. Subsequently, the US declared war on terrorism and also shifted policy direction towards Africa as a possible fertile ground for terrorists fleeing from the Middle East. In this

[15] Dunne T et al. 2013. International Relations Theory: Discipline and Diversity. 3rd Ed. Oxford University Press. Oxford.
[16] Ibid
[17] Busan B et al. 1998. Security: A New Framework for Analysis. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, London.

same connection, the US then went ahead to conceive a hurried AFRICOM with no strategies of introducing it to the African partners forgetting much that international security is a relational matter.[18] Similarly, influenced by this state of affairs and the neorealist or structural realist school Africa intensified its operating structures at the AU and regional bodies. Five regional bodies have been introduced of which the study seeks to unpack 3 of the RECs being the EAC, ECOWAS and SADC. In these collectives therefore, the security dynamic considers how the members relate to each other in terms of vulnerabilities and threats leading to the establishment of security complexes.

In addition, Buzan argues that, when groups such as these come together, regional sub- systems emerge wherein smaller groupings align themselves together to provide the much needed security and sense of survival. Therefore, he theorizes that a classical security complex provides an analytical tool that can unpack the extent to which security challenges are mutually addressed. Consequently, all states in the system are enmeshed in a global web of security interdependence, but because most political and military threats travel easily over short distances, the perception of insecurity would be more felt in relation to proximity of actors.[19] By definition, a security complex is, "a set of states whose major security perceptions and concerns are so interlinked that their national security problems cannot reasonably be analyzed or resolved apart from one another".[20]Thus, states generally fear their neighbours more than they do fear distant powers. Buzan further observes that, these security complexes are brought together by interdependence which is stronger among states inside the complex than those that are outside. Therefore, security complexes are about the relative intensity of interstate security relations that lead to distinctive

[18] Ibid
[19] Baldwin DA. 1997. The Concept of Security. Review of International Studies. Vol 23.
[20] Ibid

regional patterns. These patterns in turn are shaped by the distribution of power and by historical relations of amity and enmity.

Classical security complexes in the sense that they are grounded in the international anarchic system, not only play a role therefore in determining how the members relate, but they go on to condition how and whether stronger outside powers penetrate the region.[21] Thus this relationship exists and is driven by mutual perceptions of amity and enmity against other actors. According to Buzan, the spectrum of the internal dynamics of this classical security complex is such that;

> *"At the negative end lies conflict formation, in which interdependence arises from fear, rivalry and mutual perceptions of a threat. In the middle lie security regimes, in which states treat each other as potential threats but have made reassurance arrangements to reduce the security dilemma among them. At the positive end lies a pluralistic community, [.....] in which states no longer expect or prepare to use force in their relations with each other."*[22]

The area that does not seem to have been clearly elucidated is, the mechanisms that have been put in place at the regional and continental level for mitigating and or planning to tackle security challenges and how the RECs are putting mechanisms in place to maximize their security. Buzan postulates that at times security complexes operate across regions and geographical areas by co-opting other actors whom they deem to be beneficial to their strategic ends. A way of determining the existence of insecurity is according to Buzan et al, to look for relationships and patterns of interdependence that are strong enough to separate other states from their neighbours within a region and across the region so as to suggest the existence of security complexes.[23] In this regard, the security complexes would now be said to have mutated from the regional logic

[21] Buzan B et al. 1998. Security: A Framework for Analysis.LynneRienner Publishers, London.
[22] Ibid
[23]Ibid

and integrated different actors across regions and also the military industrial complex to become a heterogeneous security complex.[24]

Interdependence according to Nye et al refers to situations in which actors at all levels and events that occur like the Ebola disease in the global environment affect all of the actors. In actuality, this amplifies the mutual dependence in which life has progressed, due to economic, political and cultural factors.[25] The notion of interdependency characterizes developments in the international system whereby globalization has taken centre stage to world events and issues. In this regard, activities that occur in any part of the world be they advances in technology or pandemics or terrorist activities are no longer seen to be confined to one state or being the preserve of that state.

As such, to some extent, the role of the state as established since 1648 by the Treaty of Westphalia has been usurped. With increases in technology and aggressive intertwined world economic markets evolving in one symmetrical orbit the trends in globalization cannot be reversed. Rather, developing countries like African states instead of resisting this could do well to harness the positives of interdependency and mitigate the negative aspects. The interdependence is referred to as complex because it recognizes that actors in IR are not only traditional state actors or are they confined to any single region. There is a myriad of actors who permeate different sectors; they include the state and non-state actors like intergovernmental organizations, multinational cooperation's and non-governmental organizations and even rouge organizations like terrorist groups within the overall international system.

[24]Ibid
[25] Nye jr et al. 2014. Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation: Introduction to Theory & History. Pearson Education Limited. Edinburg.

The benefits of the complex interdependence theory are that it creates a zero- sum and non- zero sum situation in which all actors within the system stand to gain or to lose depending on how they all work to uplift the system. In addition, unlike the dependency theory, this theory has shown that in actual effect, all actors have the ability to influence the system and in so doing reject aspects that they do not want. The theory itself indicates a move away from the realist school of thought and the previous dependency school of thought.

Dunne et al shows that equally, structural realism unlike the classical realists, theorize that human nature has little to do with why states want to amass power, but instead that the structure of the international system forces states to pursue power politics.[26] Their assumption is that there is interplay between five factors that individually do not lead to power relations, but when cast in a medley of the international arena, tend to produce unintended outcomes in security competition. When superimposed on the complex interdependency theory therefore, this structural realist interplay creates an environment within which the actors, be they the smaller or the bigger ones, are mindful of their interdependence, but would like to take advantage of one another none the less.

In this study, the architecture that is being studied is the AU RECs and their relationship to the notion of the US AFRICOM. The assumptions are that: (1) that while great powers are the main actors in world politics there is however benefits in mutual dependence among states in the anarchic environment, (2) that all states possess some offensive military capability and thus the smaller states also have the ability to influence the system, (3) that states can never be certain about the intentions of other states and therefore the complex interdependency will serve to constrain our behavior, (4) that the main goal of states is survival and therefore it would be in the

[26] Dunne T et al. 2013. International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity. 3rd Ed. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

interest of all states to move ahead together, (5) that states are rational actors, which is to say, they are capable of coming up with sound strategies that maximize their prospects for survival.[27]

From the foregoing therefore, it may be surmise that the articulation of security challenges by African states in the international anarchic environment within the context of the AFRICOM, equally have implications for other states. Therefore, if the smaller states do not do much to reassure the larger states of their own contribution to the security equation, they stand to invite the intrusion of the other states. In this regard, despite the seemingly influence of the smaller actors, the main actors will do anything in their power to attain their goals. However the US's assumption that the AFRICOM would automatically be welcomed is manifest of the Waltzian view that there is no certainty in the actions that states take. Another assumption brought out by scholars and confirmed by the African countries rejection of the AFRICOM, shows that while states seek survival, usually they want to maintain their integrity and autonomy and would in the same manner; use this as an enabler to pursue goals like prosperity and human rights. The study also looks at the EU and the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) countries as an intervening component of the system to establish the likelihood of external interests and influence.

In considering the motivations of states in their foreign policy decisions, especially those that uphold realist values, Morgenthau opines that the starting point should be, 'the basic assumption that everything of importance to these states is premised by the interest to maximize their power and security'.[28] In the case of the AFRICOM, US foreign policy for Africa and its national security strategy suggest that the purpose and objectives of the command as outlined by

[27] Nye jr et al. 2014. Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation: Introduction to Theory & History. Pearson Education Limited. Edinburg.
[28] Morgenthau. Politics in a Changing World.

President Bush are to "strengthen security cooperation with Africa and help to create new opportunities to bolster the capability of Africa. It is also to enhance efforts to bring peace and security to the people of Africa and promote common goals of development, health, education, democracy and economic growth in Africa."[29] In this context, the command would build capacity for African countries to reduce conflict, improve security, deny terrorists a sanctuary and support response to crisis.

In argument of the utility of the AFRICOM, Ploch observes that as early as the 1998 terrorist attacks on US Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, the US had established that besides terror attacks, disease; war and poverty sit side by side and need to be addressed. Accordingly, she advocated for the US to find it imperative to tackle these problems in line with their core values of human dignity and combating global terror.[30] In this respect, the 2006 National Security Strategy identified Africa as a high priority for the Bush administration. This then lead President Bush to push for the establishment of the AFRICOM. However, it would appear that several scholars and African statesmen have questioned the rationale behind locating a fully-fledged military command for developmental and humanitarian assistance in the region.[31]

As such, opposition is founded on the impression that the US is imposing a military command without even engaging in discussions on the matter appropriately with the presumed beneficiaries. Also, that the idea has a potential to foster a dependency syndrome for a region that is looking to develop the capacity to solve its own problems. Further, they enquired on why the US should not rather consider addressing the root causes of Africa's problem rather than the symptoms. Similarly, further arguments were that the US should rather consider reforming the

[29] Whelsh T. 2007. Why AFRICOM.
[30] Ploch L. 2009. US Africa Command: A More Active American Approach to Addressing African Security Challenges. IPG.
[31] Gilbert LD. 2009. The United States Africa Command: Security for Whom? The Journal of African Studies. Vol. 2, no.9.

manner in which the US was providing aid to Africa. Most importantly, the view of the descending voices was that if the US had identified that due to vulnerabilities to Africa's human security challenges, it could render the region susceptible to activities that in turn threaten US national security, then the preferable route of engaging the matter would be to be up-front about this so that both parties could seek solutions on how best to address the mutual concerns.[32]

Despite this, over the years, the US has significantly assisted Africa financially through bilateral and multilateral security cooperation initiatives. These include, the International Military Education and Training (IMET) programme, African Coastal and Border Security Programme (ACBSP) and the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA). They have also been at the forefront with the Presidents Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEEPFA), building clinics, digging boreholes and involved in combating malaria.[33] Paradoxically therefore, the issue is why the African continent which for many years has been a major beneficiary of US assistance for the conduct of its socio- economic developmental agenda would suddenly turn its back on this potential immense partnership. The study seeks to find out if descending voices genuine or if there are underlying reasons which do not immediately present themselves to national and regional security policy considerations.

The salient issue in this conundrum is whether the advent of the AFRICOM would create an overlay that would effectively overshadow the African states in their affairs. According to Buzan, an overlay occurs via the extensive stationing of armed forces in the area overlain by the intervening great power(s) and is distinct from the normal process of intervention by great

[32] Ploch L. 2009. US Africa Command: A More Active American Approach to Addressing African Security Challenges. IPG.
[33] Gilbert L et al. The United States Africa Command: Security for Whom? The Journal of Pan African Studies, vol.2 no.9, March 2009.

powers into the affairs of local security.[34] Therefore to ascertain this, the study adopts James Rosenau's five levels of foreign policy analysis. He proffers a five level analytical tool for evaluating foreign policy conduct and formulation as follows; that it may be done at the individual idiosyncrasies level affecting decision makers; at the role level of those roles played by the decision makers; the societal level symbolizing the environment within which the foreign policy conduct exists; the governmental setting denoting the nature of government and political system of the state; and the international level where the external inter- state environment impact on the foreign policy formulation and conduct.[35] In the process it will also try to determine if this would actually arise and complicate Africa's security challenges should AFRICOM set up in Africa.

Graham Allison's theory of decision making for analyzing foreign policy also looks at the role of US actors on the whole equation. Accordingly here, Allison observes that when we treat governments like one controlled entity, we create an oversimplification of issues and rather that we ought to unpack the process of bureaucracy in the decisions governments make. Therefore, that we should see that the maker of the government policy is "not one calculating decision maker, but rather a conglomerate of large organizations and political actors".[36] The chapter will thus utilize the rational actor model, the organizational processes model and the bureaucratic politics model to complement Rosenau's 5 level analyses in the review of the formulation of the AFRICOM especially studying President Bush and Secretary of Defence Rumsfeld.

[34] Busan B et al. 1998. Security: A New Framework for Analysis. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, London.
[35] Kegly CW and Wittkopf ER.1982. American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process. 2nd Ed. St Martin's Press, New York.
[36] Allison GT. 1971. The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis. Harper Collins Publishers, United States.

1.4.1 Summary of Gaps in the Literature Review

The linkage between Africa's governance efforts and the management of its natural resources provide a nexus with the security challenges. In this manner, the political and economic activities of Africa in light of the intended US AFRICOM bring about a gap that has not been fulfilled. Accordingly, the preparedness of Africa to tackle security challenges has not been established in terms of the contribution of the regional structures to security and their propensity to function as regional security complexes on the other hand. Whether the AU peace and security architecture has been fully operationalized in order to forge interdependency is not clear. The literature review therefore does not reveal the extent to which the RECs are pulling the same cart together and in one direction. Further, the extent to which AFRICOM would assist Africa does not come out clearly. Accordingly, the US appears to be holding their cards close to their chest in terms of their real intention and the benefit they envisage for Africa. Whether their move would actually create a security challenge or an overlay over Africa is therefore not clearly elucidated. In a similar manner, the motives of the US are not clear with regard to whether their intention is motivated by a desire to block China's recent advances towards Africa's abundant natural resources.

1.6 **Theoretical Framework**

This study is premised on Robert Gilpin's theory of Hegemonic War and Change which holds that an international system is established because actors enter into social relations and create structures to advance their individual interests. The structure and distribution of benefits thus will reflect the dominant interests within the system. As the dominant interests change over time, actors who will benefit from a change in the system will seek to change the system to get a

more favorable distribution of benefits.[37] In this regard, the theory proposes that: (1) Equilibrium is achieved when no one will gain from changing the system; (2) A state or states will attempt to change the system if expected benefits exceed expected costs; (3) To seek change, a state will use territorial, political and economic expansion until marginal costs of further change are equal to or greater than the marginal benefits; (4) If the dominant powers cannot resolve disequilibrium, then the system will change to reflect the new distribution of power (usually through a hegemonic war). Nevertheless, Gilpin's theory is likewise routed on Modelski's theory of Long Cycles that postulates that since the period of the Great War between Sparta and Athens in 431 to 404 BC, and probably before, Thucydides rightly observed that due to man's predisposition every one hundred years or so, a great war erupts that changes the world order and ushers in a new international system.

This theory is relevant because it will assist to explain the concept of hegemonic wars as they are bound to occur in the international system beginning at the regional level wherein a global war finally erupts. The extent to which the REC's in Africa are interrelated and work towards a common goal may therefore be brought out when considering the impact of the advent of the AFRICOM on the political socio- economic dynamics on Africa as part of a hegemonic maneuver to try and ward off competitors such as China.

To further elucidate how the end of bipolarity has influenced the way states look to each other's comfort in a regional context to manage the security dilemma Kenneth Waltz's conception of structural realism would be used to highlight the channeling towards hegemonic wars.[38] Waltz proposes that; (1) the international system is anarchic and is a self- help one in which states seek to maximize their security; (2) That the international system works on a power balancing effort

[37] Robert Gilpin 1981. War and Change in International Politics, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
[38]Buzan B et al. 1998. Security: A Framework for Analysis.LynneRienner Publishers, London.

to maintain equilibrium: and (3) That distribution of capabilities across the system characterize the international order to the extent that variations in power lead to different types and magnitude of structural constraints on states.[39] This phenomenon therefore leads to determining how states behave or at the least, how they should behave. Therefore, if states are to maximize their security, they then need to pay particular attention to the systemic and structural constraints that may exist within their environment.

Following from the above, to give impetus to the hegemonic war proposition, the classical heterogeneous security complex theory proposed by Buzan et al underlies the study. The theory holds that, security complexes emerge within the regional systems due to mutual dependence and insecurity occasioned by other neighbours activities and the need to satisfy the interests. These sub- systems develop over short distances as insecurity is usually associated with proximity. A sense of interdependence ensues as a result of distribution of power and historical relations of amity or enmity. In addition, belligerence towards one another is informed by regional patterns of historical affinity in which some countries are included in or kept outside the complex[40]. Consequently, classical complexes play a crucial role in relations among other members and they also determine how and whether stronger powers may penetrate or be allowed into the region. The theory moves on to incorporate a heterogeneous association which makes the further assumption that the regional logic now abandons its strict regionalism and brings in other like-minded actors across two or more regions. This will serve to explicate the emergence of security dilemmas by other states that are not members of the complex and invariably illuminate the actions they subsequently take to reduce insecurity.

[39] Buzan B et al. 1998. Security: A Framework for Analysis.LynneRienner Publishers, London.
[40] Ibid

In the main also, the focus of the study relies on the two assumptions of anarchy and distribution of capabilities in the wider global environment. In this regard, intervening actors though not inherently part of the system, serve to influence decision making and policy direction and these are therefore considered. This is done with full caution that in the final analysis, relations in IR and national interests are not constant and the extent to which any one pursuit or direction of interests is largely dependent on the leaders of the time.

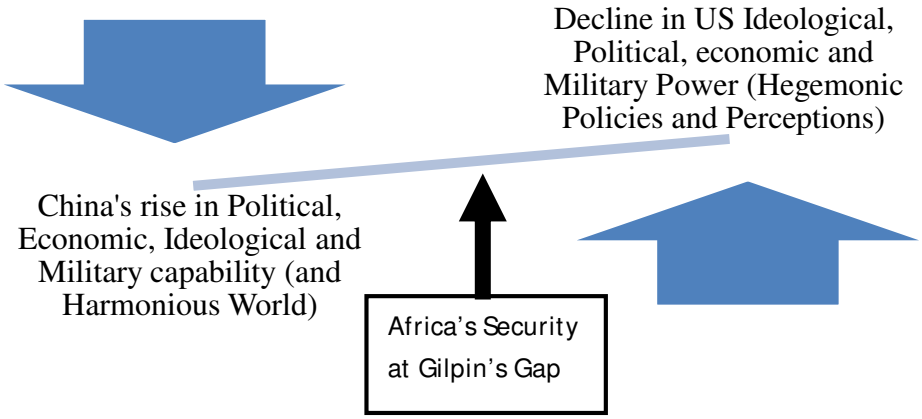
The study is informed by the apparent security challenges in Africa which do not seem to have immediate solutions amidst the contemporary conceptualization of the concept of security that has been broadened to encompass human security. Accordingly, the aspect of a shift from the state centric security concept mentioned above to a more humanistic approach - in that security is seen as not only, "freedom from fear" but also as including "freedom from want[41]" will be central to the study.

[41]Raich M. New Scramble for Africa: An Analysis of US and EU 21st Century Agendas in Africa Case Studies: US AFRICOM and JAES P&S.

Figure 1: The Theoretical Model

1. Modelski's Long Circles Theory Operating in an Anarchic Global System. Every one hundred years or so, the system gives birth to a new Hegemon. This transition to Gilpin's Hegemonic Wars.

2. Gilpin's Theory of Hegemonic Wars. Interplay occurring at Gilpin's gap of disequilibrium.



Enmity **Security Challenges** **Amity**

Insecurity/Security dilemma

Insecurity **Insecurity**

Realism **Complex Interdependence**

Classical Heterogeneous Complexes

Source: Author, MM Mukokomani 2014

1.8 **Methodology**

In order to fulfill the objectives of this research work, the researcher employs both the primary as well as the secondary sources of data and makes use of qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis. This is done in order to determine the efficacy of the US AFRICOM in Africa's preparedness to overcome her security challenges. The study seeks to find the real reason why the AFRICOM seems to be shunned by African countries. Part of the work collected and evaluated is from literature review including books, journals, articles both hard and electronic versions. To effectively tackle her security challenges, Africa has got to have effective security architectures at the AU and regional levels. The research therefore further utilizes primary information collected with the aid of questioners and interviews administered to various selected groups covering one hundred respondents using the stratified random sampling targeting military and police personnel, academic persons, personnel from the regional centers and ordinary people. A sample of the questioner is attached as Annex A to this document. The findings from the analysis were then interpreted in order to come up with generalizations on the conduct of the African countries and the impact this has on the overall security preparedness of Africa.

Chapter TWO

2.0 The Political and Economic Impacts of the Africa- US AFRICOM Security Dynamics in Africa

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the political- economy of the Africa US relationship. It argues that the advent of the AFRICOM is at best a political economy interplay that is played by both sides. The discussion venture into China's courting of African countries with the hope of a new deal in their political economy which they call a 'harmonious world'. The discussion shows the Africa-US interplay in accordance with Thomas Hobbes analogy of political interaction amidst varying security challenges where the "the strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept what they have to accept".[42] The chapter therefore explores the political economic impacts of the dynamics that the AFRICOM sets to bring about in Africa and how these would affect the perception of disrupting the status quo.

2.2 The Political Impacts of the Africa- US AFRICOM Dynamics

Governments often make political decisions for economic reasons and vice versa. For that reason, international political economy often creates interplay between politics and economics in the pursuit of national interests.[43] In the case of the AFRICOM, due to an impasse between the US and Africa the decision has been to put it on hold until a mutually acceptable way forward is found. Meanwhile, the losing party is Africa in the sense that the political, socio-economic benefit and security partnership for tackling challenges that could be accruing to it is not forthcoming. A recent example is the Ebola crisis that befell Africa which could have been better handled with the assistance of a stronger partner. While the majority of the interviewed

[42] Skoble AJ and Machan TR. 1999. Political Philosophy: Essential Selections. Prentice Hall, New Delhi.
[43] Spiegel SL et al. 2004. World Politics in a New Era. 3rd Ed. Thomson Wadsworth Publishers

respondents felt that the AFRICOM could have a positive impact on assisting in tackling security challenges, the political opinion has this far not shared the same view. Consequently, the political appreciation emanating from Africa is that, the African decision makers contend that the US's decision to establish the AFRICOM is not bona fide but rather that it is driven by an interest on African resources and to satisfy US national interests.

In a similar manner, a seminar held on the 'Political Economy of Response to the US Africa Command' in 2011 captured the varying opposition from some African scholars and leading news editors alike which reflected a vast conflict among African views. From the seminar, it was apparent that participants were divided between countries with favourable economic growth and those with less favourable growth. The study posited that those participants from more affluent countries like South Africa, Nigeria and Kenya had bluntly urged their governments to reject the proposal to have AFRICOM headquartered on African soil, and others less so like Liberia had expressed support for it.[44] In contrast to this however, individuals on the ground who are besieged with varying challenges, see AFRICOM as bringing with it the possibility of assisting to tackle their situation presently rather than at some future time.

A particular issue that appears to have raised animosity is the approach of introducing the AFRICOM concept by the US Department of Defence (DOD) which seems to have not been diplomatic. However, on criticism to the charge that its approach had been imposing rather than consensus building, the DOD has maintained through various forums that it had extensively engaged its African partners and offered what it had thought to be a mutually worrisome assessment and solutions thereof. In addition, the DOD further argued against the notion that the AFRICOM proposal was based squarely on the US interest on terrorism that could according to

[44] Dr Le Vans C. 2011. Why Africans Reject AFRICOM. West Africa Insight. Centre for Democracy and Development.

their assessment emanate from Africa. The other position it refuted was that its concern was brought about by China's growing influence and access to natural resources and oil reserves in the region. Nonetheless though, some observers attribute the negative responses from Africa to a 'public relations blunder' on the part of the DOD and accuse it of not doing a good job of its roll out campaign. The study however observed that the perception of most people on the move to establish the AFRICOM was largely informed by US self- interest and did not primarily have the interests of Africa at heart.

Following this, the position sort by Africa has been to create an economic barrier against the US in an effort to deny them outright manipulation of Africa's natural resources thereby increasing trade with the EU and the BRICS countries especially China. In a similar respect, the World Economic Forum (WEF) report of 2014 shows that China mostly through its BRICS cluster has increasingly been having a greater share of trade with Africa in its natural resources.[45] This has been to the detriment of attracting US capabilities that could assist in tackling the myriad security challenges of Africa. Accordingly, the political economy approach outlines and advocates for a relationship between the greater world economy and the national and international politics.[46] Therefore, three perspectives that this approach proffers are liberalism, realism and Marxism which may assist to explain the political and socio- economic implications of the Africa- US AFRICOM dynamics.

2.3 **The Political Economy and Approach to the US AFRICOM**

During World War II, Africa was used by the Allies as a staging ground for troops from the Western hemisphere bound for Italy and southern France and for ferrying aircrafts from South America through Liberia to the European theater. Following this, during the Cold War the

[45] World Economic Forum Report. 2013. The Global Energy Architecture Performance Index Report 2014.
[46] Dr Le Vans C. 2011. Why Africans Reject AFRICOM. West Africa Insight. Centre for Democracy and Development.

political neutrality of the newly independent Africa was again subjected to being a battle ground for proxy ideological conflicts and political competition for support between the East and the West. Along with this, the polarization of Africa became deeply rooted which only served to the advantage of the Cold War protagonists. In effect, most security challenges in Africa can be traced to the political interaction of both western and eastern countries in which they have introduced artificial and poorly demarcated borders and have polarized societies dating back to the colonial era, and also established illegitimate governments and bases to fight their many proxy wars during the Cold War. This period thus spans around one hundred and forty five years in which the Wests influence in Africa has entrenched bad governance through skewed political policies. In most cases the modus operandi in all the African states was through direct or indirect involvement in conflicts and through causing political instability in certain countries.

The Biafra conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon, the Sedudu/ Kasikili dispute between Botswana and Namibia and the Migingu Island dispute between Kenya and Uganda are just a few of the countless territorial disputes in Africa resulting from colonial activities. For instance, the Sedudu/ kasikili dispute arises from the curving out of the Caprivi Strip in favour of Germany's Count Von Caprivi who wanted the area as part of the Treaty of Heligoland of 1890 in which the British entered into with the Germans that also saw the transfer of Zanzibar to Britain. Furthermore, following from the Cold War era, are inter and intra state conflicts such as the thirty year war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the Angolan civil war, the Mozambique conflict and even the complex Great Lakes Conflict system. In addition, in most cases such as in West Africa, the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa, governance related inter- state conflicts

have had spill- over effects across the continent.[47] Consequently the legacy of the colonial period and cold war era have entrenched a culture of poor governance, corruption, intolerance, greed and power relations. The ensuing has led to a plethora of state- centric security challenges like trans- national crimes, political instability, refugee problems, IDP's, child trafficking, ethnic related violence and drug trafficking.

In all this, African leaders therefore acted in cohorts to plunder their countries on behalf of their guardians so long as they were assisted to remain in power by whatever means. Therefore despite the many transgressions they committed against their people and countries, they remained protected because the East and Western countries main interest was in either stopping further projection of either ideology and in resource acquisition. As such, a culture of impunity in governance developed within the African states that has subsequently fueled ailments such as poverty, internal wars, and displaced people resulting in widespread insecurity. Against this background, the desire of the US to set up a Command in Africa solicited memories of western indifference towards the real welfare of Africa and therefore no matter what they stood to provide it was viewed with some skepticism. However, from the interviewed respondents, it was apparent that although the US had a reputation of a self-centered approach, most respondents were of the view that the AFRICOM was likely to have a positive impact on Africa's security challenges more especially considering the pressing challenges beforehand.

The advent of the AFRICOM therefore is seen from the neo- realist perspective which is founded on power relations among nations. This paradigm argues that, because relative levels of power matter in the international arena, then it should follow that the economics interplay would be

[47]Ikome, FN. Institute for Security Studies, Africa's International Borders as Potential Sources of Conflict and Future Threats to Peace and Security, May 2012, Vol No 233.

informed by the politics surrounding it. Consequently, considering the global balance of power since the end of the cold war, it should be appreciated that the US is the global hegemon that has ascertained its position as the major actor in IR and therefore has a major role in shaping the international arena. For that reason, when considering the complex interdependent environment, developing countries such as in Africa have to observe that they are reliant on countries like the US for technological and financial assistance including the purchasing of finished products from them. Developed countries on the other hand purchase raw materials and products from developing countries which are essential to the sustenance of their economies and their wellbeing. Therefore when looked at in this way, it becomes entirely beneficial to both parties that a conducive and safe environment is established so that trade may be able to take place and human security may also be ensured by the states in the process.

In his observation of mercantilist trade policies in his book, 'The Wealth of Nations', Adam Smith argued for a policy of laissez- faire which essentially entailed to "leave well enough alone", preferring rather that the markets should on their own be allowed to bring the best outcomes for all.[48] In his view, states should concern themselves with the provision of defence and a judicial system to protect people's rights and maintain public works and infrastructure and allow markets to function in a liberal way. Consequently, an innovation such as the AFRICOM would be looked at from the economic utility that it would bring to the continent in terms of maintenance expenditure for the force, infrastructure and the capabilities to tackle varied security challenges. The feeling therefore is that through such an arrangement, the interaction would be mutually beneficial for both parties wherein Africa would be assured of capabilities and

[48] Ikome, FN. Institute for Security Studies, Africa's International Borders as Potential Sources of Conflict and Future Threats to Peace and Security, May 2012, Vol No 233.

measures to tackle security challenges and at the same time, the US would attain its national objective of denying terrorist activities in Africa.

Therefore, while the state- centric approach plays the determining role rather than the human-centric approach, ultimately the interests that matter most are the national interests and therefore should be given due consideration by a deliberate process of political give and take . The ensuing then is that the political rigmarole that occurs at the national and regional levels including at the international level should account for the subsequent interdependency. For that reason due to this complex interdependency, political interaction results in a contest for resources by individual states while the real situation on the ground remains unabated. This should therefore be managed by an agreed process of what the continent seeks to attain vis-a-vis the relative loses it may be perceived to be losing. However, since independence, Africa has not enjoyed a relatively secure environment where prosperity may be realized. This is due to countless political and security challenges that vary in scope and intensity across the continent, and these encompass both state centric and human oriented security issues. Evidence however shows that most African countries have remained fixated on the traditional 'Westphalian' state- centric challenges despite the many other challenges before them and hence the individual approach in trying to tackle the challenges.

Contrary to this though, the global environment has now progressed to interdependency and globalization wherein various state and non- state actors coexist for the strategic good of their societies and constituencies. Accordingly, this complex interdependency makes demands on other actors in the international system such as to be politically and otherwise accountable in order that they may be ensured of their investment protection. This would thus entail the

continent to realize the benefits of being interdependent with one another and across their regions including with other external actors state and non- state.

This state of affairs has persisted to date and is corroborated by the Human Freedom Index that shows that Africa fairs far below world ratings in terms of good governance. The index shows a rating of 1 being the highest incidence of good governance and 10 as reflecting poor governance ratings. Of the average rating of Africa at 6.4 therefore, it could be inferred that the political standing of the continent is inappropriate to create a conducive environment under which socio-economic development may take place.[49] Furthermore, according to the 2014 Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance [IIAG], Africa's overall governance ratings have been steadily declining over the past five years with countries like Nigeria being rated as one of the worst governed countries in the continent. In the report, Nigeria is rated 45.8 per cent which is lower than the African average of 51.5 per cent and is ranked 37th out of 52 countries in the overall governance scale. The country even scored lower than the regional average for West Africa which stands at 52.2 percent and it is ranked 12th out of 15 in the region.[50] Therefore, opportunity conditions such as civil wars, refugees and epidemics end up taking advantage of the dire conditions of Africa thereby creating insecurity.

Arising from the above also, it can be inferred that there is a weak political will and institutions that in themselves tolerate rampant conflict, transnational crime, and corruption which results in threats to international security and stability. For instance, since independence, Sub-Saharan Africa has endured over 80 successful and 108 failed coups including 28 attempts which accounts for 44 percent of the world's total. The worst example of violence is the Democratic

[49] Human Freedom Index. 2013
[50] Mo Ibrahim Index of Governance 2014.

Republic of Congo's (DRC) intra- and interstate fighting which has since 1996 claimed about 5.4 million lives, making it the bloodiest conflict since WW II.[51]

In this context, the US sought to capacitate African countries to be able to carry out stability operations that would foster security through economic and political development. These operations show the utility of military forces in such actions and therefore the need to harness the underlying US economic and political capability in which the AFRICOM would assist to redirect political and economic activity. This is especially so, in a world of increasing globalization, were the continent is of rising importance to the international community for the opportunities it presents and the threats it poses. Furthermore, the viewpoint of globalization resonates with the interdependent realities of today that have shrunk political, economic and societal processes into a homogenous international system. Occurrences like the recent Ebola outbreak therefore come to be seen as global security challenges rather than regional challenges which therefore are better of having an integrated approach to try and tackle.

This is not to say however that the US themselves do not come into the African scene devoid of their own set of expectations and desires. In fact, Vicki Huddleston Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for African Affairs in the DOD makes clear this mindset when she presents a self-centered expression of US intentions towards Africa before a Congressional hearing that;

> *"The West's long-term strategic interests in Africa are clear: we must thwart the growth of terrorism and transnational crime; we must prevent destabilizing mass migrations; and we must maintain secure trade links. In order to realize these strategic objectives, as well as to act out of simple human compassion to alleviate suffering on a colossal scale,*

[51] Ikome, FN. Institute for Security Studies, Africa's International Borders as Potential Sources of Conflict and Future Threats to Peace and Security, May 2012, Vol No 233.

the world must fix the current situation in Africa. From a more selfish perspective, a strong and vigorous Africa will open its markets to the rest of the world and at the same time liberate an entire continent's energy, intelligence, and creativity".[52]

Hence this are the two sides of the same coin that the AFRICOM stands to bring with it that has its attendant positive and negative implications. Consequently, a more viable approach would be for the continent to harness the benefits of what the AFRICOM brings about whilst putting in place mechanisms to mitigate the negative effects. While this may be so, African leaders themselves in their political discourse recognize the urgent need for stability and political wellbeing especially with regard to their causal link to security. For instance, in a recent Economic Community of African States (ECOWAS) meeting, they observed that; "combination of poverty and bad governance is no doubt a great part of the causes of the conflicts in West Africa. Accordingly, there cannot be any economic advancement without a peaceful, stable and secure environment."[53] The study also observed that, most respondents did not see anything fundamentally untoward with the AFRICOM and saw the potential for its capacity as likely to enhance Africa's ability to combat security challenges.

Ultimately therefore, the goal that both Africa and the US seek with regard to Africa's security is the establishment of a secure environment in which good political governance and sustainable economic development may flourish. These are both a part of the foundation of the stability and security that would move the continent forward. However, political governance and economic development are the structures upon which other problems will be solved.

[52] Huddleston V. 2011. AFRICOM: Promoting Partnership for Global Security in Africa. Congressional Hearing to the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights House Foreign Affairs Committee (HFAC) DoD.

[53]

2.4 **The Economic Impacts of the Africa- US AFRICOM Dynamics**

Many causes have been suggested for the chronic problems faced by African countries. These include social, geographic, imperialist, ethnic, or religious problems to name just a few. However, because Africa's problems are complex and diverse nearly any suggested cause may be contributory, but not necessarily fundamental. Nonetheless, a major destructive impact from this is the economic state of affairs that results in permeating many people's social life's thus leaving them impoverished and with many chronic challenges in the process. As a result, these aggravate untold insecurity which leads to people engaging in countless undesirable survival acts. Agreeing with this, a 2008 U.S. Congressional Research Service Report on Africa concluded that; "Instability heightens human suffering in Africa and retards economic development, which may threaten U.S. economic interests."[54] As such, this instability has kept Africa a focus area of US and international geopolitics.

Whilst liberals explain the international political economy from the individual level and the realists look at it from the state- centric approach, the Marxist instead sees this as occurring from the class level.[55] Therefore, according to Marxists, class interests rather than the national interests determine the economic policy, and in actual effect merely portray the preferences and interests of the dominant class. Therefore, to this end the bourgeoisie being the owners of the means and factors of production clothe the entire propositions in the form of the AFRICOM in order to create an impression of a real concern for Africa. At the same time the bourgeoisie on the African front, protecting their interests create a smoke screen by labelling such a move as ill intended in order to deny any possibility of encroachment by competing business interests. What obtains thus is that there is untold exploitation of the general population who experience poverty

[54] 2008 US Congressional Report.
[55] Ibid

and an assortment of other social ills and misery and are the real people affected by the denial of AFRICOM to come and partner with Africa in order to tackle security challenges. The counter argument to this viewpoint though is that, allowing the AFRICOM to base in Africa would create a dependency condition wherein due to its inherent bias against Africa's development, the US would encourage the stagnation of development in Africa to be able to come of age and stand on its own feet.[56] This view is likewise shared by the majority of the respondents who perceive the overall intent of the AFRICOM to have the likelihood of creating a dependency situation.

The bone of contention is that Africa's economic role in the wake of the 21st century is projected to play the same pivotal strategic worldwide position that it has been playing for the previous 4 centuries. In this the crux of Africa's significance is in providing natural resources from its abundant supplies, and also by providing a market for manufactured goods. In earlier times foreign merchants traded for gold, salt, ivory, grain and later slavery. Today, Africa is a crucial source of energy, strategic and ordinary minerals, and precious gems. West Africa holds 60 billion barrels of oil reserves and large natural gas deposits which are expected to comprise a quarter of US petroleum imports by the year 2015. Additionally, North Africa supplies a third of Europe's oil and natural gas, much via undersea pipelines. Southern Africa alone holds 89% of the world's known platinum reserves, 23% of vanadium, 14% of gold reserves and 12% of diamond reserves to name but a few.[57]

Paradoxically though, with a population of just over 1.1 billion people accounting for 15% of the world population, Africa is unable to translate its potential wealth into tangible benefits for development and thus alleviate insecurity. This is because there are many interest groups in

[56] Ibid
[57] Gilbert LD et al. 2009. The United States Africa Command: Security for Whom? The Journal of Pan African Studies.

Africa that are primarily concerned with extraction of natural resources and have come to learn that the more corrupt and ineffective the governments, the cheaper it is for them to accumulate greater wealth. As the continent does not have the technical expertise and is reliant on external assistance for extraction of natural resources, these actors have often exploited the situation. Therefore, in most cases these state and non-state actors have done their fair bit of contributing to instability such that they incite instability and at the same time they position themselves to appear to be assisting the same corrupt governments whilst inadvertently exploiting their hosts. The fear it would appear is that AFRICOM with its vast capabilities may come to displace these actors and thus jeopardize individuals who have been benefitting from the status quo. Accordingly, Abass observes that the linkage between Africa's natural resources and conflict goes without saying.[58] The real reason he observes is that natural resource management in Africa does not have proper mechanisms to police the extractive industry.

For that reason, the politics of minerals has led to conflicts in most African countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Angola and Sierra Leone for the diamond mining, and Sudan, Nigeria and Central Africa Republic (CAR) for oil extraction for instance. In most cases, external actors arm warring parties and fuel conflicts so that whilst they are still engaged in fights with each other, then the international actors may be syphoning vast quantities of raw materials.

Although this is so, Abass observes that there have been marked improvements in these processes such as the introduction of the Kimberley Process and the Diamond Development Initiative (DDI) to regulate diamond mining, and the Extractive Industries Transparency

[58] Abass A, 2010. Protecting Human Security in Africa. Oxford, London.

Initiative (EITI) for the verification of oil and natural gas extraction. Despite these though, there are gaps in the implementation and management of the processes such as in allowing countries who are not diamond producing countries like Guinea Bissau to be registered in the Kimberley process thereby creating loopholes for them to instigate insecurity in other countries such that they may benefit from this and be able sell diamonds that have been dubiously acquired from those countries. In addition, these control mechanisms are reliant on the individual countries and the companies they operate in to be honest in declaring their real activities and revenues thereof. However, as is often the case large cover-ups are put in place by bureaucrats and politician who benefit from the corrupt practices.

Similarly, in the context of this convoluted African scenario, the US government's reaction to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (9/11) not only dramatically increased the Pentagon budget, but it also sent the US all over the world in search of terrorists. With these arms spending increases the Military Industrial Complex (MIC) went overdrive to produce weaponry that went far beyond economic use for the US military. The main interest of the MIC of course is the maximization of profits and therefore the destinations and destruction of the weapons they produce is often not a concern of theirs. For instance, the Pentagon's base budget plus expenditures on the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan pushed total military spending to over $700 billion per year, the highest level since World War II. Of this figure, over $400 billion was disbursed to private companies alone. As such, the largest contractors have seen their Pentagon awards nearly double between 2001 and 2008. For instance, Lockheed Martin alone received US$29 billion in Pentagon contracts in 2008 which was more than the allocations to the

Environmental Protection Agency ($7.5 billion), the Department of Labor ($11.4 billion), or the Department of Transportation ($15.5 billion) for that same year.[59]

All this military expenditure require that it be justified and therefore a former US military member from an organization called Veterans Today while a guest on Press TV suggested that, the purpose of the Yemen conflict for instance was about arms and to test drone attacks by protecting US interests through interfering in internal politics of that country and assassinating political enemies. He further opines that,

> *"But that's part of a larger policy where we are migrating an imaginary terror organization over to Africa where we're soon going to be starting drone attacks. We've been hoping for permission to do these in Northern Nigeria against Boko Haram, Niger, Mali, Chad, and the C.A.R (Central African Republic)."*[60]

Consequently, since the 9/11 terrorist attack military expenditure has gone up by 45% globally. According to SIPRI, in 2007 alone global military expenditure was $1339 billion representing 2.5%.[61] This scenario has led to further arms proliferation in places like Africa were excesses are pushed to the areas in the guise of preparation for terror attacks. The same has led to a security dilemma among the African countries as increases in arms holdings of one country trigger the same increases in the other countries. The consolidated GDP of African countries per region between 2009 and 2013 indicates that whilst the global recession had affected most countries especially in Africa, arms expenditure on the other hand remained high. Most African countries registered a year on year increase thereby creating a security dilemma amongst each other.

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60 Wada H. 2012. AFRICOM for Peace or Destabilization. http://economicconfidential.net/new/features/1067-AFRICOM-for-peace-or-destabilization. Accessed 17 Sep 2014.

61 Agostino G et al. 2010. Assessing the Effects of Military Expenditure on Growth. Oxford Handbook of the Economics of Peace and Conflict. Oxford University Press.

One aspect that has brought about a new dimension to the security problematic between Africa and the US AFRICOM though, is the increased activity of China on the continent. Since 2001, China has substantially increased its economic engagement with sub-Saharan African countries, with strong growth in both imports and exports. According to some observers, China's foreign assistance and investments throughout Africa since that time have been driven in part by the Chinese government's desire to obtain a share in Africa's natural resources as well as by its interest in establishing diplomatic relations with countries in the region. In this regard, this has posed a direct challenge to the US's previously held hegemonic status in the global environment and inadvertently sent a message to the world that the US might be a declining hegemon after all.[62] Therefore in order to try and assert themselves in the continent, the United States and China have emphasized different policies and approaches for their engagement with sub-Saharan Africa. U.S. goals have included strengthening democratic institutions, supporting human rights, using development assistance to improve health, education, and capacitating African countries for global trade. The Chinese government, in contrast, has stated that the goal of establishing closer ties with African countries is by seeking mutual benefit for China and African nations and by following a policy of noninterference in countries' domestic affairs.

Resultantly, this has created a division in the continent with some countries showing increasing participation in the Forum on Chinese- Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) and some remaining pro-Western. In this way, China's economic ties with sub-Saharan Africa, including its rapidly rising trade and investment in the region, have drawn global attention. The quest for key resources in Africa targets areas rich in oil, minerals, timber, and cotton such as Angola, Nigeria, Sudan and South Africa. Many African countries are viewed as fast-growing markets and profitable outlets

[62] US Congretional Report. 2013. Sub Saharan Africa: Trends in US and Chinese Economic Engagement. United States Government Accountability Office.

for the immediate export of cheap manufactured goods, and the future export of high-end products and services. The result of this has been a rekindling of antagonistic views between the West and the Far East which could result in an open contest occurring in Africa itself.

Invariably, this has raised the level of insecurity in the continent as can be gleaned from the figures (Figure 2) that show the military expenditure patterns of African countries per region amidst the economic financial downturn and global recession; African countries military expenditures remained high to the detriment of other equally important social requirements. The economy of defence expenditure therefore appears to be overriding other development areas and this aspect can only be explained by the link with weapons manufacture that ends up being pushed and flooded to developing countries.

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the volume of international transfers of major conventional weapons was 17 per cent higher in the period 2008–12 than in 2003–2007 (see figure 2). The five biggest exporters in the period 2008–12 were the United States, Russia, Germany, France and China. This is the first time since the end of the cold war that China, a state from outside Europe and North America has appeared among the five largest arms exporters. Similarly, imports of weapons by African states increased by 104 % from the period between of 2003–2007 to the period of 2008–2012 indicating a marked increase in the ability to prosecute a war by the African countries. During 2003–2007 countries in sub-Saharan Africa accounted for 71 % of the weapons imports to Africa; later during 2008–12 these countries imported 5 % more arms. In contrast, imports by North African countries increased by 350 % in 2008–12 and accounted for 64 % of imports by African states. According to SIPRI, Algeria, Morocco and South Africa were by far the largest arms importers in Africa in 2008–12.

2.5 Summary

The political appreciation emanating from Africa with regard the US AFRICOM is that, the US's decision to establish the AFRICOM is not bona fide but rather that it is driven by an interest on African resources and to satisfy US national interests. Despite this, security challenges driven by opportunity conditions such as civil wars, refugees and epidemics take advantage of the dire conditions of Africa thereby creating insecurity. However, it is noted from this chapter that globalization resonates with the interdependent realities that have shrunk political, economic and societal processes into a homogenous international system. In this nexus, political governance and economic stability are the structures upon which other problems will be solved. These appear to be insufficient in Africa thereby breeding instability which heightens human suffering and retard economic development, which may in turn threaten US survival interests. As such, this situation has kept Africa a focus area of US and other actors in international who are equally interested in Africa's natural resources and have acted to satisfy their appetite to the detriment of Africa due to proper mechanisms for the extractive industry. The result of this has been a rekindling of antagonistic views between the West and the Far East which could result in an open contest occurring in Africa itself. Subsequently, the US decision to establish the AFRICOM has come in direct competition with the Chinese government desire to control African resources. In reaction, the Chinese ideology for moving into Africa has been through a strategy of establishing closer ties with African countries by seeking mutual benefit for China and African nations and by following a policy of noninterference in countries' domestic affairs which seems to resonate with African leaders, but at the same time has potential to retard progress made in Africa's governance and accountability standing.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 The Preparedness of Africa's Regional Security Strategy in Tackling Security Challenges in Africa.

3.1 Introduction

This chapter assesses the preparedness of the African Union peace and security architecture as centered on the Regional Economic Centers (RECs) structures to try and determine their ability to adequately respond to security challenges in Africa. The overall African Standby Force (ASF) mechanism is interrogated in as far as it may engage in conflict management and in tackling security challenges as envisioned by the 1994 UN broadened security concept to embrace challenges to human security. This is done order to contrast the AU security mechanism against the proposed US AFRICOM.

3.2 The African Peace and Security Architecture

Historically states have interpreted security in terms of the realist perspective that confined security to state centric considerations of survival of the state and the role of the military power in settling global disputes. In line with this viewpoint, following independence most African countries conceptualization was characterized by this state centric approach. The priority in the aspirations of the founding leaders of Africa was inclined to political and economic emancipation to the neglect of human security. Leaders like Kwame Nkrumah adamantly held the view that African leaders should first seek the political kingdom and that all other things would follow. However, in the 21st Century, there has been a major conceptual and policy shift around the notion of security. The paradigm shift and in accordance with the urging of the UNDPs Human Development report of 1994 tilts the security paradigm in favour of security of the individual who has since taken center stage. The report thus categorizes human security into

seven key areas encompassing economic security, personal and community security, health security, environmental security, food security and political security.[63] In light of this, the AU through its Constitutive Act (AU-CA) of 2000 adopted the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) in which she sought to provide for the tackling of these broader security challenges amongst others. This marked a departure from the previous OAU approach to tackling security challenges wherein the principle of non- interference to internal state affairs was paramount, which invariably inculcated a culture of neglect to human security challenges. Therefore, the major departure from the OAU approach to conflict management was in granting the AU Assembly via Article 4(h) of the AU Constitutive Act (on recommendation by the PSC) the right to intervene in a member state in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity.

The AU's overarching objective is the emergence of "an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena." The union's more specific vision for conflict management reflects awareness that the precondition for achieving this overarching goal is security and stability on the continent. The AU's Constitutive Act, which entered into force in May 2001, outlines the organization's vision of conflict management. It commits AU members to accelerate political and economic integration of the continent, including through the development of a common African security and defense policy; to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence of its member states; to promote peace, security, and stability throughout Africa; and to encourage democratic principles of good governance, human rights, and sustainable development. Accordingly, the overarching departure to the new security approach of the AU is that first, it has repeatedly confirmed that it will not

[63] Suhrke. 1999.

tolerate "unconstitutional changes of Government, and secondly, it claims a new right of humanitarian intervention under Article 4(h) of the Constitutive Act led by African countries themselves.

Therefore informed by this, the AU has adopted a conceptual approach to security that encompasses both the traditional, state-centric notion of the survival of the state as well as the survival of the individual. According to this, human security is the bedrock of the AU peace and security agenda. Thus the AU defines human security as: "The security of the individual in terms of satisfaction of his/her basic needs. It also includes the creation of social, economic, political, environmental and cultural conditions necessary for the survival and dignity of the individual, the protection of and respect for human rights, good governance and the guarantee for each individual of opportunities and choices for his/her full development".[64]

This renewed approach has thus given rise to the rationale for intervention in Africa that equally follows an approach of 'African solutions to African problems' and the emphasis on enhancing African peace and security capacity. This approach it would seem, stems from a number of sources such as the increasing determination by African countries to develop their own peace and security capacity; the continuing demand for peace support operations (PSOs) in Africa; an understanding that African responses to African crises may be more acceptable or appropriate than external responses; and bad operational experiences for non-African states in African PSOs. However, to this end while there may be political will from the African leaders, the hindrance is that they lack the essential resources and infrastructure to enforce decisions that they make. This is manifested in infringements to individual state security situations wherein the AU can only

[64] Mpyisi K. 2009. How EU Support of the African Peace and Security Architecture Impacts Democracy Building and Human Security Enhancement in Africa. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. International Security Studies

release statements condemning such acts without any muscle to follow through their desires. Recent cases in point are the Libya, Lesotho and Burkina Faso political crises in which the AU could only make statements without much prospects for action.

3.3 **Efficacy of the Conflict Management Mechanism and Engagement in Human Security Challenges**

Africa is inundated with massive security challenges which she has thus far been unable to effectively tackle. The major impediment to tackling these challenges is the lack of capacity of African states and the relevant organizations she has put in place to quickly and effectively respond to these challenges. The result of this is the tackling of the security challenges in an ad hoc manner with minimal benefit. According to Kwesi Aning, some of Africa's major security challenges are; (a) the legacy of historic notions of state sovereignty, (b) the rise of regionalism in the absence of common regional values, (c) the difficulty of managing hegemonic regionalism,(d) elitism in the form of regional integration occurring only at the level of leaders without permeating the consciousness of the people, (e) the creation of institutions with little capacity to manage them, and (f) the perception of regionalism as an externally driven project.[65] Bearing this in mind, it has been observed that the single most devastating security challenge for the continent has been armed conflict with direct effects and equally debilitating ancillary impacts on the continent. This has therefore led to other teething problems such as the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW), explosive food insecurity, environmental degradation, and the threat of unexploded ordnances, rampant organized crime, poverty and public health concerns among others. The sum total of these has been a mixture of the old and new security challenges which Africa finds itself inundated with. Consequently, Transnational

[65] Aning K. 2007. Africa: Confronting Complex Threats. Coping with Crisis. International Peace Academy.

organized criminal (TNC) groups and terrorist groups also emerge that seek to exploit the spaces created by such insecurities wherein they engage in activities that are detrimental to human, state and international security. It has however been observed that currently, due to Africa's slow pace at operationalizing the AU PSA, it will take yet a long time before Africa may be in a position to begin tackling such security challenges.

For that reason, the different efforts by states and the RECs put in place to respond to such challenges are inadequate and lack capacity to carry out the desired intention of the AU. Furthermore, the extent to which such efforts are effective and well- coordinated, first in identifying the varying manifestations of the security challenges, and secondly in designing credible response mechanisms to prevent, manage and resolve them has also been found to be lacking especially in so far as capacity is concerned. Examples are the September 2013 terrorist attacks on Westgate Mall in Nairobi, Kenya, the kidnapping of over 200 young girls by a radical group in Northern Nigeria which has rendered the government completely incapable of effectively responding and the outbreak of the Ebola pandemic in Western Africa that has once and for all shown Africa's inability to respond to its own security challenges. Despite this, there have in the recent past been some indications that in some of Africa's regions, benevolent hegemonic leadership has under certain circumstances contributed to solutions to some of these security challenges; although those countries experienced structural and operational difficulties. Nigeria's intervention and rallying of the ECOWAS region to intervene in the internal wars crisis situations in Sierra Leone and Liberia and South Africa's rallying of the SADC region to respond to political crisis in Lesotho are a case in point.

In view of the above, the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) was established by AU Leaders with a desire to put in place an operational structure that could execute their decisions on dealing with security challenges taken in accordance with the authority conferred by Article 5(2) of the AU Constitutive Act. At the heart of the architecture is the Peace and Security Council (PSC) which was established as the standing decision making Organ to be supported by the Commission, the Panel of the Wise, the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), and the African Standby Force (ASF) coupled with a Special Fund.[66]

The functions of these as mandated in the Protocol underscore the importance of interdependence and synergy between the pillars of the security architecture. Hence in the operationalization of the APSA there is also a parallel process of setting up functioning systems in the RECs/RM. Therefore, for the system to function effectively, it requires interaction and synergy among the pillars. The study commissioned by the Peace and Security Department identifies that in fact, it comes out clearly from the given mandates that there is an expectation for a synergistic linkage between the pillars. However, it has been established that to date, the AU has not been able to achieve the desired synergizing of the different structures at the AU level together with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the AU Commission. The same is also applicable between the AU and the different RECs and also sadly relevant when considering the synergy amongst the RECs themselves and worse off internally within the RECS.

To ameliorate some of these structural problems, Article 12 of the Protocol accordingly provides for early warning information provided to the Chairperson through the CEWS. This is meant to provide the PSC with an opportunity of taking the required action after they have made due

[66] Study Commissioned by the African Peace and Security Department. 2010. Moving Africa Forward. 2010 Assessment Study. African Union.

consideration of the issues. The Panel of the Wise could in the interim be deployed to support efforts of the Peace and Security Council in accordance with Article 11 by engaging the conflict situation by means of dialogue. In situations of grave magnitude as envisaged in Articles 4 (h) and (j) of the Constitutive Act, this could result in authorizing some form of intervention in member states jurisdictions in order to avert massive humanitarian suffering. In this regard, the ASF was established to deal with such eventualities wherein Article 13 would be invoked. Therefore, the rapid deployment capacity becomes a critical milestone in the operationalization and strengthening of the APSA. Although the Pillars could be at differing stages of development, the build- up of APSA has made minimal progress which renders the AU unable to respond effectively to security challenges. In light of this, the Africa-EU Partnership on Peace and Security has placed the operationalization and strengthening of APSA as a joint priority, leading to the Akosombo decision.

The Akosombo decision was an effort between the Chief Executives of the African Union (AU), RECs, the five Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (RMs) and the European Union (EU), on the EU support to the operationalization of the APSA that was held in Akosombo, Ghana from 10-11 December 2009. The outcome of this collaboration was a decision that the AU, RECs and RMs and the EU would conduct an assessment of progress achieved in the operationalization of APSA and the challenges ahead, with a view to identifying further priorities and capacity needs. The assessment was further endorsed at the meeting of the Joint Coordination Committee on the African Peace Facility (APF) held in Addis Ababa on 3 February 2010 and at the meeting of the 4th Steering Committee (Long Term Capacity Building Programme) held in Addis Ababa on 3-4 March 2010.

The challenge however is that security challenges are wide and varied and may not necessarily be confined to the traditional security challenges. Nowadays contrary to the approach of the Africa- EU approach envisioned by the APF security challenges have become asymmetric and complex in nature bringing about many actors into the environment. The mandate of the APSA therefore appears to have remained with the traditional conception of security which has not made it flexible enough to respond to security challenges from these two varied approaches. Therefore, the extent to which the APSA may be able to respond to security challenges or at the least provide the perception that it is able to do so is very critical to conflict management and engagement in human security challenges in the continent. An assessment of progress for each of the components is therefore enunciated here in order to draw a parallel between it and the advent of the AFRICOM.

3.3.1 The Peace and Security Council

The Peace and Security Council (PSC) is the most visible component of the APSA; it was established by the first Summit of the AU in Durban, South Africa in July 2002. It is the standing decision-making organ for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts in the continent. The PSC is meant to act as a collective security and early warning instrument for timely and efficient response to both existing and emerging conflict and crisis situations in Africa. It is supported by the AU Commission, a Panel of the Wise, a Continental Early Warning System, an African Standby Force and a Special Fund, collectively this structure is referred to as the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). Among other things, the objectives of the PSC are to promote peace, security and stability in Africa, in order to guarantee the protection and preservation of life and property. The PSC has fifteen members who are elected on the basis of equality of members, 10 of them are elected for a two year period, while the remaining five

are elected for a three year period on the principle of equitable representation of the five regions that is North, West, Central, East and Southern Africa.[67]

Unlike the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) where the five Permanent Members have the veto power, none of the fifteen members of the PSC have a veto; all members are therefore entitled to one vote each. However, the Protocol took account of the need for regional balance so as to minimize tensions and increase the potential for consensus in dealing with contentious issues such as military intervention. In addition, it factored in the power balance among its membership by emphasizing the need for members of the PSC to not only be willing to participate in resolving conflicts, but most importantly, to possess the necessary political, military, financial and diplomatic ability to do so. However, this particular principle has not been adhered to on a consistent basis as some members of the PSC lack the aforementioned requirements. For instance, some current PSC members do not have Defence Attaches in their missions to the AU, and as such, they send civilian officials to attend meetings of the Military Staff Committee (MSC) which is the pivotal advisory organ of the PSC.[68] The study noted that since its formation, the PSC functioning has not been fully operationalized thereby bringing into play some dynamics that hinder the proper tackling of security challenges.

Most importantly, it is essential to note that the PSC is the central pillar of the APSA. It was operationalized in March 2004, amidst conflicts and crisis which were then ravaging various parts of Africa, but has shown steady progress towards appropriating its proper functioning. For instance, although it has been challenged by varying dynamics, the PSC has at the very least been able to be highly involved in attempts to tackle conflict and instability situations in 2013

[67] Study Commissioned by the African Peace and Security Department. 2010. Moving Africa Forward. 2010 Assessment Study. African Union.
[68] Ibid

beginning with the emergency faced by Mali, the collapse of the Central African Republic (CAR) into violence, the surge in instability and violence in northern Nigeria, Libya and Egypt, the continuing conflicts in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Somalia, Sudan and Southern Sudan, as well as by protracted instability in Madagascar and Guinea–Bissau, and the tragic descent of South Sudan into a destructive civil war. However, a major challenge to this is brought about by its capacity to actualize the decisions that it takes.

Therefore in a short time span of just under ten years, the PSC has made notable achievements in addressing the various conflict and crisis situations in the continent. In addition, the PSC has significantly improved its methods of work with a view to enhancing the effectiveness of its work and collaboration with other stakeholders like the UNSC and the EU. Similar to the AU level, efforts are also underway to develop PSC-like structures by the various RECs so that decision making at regional level to tackle security challenges may also be structured. For instance, in Southern Africa, the troika of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security has been in place and is the decision making organ of the institution on issues of politics, defence and security. It consists of three members being the outgoing chairperson, the serving and incoming members, the troika of the Organ is supported by the Inter-State Defence and Security Committee (ISDSC), whose sub-committee on defence is the equivalent of the African Union MSC.

Operationally therefore, the PSC has been the most visible component of the emerging Peace and Security architecture. It has held nearly 250 meetings and briefing sessions on a wide range of issues, demonstrating two things. First, the growing commitment of AU member states to tackle conflicts on the continent and secondly, the frequency with which it has met demonstrates the

fragility of the security situation in some of its members. However whilst there may be some activity in the more traditional security challenges, deliberate efforts are yet to be made towards tackling human security challenges which results in a serious security gap.

3.3.2 The Continental Early Warning System

The Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) was established as one of the key pillars of the APSA by Article 12 of the PSC Protocol. Article 12 specifies that the CEWS should consist of an observation and monitoring center (to be known as the 'Situation Room') that can continuously generate information on possible conflict situations and advice the Chairperson of the AU Commission accordingly.[69] The Chairperson of the Commission shall use the information gathered through the Early Warning System to advise the PSC on potential conflicts and threats to peace and security in Africa and recommend the best course of action. With regard to this, since the adoption of the framework for the operationalization of the CEWS in December 2006, significant progress has been achieved in the operationalization of CEWS. Since that period, the system has been able to provide reliable and up-to-date information on potential, actual and post-conflict situations. The CEWS have registered important outputs and achievements in its operationalization and this has assisted in facilitating early intervention on security challenges.

However, it is noted that the full operationalization of CEWS so that it effectively supports conflict prevention, mediation and preventive diplomacy is still to be realized. Moreover, uneven development and in some cases, slow development of early warning systems at the RECs level which are supposed to feed into the CEWS ultimately hinders higher level operation at the

[69] Study Commissioned by the African Peace and Security Department. 2010. Moving Africa Forward. 2010 Assessment Study. African Union.

continent. For instance, the 2010 APSA assessment found that automated data collection and reporting are relatively advanced at the level of CEWS but not fully so at the RECs. At was also found that however, at some RECs there has been notable advances in operationalizing the early warning systems such as at the ECOWARN and CEWARN. In most other RECs also, progress has only been achieved in establishing policy frameworks, specific concepts and approaches to early warning. Data collection and reporting for early warning is yet to be effective in CEN-SAD, EAC and COMESA for instance.[70] Furthermore, the study observed that conflict analysis capability and appropriate development of response options are at an incipient stage in some regions resulting in an inability to detect developments in possible conflicts in the region such as the 2014 attempted coup in Lesotho and the military take-over of Burkina Faso. Together with the need for timely sharing of information with all stakeholders, analysis and response options were seen to be the biggest challenges. The main challenges hindering the proper functioning of the CEWS have been related to proper human and material resources provision, adequate training of personnel, connectivity between the AU and its RECs, and timely engagement with decision makers amongst others. Consequently, this has resulted in the poor capacity of the CEWS to be able to cover the length and breadth of the continent in order to be adequately informed all the time.

3.3.3 The African Standby Force Capacity to Tackle Security Challenges

The regionalization of peace and security operations is not a new concept. It has its origins in Article 52 and 53 of the UN Charter that encourages regional arrangements in order to engage in the pacific settlements of local disputes. Informed by this principle, the first Assembly of the AU of July 2002 adopted the protocol relating to the establishment of the PSC that included

[70] Ibid

provisions on the establishment of the ASF and a Military Staff Committee as well as other instruments. Accordingly, Article 13 of the PSC Protocol provided for the establishment of an African Standby Force. In furtherance to this, in May 2003 the African Chiefs of Defence and Security (ACDS) adopted the policy framework on the establishment of the ASF. The final concept for the ASF which was adopted by the heads of state provided for five standby brigade level forces, one in each of Africa's regions. These were the North Africa Regional Standby Brigade (NASBRIG), the East Africa Standby Brigade (EASBRIG), Force Multinationale de l'Afrique Central (FOMAC), the Southern Africa Standby Brigade (SADCBRIG), the ECOWAS Standby Brigade (ECOBRIG) all of which were to be supported by a civilian police (CivPol) and other civilian components. However, the nomenclature of the brigades has since been changed to standby forces. The distribution of the regions of the continent is shown in Figure 6.

On its full establishment, the ASF would consist of the above standby multi- disciplinary contingents with military, police and civilian components based in their respective countries and ready for fast deployment in conflict zones anywhere in Africa. However, the effective deployment of the ASF would require the installation of an appropriate and interoperable command, control, and communication and information system including computer and cyber capability (C5iS) infrastructure in order for deployed formations to amongst themselves, link with the mission headquarters as well as with the AU headquarters planning element (PLANELM) and to be able to link with their regions and home countries. From the study though, it was concluded that this is however proving to be a tall order for the AU to achieve and therefore for the foreseeable future, troop contributing countries (TCC) are going to have to accept this incapacity of an effective C5iS capability.

Regarding the deployment of the ASF into peace support operations, the PSC is the primary authority for recommending to the AU its employment and it is thus charged with the responsibility for the general supervision and policy guidance of the brigades. In some cases, it may authorize the ASF deployment for Scenario 1- 5 however, only the heads of state summit can authorize Scenario 6 interventions. The role of the 5 standby forces is to generate and prepare forces including the planning, logistics and other support during ASF deployment. This does not go well for military operations which require a homogenous setting in order for the operations to have a measure of success. The six scenarios that are anticipated by the APSA are as follows:[71]

a. Scenario 1: An AU/ Regional military advisor to a political mission.
b. Scenario 2: An AU/ Regional observer mission co- deployed with a UN mission.
c. Scenario 3: A stand- alone AU/ Regional observer mission.
d. Scenario 4: An AU regional peacekeeping force under a Chapter VI and preventative deployment missions.
e. Scenario 5: An AU peacekeeping force for complex multi- dimensional peacekeeping mission which may include low level spoilers.
f. Scenario 6: An AU intervention in cases of grave circumstances.

Whilst the ASF Roadmap required that scenarios 1 to 4 be addressed in phase 1 by June 2006 and in Phase 2 that covered the period from June, 2006 to 2010, in which the five regional Brigades should be fully operational by then and further that in this phase, the Brigades ought to have fully developed capacity to address scenarios 4 to 6, the study found that this has not been fully accomplished. Resultantly, the deadline for the operationalization of the ASF has been postponed first to 2012 and later owing to further delays now to 2015. This goes to show that the

[71] Batware B. 2011. The African Standby Force: A Solution to African Conflicts. Peace and Conflict Studies. Europe Peace University.

intended progress of the ASF is likely to suffer permanent setbacks. The rationale conclusion is that, considering the fact that since it has been more than ten years from the initial conception of the ASF, it has lost its intended vibrancy and the original drivers have likely been changed for one reason or another. Another likely militating factor against the ASF operationalization is that whilst the concept of security regionalization is not contested, sceptics argue that the impartiality of regional organizations is adversely affected by their ties with the respective conflict parties. This brings about the issue of security complexes coming into play to achieve their individual interests and also to perpetuate the historical and otherwise feelings of amity and enmity. The likely outcome of this is the development of security dilemmas further fueling possibilities of insecurity within states and among regions.

Therefore, the impartiality and thus the legitimacy of the regional organizations may be further undermined by regional hegemons who have the power to shape the organizations agenda to their advantage.[72] Although these states have in the past provided their respective regions with the resources, capacity and political backing needed for regional conflict management, the dependency of the countries on the regional hegemon has also been seen as a source of political tension. The tension between South Africa's Nelson Mandela and Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe is a case in point for such political tension in which at the early stages of the formation of the SADC Defence and Security Organ, President Mugabe wanted the full control of the SADC regional brigade without having to seek authority on the heads of state summit. This position was opposed by President Mandela thereby creating tension in the region.

Nonetheless, Dier argues that the case for more regional responsibility for peace and security in the recent past should be seen as part of an emancipative effort that gives greater ownership to

[72] Dier A. 2010. The African Standby Force Put to the Test. Centre for Security Studies Analysis in Security.

regional actors. This is to be seen in light of renewed political will over the past ten years or so for taking responsibility for the continents challenges. Thus, the argument that regionalization leads to more local ownership is viewed by other scholars as carrying more weight in view of the rising international business involvement of powers such as China, the US, India or Brazil in the continent.[73]

3.3.4 The Panel of the Wise

In line with Article 11 of the Protocol establishing the PSC the AU established the Panel of the Wise (POW) to play a key role in conflict resolution and therefore in the tackling of security challenges. The intent behind the establishment of the Panel of the Wise draws on Africa's rich tradition of bestowing peacemaking efforts on the elders because of their wisdom. Thus the AU established the Panel of the Wise as one of the key pillars of its peace and security architecture. It consists of five highly respected African personalities from diverse backgrounds. Accordingly, the Panel's role is to advise the PSC and the Chairperson of the Commission on matters relating to the promotion and maintenance of peace, security and stability on the continent. In addition, Article 11(4) of the Protocol states that "at its own initiative, the Panel of the Wise shall pronounce itself on issues relating to the promotion and maintenance of peace, security and stability in Africa." Therefore, the Panel's mandate is two- fold: (1) to support the PSC and AU Chairperson in their peacemaking efforts, and; (2) to act independently on issues that it deems significant to the enhancement of human security on the continent. Thus operationally, the Panel can act either at the request of the PSC or the Chairperson of the Commission or most importantly, on its own volition.[74]

[73] Dier A. 2010. The African Standby Force Put to the Test. Centre for Security Studies Analysis in Security.
[74] Study Commissioned by the African Peace and Security Department. 2010. Moving Africa Forward. 2010 Assessment Study. African Union.

Additionally, the AU Golden Jubilee Assembly of May 2013 decided to establish an umbrella mechanism called the Pan African Network of the Wise (PANWISE). This is a continent-wide forum of mediation actors and mechanisms working together to leverage national, regional and continental mediation experiences in order to strengthen effective conflict prevention and early responses to conflicts in Africa under a single umbrella.

3.3.5 The AU Peace Fund

The Peace Fund is established as one of the key pillars of the APSA under Article 21 of the PSC Protocol. It is meant to provide the necessary financial resources for peace support missions and other operational activities related to peace and security. The operations of the Peace Fund are governed by the relevant Financial Rules and Regulations of the AU. This fund receives donor assistance from states and international organizations including the private sector, civil society and individuals, as well as through appropriate fund raising activities. However like most areas surrounding finances in Africa, the Peace Fund has in the past been riddled by misappropriations and negative balances with potential to jeopardize any future missions of the ASF.[75] Consequently, during the Special Summit held in Tripoli in August 2009, AU Member States agreed to increase contribution to the Peace Fund from 6% to 12% of the AU regular budget. However, this was amended in 2010 in Addis Ababa with a new undertaking to commit to the contributory increment over a period of three years starting from 2011. Consequently, the study thus found that due to lack of funding, the major challenge faced by the Peace Fund is it's over reliance on donor assistance which renders the whole peace process susceptible to external influence.

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3.4 Challenges to Regionalization in Tackling Africa's Security Challenges and Conflict Management

The AU's founding documents envisage an organization empowered to play a major role in resolving Africa's armed conflicts. For that reason, the former Chairperson of the AU Commission, Alpha Oumar Konare, described the AU's renewed emergence as a shift from the old norm of "noninterference" in armed conflicts to a new posture of "non- indifference" to member states' internal affairs.[76] This marked a clear departure from the earlier position of the Organization of the African Union (OAU) that advocated for the principle of non- interference to member states internal affairs. However, this new approach does not adequately account for the security challenges that were envisaged by the broadening of the 1994 UN conceptualization of human security. In a similar manner, the AU's practical capabilities in the field of conflict management let alone tackling complex security challenges suffer from a persistent capabilities gap, falling well short of the ambitious vision and rhetoric contained in its founding documents and renewed aspirations such as being able to tackle African problems by using African solutions.

Williams observes that while there has been a sea of change in the new AU's ambition, the tempo of its peace operations and conflict management initiatives, and in its embrace of new and controversial political values, it is however faced with major obstacles. Evidently though, its achievements in conflicts like Libya and the rest of the Arab spring uprisings fell short of its ambitious declarations of intent, and this was coupled with its member states often having divided views over how to respond to Africa's conflicts. The situation was not helped by its small number of bureaucrats who struggled to keep the organization working effectively and

[76] Williams

efficiently. According to some observers, these deficiencies stem from three problems. First, the AU attempted to refashion the continent's peace and security architecture at a time when crises and armed conflicts engulfed much of Africa. For that reason, local governments and external donors were thus forced "to build a fire brigade while the [neighborhood] burns." Second, the AU took on formidable conflict management challenges without possessing any 'big sticks or many tasty carrots'. It thus lacked sources of leverage crucial for resolving armed conflicts. Third, the AU reform efforts became entangled in broader debates about the appropriate relationships between the United Nations and regional organizations. This is despite the fact that Chapter VIII of the UN Charter envisions a significant role for regional organizations in conflict management. It however remained unclear what form of "strategic partnership" between the UN and the AU would unfold as evidenced in Libya, Somalia and Sudan. Thus, despite significant steps in the right direction towards tackling security challenges, these deficiencies have and will continue to significantly retard the performance of the AU's principal conflict management instruments; including its capacity in early-warning and response systems, mediation initiatives, sanctions to unlawful regimes, and peacekeeping operations.

Consequently, Williams proposes that closing capability gaps in the AU's conflict management mechanism requires both political commitment and technical reform across a range of issue areas.[77] For instance, technical reforms are urgently needed to strengthen the AU Commission, especially its Peace Support Operations Division (PSOD) and the Peace and Security Council's secretariat, further there is need to enhance the AU's capacity to undertake effective early warning and response, mediation initiatives, as well as targeted sanctions and to ensure the ASF becomes genuinely operational. Thus effective capabilities to manage armed conflict require

[77] Williams

more than just the technical assets associated with conflict management efforts, peacekeeping operations or sanctions to regimes. Its process also involves other important political, bureaucratic, and infrastructural dimensions. These are depicted graphically in Figure 7.

3.4.1 Political Gaps

Arguably the most important dimension of conflict management is the political commitment. As the former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan correctly concluded; "The African Union's effectiveness results from the sum of its members."[78] Therefore important political enablers that affect the AU's conflict management capabilities would include widespread agreement on what AU peacekeeping operations can (and cannot) be expected to achieve; unity within the PSC in support of those objectives; sustained high-level political engagement to support AU special envoys, committees, and panels as well as peacekeepers in the field; and genuine cooperation from host-state authorities. Unfortunately, all in all the AU has not performed well in these areas. When confronting armed conflict, it is particularly important that there be strong and united PSC support for a viable peace process, including but not limited to the force generation phase of the peacekeeping operation, the conduct of the operation, as well as an exit strategy. The ideal situation then is that during the crucial start up and planning phase, powerful African leaders, and not merely commission officials, must champion the mission and play a proactive role in generating the required forces. As seen in Europe for instance, early and sustained high-level political engagement makes it more easy and likely that the required technical capabilities will be allocated and maintained during the mission's life cycle.

3.4.2 Bureaucratic Gaps

Effective conflict management, peacekeeping and peacemaking initiatives also require efficient management and bureaucratic structures both at the AU Headquarters, the regional, national and

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in the field to provide strategic vision and to support senior mission leadership teams. At present, however, the AU still lacks the institutional capacity and human resources to conduct effective peacemaking initiatives and complex peace operations including tackling other more complex security challenges. According to its own internal assessment, the AU Commission suffers from weak bureaucratic processes and management systems, poor information technologies, inadequate physical infrastructure, a lack of professional and motivated personnel, weak reputation, and reach, and inadequate funding. At the PSC for instance, the secretariat remains severely under-resourced, with just four professional staff, one secretary, and an administrative assistant. Proposals are underway to increase the number of professional posts to thirteen but this figure is still far too small. It was also noted that the PSC secretariat lacks a dedicated legal expert and translators. An internal AU assessment recently concluded that, "The reluctance of member states to approve new posts, in spite of the overwhelming evidence of the need to do so, brings to the fore questions about their level of commitment to the full operationalization of the APSA."

The crux of the matter then was that, peacekeeping poses particular institutional challenges to the AU at each stage of a mission's life cycle (i.e. during the planning, deployment, operations, and withdrawal phases). To begin with, in the field, teams of qualified senior leaders, including the special representative, force commander, police commissioner, chief administrator, are difficult to assemble and retain mostly due to unattractive incentives. In addition, at the AU's headquarters, capacity for planning, force generation, and logistical support remains very limited especially when compared to that of national militaries and other international organizations like the EU that conduct similar types of operations. Further, the absence of a lessons learned unit means that the AU has little institutional memory regarding conflict management.

3.4.3 Military Gaps

The AU consistently struggles to generate the requisite military personnel and range of military assets needed for complex peace operations. Some observers note that perhaps the most obvious example of military unpreparedness came in the early phases of AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) when the initial Burundi contingents lacked the most basic military equipment (which was ultimately provided by the U.S. government). Thus previous reports have indicated that some of the high value assets in critical shortage in African theaters such as Sudan and Somalia are helicopters (both for utility and attack), armored personnel carriers (APCs), communications and intelligence equipment, unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV), night vision devices (NVDs), and, in the case of AMISOM in Mogadishu, battle tanks. AMISOM also lacked a sophisticated mortar radar system, which could have helped it reduce levels of civilian casualties. As for military personnel, the AU's greatest deficits are specialists with skills including medicine, engineering, and intelligence gathering. To fill these gaps, the AU missions rely on external donors to provide funding, training, and equipment directly to troop contributing countries, hence bypassing the AU system. The result of this is that, there is a huge gap in the ability for the AU to translate its desires and intentions on the ground in order to fulfill its intentions. Often then, the AU has to rely on external donor assistance which naturally comes with its own conditionality's. Therefore, the rhetoric that persists at the AU ends up becoming more of a talk show which most countries inadvertently end up viewing as no more than a toothless bulldog.

3.4.4 Civilian Gaps

While military assets are critical, multidimensional peace operations also require civilian capabilities. In this respect, the AU suffers from a shortage of experts in the rule of law and security institutions such as police, justice, and correctional services. This also includes the

capability to build local capacity by providing expert trainers in these areas. However, the AU's biggest civilian deficit in conflict management is its lack of mediation capacity. Rather than developing a systematic approach to mediation, the AU has proceeded on an ad hoc basis, which has largely been dictated by the personalities of the senior figures involved. Therefore it has often deployed high-level candidates who lack the relevant expertise and experience, while also investing meager effort in evaluating what went right or wrong in its previous mediation initiatives.

3.4.5 Infrastructure Gaps

The AU's conflict management initiatives critically need adequate facilities, systems, and infrastructure to sustain peacekeeping missions and mediation efforts in the field. For peacekeeping operations, for example, safe and secure accommodation facilities are crucial, as well as the provision of Level II and Level III hospitals. Similarly, no mission can operate effectively without a reliable logistics chain to facilitate the deployment (and sustainment) of military and civilian capabilities into the theater of operations. Yet the AU has conducted its peace operations without an equivalent of the UN's Department of Field Support. This is despite the fact that as far back as the conceptualization of the AU PSA, a process was initiated at the RECs and the continental level to put in place appropriate logistics depots that could support AU missions. This leaves the AU's PSOD without the capability to effectively manage the planning processes in relation to movement control, logistics, human resources, finance, and provisions of fuel, maintenance, troop rotations, stores management, and other crucial elements to mission support. In this regard, it was brought out that in the past, to the extent that any of these gaps were ever provided for, it was by Western donor states and various UN agencies.

Sadly though, evidence indicates that not only has the UN given the AU practical tools such as pre-deployment checklists and planning tools, it has also brought AU officials to its logistics bases in Brindisi, Italy for instance to help the AU establish a comparable logistics base in Africa. Further, similar efforts have been made with the regional organizations since the conceptualization of the ASF but no tangible outcomes have been realized in establishing fully fledged logistics bases.

3.5 Summary

It is observed from this chapter that currently, due to Africa's slow pace at operationalizing the AU PSA, it will take yet a long time before Africa may be in a position to begin tackling such security challenges. However, efforts such as the Akosombo decision taken with the EU to bolster the operationalization of the APSA may however assist the RECs to speed up the conflict management and resolution process. The challenge however is that security challenges are wide and varied and may not necessarily be confined to the traditional security challenges envisioned by the APSA which requires a flexible approach to security challenges. Thus effective conceptualization and managing of a broad range of security challenges that may range from both armed conflict and humanitarian assistance requires closing the capabilities gaps in political, bureaucratic, military, civilian and infrastructural assets. This will require not just the technical assets associated with conflict management efforts, peacekeeping operations or sanctions to regimes. Moreover, the ideal situation is that during the crucial start up and planning phase, powerful African leaders must champion the mission and play a proactive role in generating the required technical capabilities and forces including supporting the operations through the mission's life cycle. Another deficit to mission support by the AU is the capability to

carry out adequate training of personnel, communication connectivity between the AU and its RECs, and the poor capacity of the CEWS.

Besides the technical preparedness of the APSA, the impartiality of and thus the legitimacy of the regional organizations regional organizations is at times also affected by their ties with the respective conflict parties which cast some negativity on the resolution efforts. Coupled with this, the benevolent efforts of hegemonic leadership of some countries despite of their inherent structural and operational difficulties may also fuel insecurity. Subsequently, security complexes come into play and further fuel feelings of amity and enmity within the regional groupings. The likely outcome of this is the development of security dilemmas which equally increase chances of insecurity within states and among regions if not properly managed. Thus whilst the capacity and political backing of stronger nations is needed for regional conflict management, the dependency of the countries on the regional hegemon has also to be equally managed as a source of political tension.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Assistance of the USAFRICOM to the AU Peace and Security Architecture

4.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the interaction that the US AFRICOM has with the AU Peace and Security Architecture and Africa as part of dealing with the wider security challenges in the continent. The benefits of the AFRICOM are therefore discerned in an effort to try and establish whether AFRICOM by its nature is inherently wrong for Africa or amounts to a duplication of efforts already put in place. The chapter also explores the recent advances of China into the continent to determine whether China is in fact an intervening variable that has created an impasse between Africa and the AFRICOM.

4.2 **The US AFRICOM's Role and Intentions in Africa**

Africa's strategic importance to the United States increased substantially over the past decade. According to Williams, the continent is a growing source of US energy imports; it houses suspected terrorists; and it also offers profitable business opportunities, especially in the energy, telecommunication, and minerals sectors.[79] As Chinese and Indian influence spreads and explicitly challenges the US development model, Africa has thus increasingly become an arena of intensifying great power rivalry. Particularly, Africa has remained the major epicenter for mass atrocities as well as a potential source of trans-continental health pandemics. Consequently, stabilizing the continent has been a core US policy goal.

[79] Williams PD. 2011. The African Union's Conflict Management Capabilities. Council on Foreign Relations.

Therefore like President Bush, President Barack Obama is of the view that, whilst the US respects the sovereignty of Africa the US too has certain obligations within the international arena which it must see through especially in Africa. He therefore opines that;

> *"We must start from the simple premise that Africa's future is up to Africans [. . . .] We welcome the steps that are being taken by organizations like the African Union. [At the same time,] when there's genocide in Darfur or terrorists in Somalia, these are not simply African problems—they are global security challenges, and they demand a global response [. . . .] And let me be clear: Our Africa Command is focused not on establishing a foothold in the continent, but on confronting these common challenges to advance the security of America, Africa, and the world".*[80]

According to its blueprint therefore, the US AFRICOM's intentions in Africa appear to be noble. These include amongst others, to capacitate African countries and their militaries in order that they may be able to combat the plethora of challenges militating against Africa's development such as terrorism, chronic diseases, environmental challenges and transnational crimes amongst others. However, descending voices seem to be reading something else from the script proposed by the US. Some argue that the move represents an advance towards the neo- colonization of Africa and a clear projection of American national interests concerned with business and the war on terrorism at the expense of Africa. In this regard, the argument is that the US would import with it security challenges to the continent thereby turning it into a battleground for the war on terror. The further argument is that the US is positioning itself to benefit from and monopolize Africa's vast natural resources.

However, according to former US Secretary of Defence Robert Gates, "creating AFRICOM will enable the US to have a more effective and integrated approach than the current arrangement of

[80] AFRICOM at 5 Years: The Maturation of a New US Africa Command.

dividing Africa between different US regional commands". In this way, the US reasons that it would further afford them to have a structured and streamlined approach to assisting the continent. Nevertheless, US engagement with Africa has been ongoing for many years albeit in many different ways. These include in medical assistance, through disaster relief and humanitarian relief, partaking in joint military training and assistance and through developmental aid. However, while this view was supported by a number of respondents, almost the same number where of the view that the AFRICOM stood to have a positive impact on Africa's security situation.

The study observed though that, following the US's widely criticized participation in the 1992/3 Somalia intervention during 'Operation Restore Hope', the US then started receiving criticism for its increasing role in Africa. Accordingly, it can further be argued that the US then formally began its engagement in Africa with the African Crisis Response Force (ACRF), which emerged in the context of the Burundi crisis in 1996.[81] The ACRF sought to establish an African force within six months, for which the US might have supplied airlift and some logistics in the event there is a crisis situation in Africa. However, opposition to the ACRF rationale from both Africa and Europe meant that it never got beyond the conceptual stage, but it was rapidly repackaged as the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) in early 1997. This reflected a shift in focus away from developing a force to developing a capacity building initiative. Under ACRI, which cost around US$15 million a year, national contingents would receive training and equipment for traditional peacekeeping (without an enforcement element), with an emphasis on promoting long-term African capacity. In this regard, a focus on African states retaining operational control of their units helped persuade eight countries to sign up for ACRI programmes at battalion and

[81] Ramsbotham A.2005. Enhancing African Peace and Security Capacity: A Useful Role For The UK And The G8. Journal of International Affairs.

brigade levels. However, there remained a level of dissatisfaction among recipients and also in the US. The major problem was that the recipients perceived that ACRI reflected more US than African interests. In addition, the Pentagon was also unhappy that the State Department's selection criteria of countries did not always match the recipients' willingness to contribute troops for PSO. Therefore this only proved to be counter- productive in terms of preparing countries for PSO roles in the continent that would in turn not be in a position to provide such troops should a crisis arise.

Following this, the US developed a subsequent capacity-building initiative called Operation Focus Relief (OFR), which was also in response to the seizure of peacekeepers deployed to Sierra Leone in May 2000. OFR differed substantially from ACRI in that it was prepared to provide lethal equipment to receiving countries. It also sought to address some of the problems associated with ACRI, not least a shared understanding with recipient countries such as (Ghana, Senegal and Nigeria) that their troops would be deployed to the Sierra Leone operation using materiel provided by OFR. Later in 2002, the Bush administration replaced the ACRI with the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance Program (ACOTA), which was designed to provide training for selected African countries in PSOs and regular military tactics, as well as some logistic support. However due to varied problems affecting these programmes, they all could not endure the test of time and therefore folded up within short periods.[82]

In addition, the study found that other notable programmes that the US has initiated in an effort to capacitate Africa include the International Military Education and Training (IMET), the Trans Sahara Counter- Terrorism Initiative (TSCTI), and the African Coastal and Border Security Programme (ACBSP). Also there was the Naval Operations in the Gulf of Guinea, the Excess

[82] Gilbert DL et al. 2009. The United States Africa Command: Security for Whom? The Journal of pan African Studies. Vol 2. No 9.

Defence Articles (EDA) programme and the Base Access Agreements for Cooperative Security Locations and Forward Operating Sites all of which aimed at enhancing Africa's capacity to tackle security challenges and to create strategic partners for the US's security arrangements.[83]

In more recent times, perhaps the most visible US peace and security activities in Africa are its counter-terrorism initiatives in the Sahel and the Horn of Africa from its Forward Operating Base (FOB) in Djibouti. From these areas, it has been able to carry out counter-piracy and maritime security operations, and various anti-trafficking operations. The US has also contributed over $250 million to AMISOM since 2007, and it has provided communications equipment to augment the CEWS and communication between the AU and regional ASF brigades. More generally, the US has provided logistical support, staff training, and exercises for battalion, brigade, and multinational force headquarters personnel, as well as equipment for trainers and peacekeepers, primarily through the ACOTA program. By June 2011, ACOTA had provided training and non-lethal equipment to around 176 000 peacekeeping troops from its twenty-five African partner states. Indeed, despite the failures of the US programmes the rising numbers of African peacekeepers deployed to UN missions (depicted in Figure 8) would not have been possible without the ACOTA program.

Despite the seemingly divergent views, there is however wide- spread agreement on both sides of the relationship that the US government should help to strengthen Africa's emerging peace and security architecture. In a similar vein, US officials also believe that over the long term the US-AU relationship should come to resemble the US-EU relationship that is, one built on strong diplomatic and official relationships between personnel within the US government and the AU across a wide range of sectors. For this relationship to work though, in the short term, the US

[83] [83] Gilbert DL et al. 2009. The United States Africa Command: Security for Whom? The Journal of pan African Studies. Vol 2. No 9.

government should strengthen its mission in Addis Ababa and intensify its interaction with AU officials and member states in an effort to create an equal partnership. The attachment of US government personnel to the AU Peace and Security Department and to AMISOM provides a useful opportunity to learn lessons about the benefits of such an approach as well as the potential tensions provoked by such appointments within the AU.

In- spite of the stand-off with the AU, as at 2012 the AFRICOM had approximately 2,300 assigned personnel including military, civilian, and contractor employees. Of these, about 1,500 of personnel work at the Command's Headquarters at Kelly Barracks in Stuttgart. Others are assigned to AFRICOM units from the MacDill Air Force Base near Tampa, Florida and the Joint Analysis Center in Moles in the US. The composition of the AFRICOM includes service component commands and a theater Special Operations Command (SOC) component as follows:

- U.S. Army Africa: Operating from Vicenza, Italy, it is intended to conduct sustained security engagements with African land forces to promote security, stability, and peace. This component comprises 1,600 personnel.
- U.S. Naval Forces Africa: It is headquartered in Naples, Italy and its primary mission is to improve the maritime security capability and capacity of African partners. Its personnel of about 900 are shared with US Naval Forces Europe.
- U.S. Air Force Africa: It is based at Ramstein Air Force Base, Germany and it conducts sustained security engagement and operations to promote air safety, security, and development in Africa. The total composition of the air component is approximately 954 personnel.
- U.S. Marine Corps Forces Africa: The Marine component is located in Stuttgart and it conducts operations, exercises, training, and security cooperation activities throughout the

African continent. Its staff of about 319 personnel is shared with the US Marine Corps Forces Europe.

• Special Operations Command Africa: This is the theater SOC component for conducting special operations in Africa and it is co-located at AFRICOM's headquarters in Stuttgart. The special operations component has about 600 personnel.

• Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA): The US forward operating base is located at Camp Lemonnier in Djibouti with approximately 2,000 personnel comprising 400 staff and 1,600 forces. For that reason, Camp Lemonnier can be considered the US's and therefore AFRICOM's only base in the African continent. CJTF-HOA was established in 2002 as a permanent counter- terrorism military base in East Africa based on the notion that al-Qaeda members in Afghanistan dislodged due to US operations may possibly find way to the Horn of Afroca.

For now therefore, the Command has four "Subordinate Campaign Plans," which are hybrid thematic and geographic, and which include Intermediate Military Objectives (IMO) that are measurable and achievable. These Campaign Plans are organized geographically as follows:

- IMO 1- Eastern Africa: Focused on counterterrorism, including related Somali piracy.
- IMO 2- North-Western Africa: Focused on counter- terrorism operations.
- IMO 3- Gulf of Guinea: Focused on maritime security, and including all 25 member-states of the Economic Communities of Central and West Africa.
- IMO 4- Central Africa: Focused on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), as well as the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) problem.

Evidently therefore, whether there has been an official consent or otherwise, what pertains on the ground is that the US has in one way or another developed a thorough plan and approach for its

activities in Africa and equally allocated the relevant resources of the Command activities in the continent. This is despite the vociferous initial African opposition to AFRICOM's creation in 2007 in which the AU had issued a non-binding resolution asking member-states not to host AFRICOM on the continent. Further to this, for its part the SADC had declared that none of its 14 member-states would be willing to host US forces. To many, this viewpoint represented the position of South Africa which had showed great reservation to the AFRICOM in what scholars opined represented a fear of its hegemonic status being overshadowed. Similarly, with related views to those of South Africa, Nigeria also endeavored to block AFRICOM from establishing its headquarters in the Gulf of Guinea region. Agreeing with this, the opinion of most respondents was that whilst AFRICOM had the potential to create a dependency syndrome, they did not find anything untoward with the notion of the AFRICOM and therefore thought it was a good idea for the continent.

In countering such fears though, the Command's first Commander, General Ward, repeatedly emphasized in public that AFRICOM was just a mere *"listening and learning"* organization for the US with no intentions of usurping the status quo in Africa. Equally, for his part AFRICOM's second Commander, General Ham also strove to keep a consistent positive narrative in public statements about the Command's mission. According to Brown, General Ham in fact often repeated in testimony and public comments the African proverb, *"If you want to go quickly, go alone. If you want to go far, go together,"*[84] adding in February 2012, for example, that: "We, at US Africa Command, choose to go far. We choose to go together, with our African partners

[84] Brown DE. 2013. AFRICOM at 5 Years: The Maturation Of A New U.S. Combatant Command. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute.

[….], to better meet their security interests and to advance the security interest of the United States".[85]

Over time however, African governments and citizens alike have also seen for themselves through various AFRICOM's engagement and activities since 2007, that the command was not what they feared it to be, but instead was a continuation and sometimes expansion of existing US-Africa security cooperation. Consequently, AFRICOM has over the years been received with cautious optimism by several African governments and militaries. The renewed view towards the US with regards the continent's problems have increasingly become positive with optimism of potentially bringing increased resources, training, and assistance. With such positive developments like the US effort on the fight against Ebola in West Africa, AFRICOM's vocal opponents are becoming fewer and the Command has equally not become complacent due to strong opposition to AFRICOM that remains among some African audiences.

Part of the reason that AFRICOM's military operations have not generated strong, consistent resistance among sub-Saharan African stakeholders is that they have been in support of goals with which many African people and the APSA could identify and have come to appreciate. These include opposing the terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb region and Touareg allies who, in March 2012 took over control of northern Mali. Similarly the Boko Haram terrorist group in northern Nigeria and the AFRICOM effort to aid in the capture of LRA leader Joseph Kony and its effort to support the AU's bid to rid Somalia of the al-Shabaab terrorist groups. To buttress this, in his November 2012 presentation at Chatham House in London, General Ham stated that:

[85] Ibid

"The priority tasks as outlined in the 2012 Defence Strategic Guidance—tell us that countering al-Qaida and violent extremists remain our highest priority, and that's understandable, I think, for a military organization. So those places in Africa where violent extremism exists or seems to be emerging are the areas of highest priority. I mentioned Somalia and the presence of al-Shabaab, Mali and the presence of Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb, a growing network of variously named organizations across North and West Africa, and I would include in that Boko Haram and their presence in Nigeria as an area of increasing focus".[86]

Furthermore, contrary to earlier widespread opinions of the AFRICOM's intentions, the study observed that the organization actually appears to be helping Africa to enhance its safety and security posture by amongst others, maximizing the benefit of its natural resources by: (1) programs to help African littoral states build capacity to deny piracy and other criminal activities and thus allowing better control of their territorial waters and exclusive economic zones (EEZ); and, (2) occasional presence and passage by US naval vessels whose proximity serves as a deterrence and reinforces US policy in favor of unimpeded access by boats and ships from all nations to international waters around Africa which have served to provide a certain level of safety and security.

4.3 The Role of China and the European Union in Africa

The above scenario also corresponds convincingly to another recurring critique of AFRICOM. According to this viewpoint which interestingly is heard more from some African observers, is that the Command somehow is intended to block China's rise in Africa and prevent Beijing from

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helping itself to benefit from natural resources from Africa due to its renewed friendship with the continent. To this end, one of the first questions asked of former US Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (DASD) for Africa Policy Theresa Whelan, during a briefing on the new Africa Command in 2007, was *"Why was China missing from her briefing?"* Whelan responded: "It was missing for a reason, because this isn't about China. Everybody seems to want it to be about China and maybe that is a little nostalgia for the Cold War, I don't know. But it isn't about China. It is about US security interests in Africa in the context of global security. China yes has become more engaged in Africa, both primarily for economic reasons".

Therefore agreeing with the US arguments, the study observed that the assistance that AFRICOM brings to African militaries including support for defence sector reform and security sector reform in Africa, this is helping countries on the continent to become more stable. The desired end state therefore would result in fostering an environment conducive to development and commercial opportunities for all nations including Chinese companies and individuals who are also exploiting these successfully. Secondly, they contended that the AFRICOM was facilitating free access to the global commons i.e. (the earth's or international shared natural resources, such as the deep oceans, the atmosphere, outer space and the Northern and Southern polar regions, the Antarctic in particular), in this context primarily by the international waters around Africa, which benefits greatly Chinese shipping companies. In short, they argued that AFRICOM indirectly aids African development much as the "Pax Americana" fostered by the U.S. military engagement in the Pacific has fostered stability and prosperity in East Asia and Europe since the end of World War II.

Moreover, the further argument was that, if AFRICOM was created to block China from entering Africa, it had been a miserable failure since the China-Africa trade had passed the $1 billion mark in 1990, then jumped to $10 billion in 2000, and accelerated again increasing 15-fold in a just over a decade to $150 billion in 2011. Consequently, China's rapidly expanding ties with Africa as a result catapulted China past the US in 2010 as Africa's top trading partner. They further contend that, ironically it is also China much more than the United States that needs Africa as a source of oil to fuel its rapid industrialization and diversify supplies away from the volatile Middle East region. In contrast, as at 2012 then, it was shown that in actuality one-third of China's imports came from Africa as opposed to only 18 or 19 % for the US.

The major point of departure between the US and China with regard to Africa was that besides China's arms sales to countries like Sudan, there concerns bordering on human rights violations that China tended to turn a blind eye on. The US amongst other western donors were concerned that the Chinese government's approach of "no strings attached" to development when dealing with Africa risked undoing decades of Western efforts to promote good governance, revenue transparency, and responsible natural resource development in Africa. It also tended to corrupt African elites; unfairly promoting China's interests at the expense of other non-African nations by violating the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) norms for aid and trade credits; that it free-rides on Highly Indebted Poor Country debt relief; and risks new unsustainable debts for African nations.

Besides all this, when looking deeper into the role of China in Africa, one cannot help but wonder if this is not signs of a hegemonic conflict between China and the US. This is because with the end of the Cold War and the US assumption of global hegemon, politicians and pundits spoke of a peace dividend as well as a glorious new world order which is bound to last for a

certain period. Consequently, this does not seem to have obtained long enough and in the current international system, the US seems to be entangled in more and more international obligations than ever before making it overstretched and vulnerable to new challenges. For that reason, some scholars have pondered on whether the US has the resources to maintain its numerous and growing global commitments. Some therefore are of the view that like in Modelski's theory of Long Cycles, the US is bound to suffer from "overstretch" and thus open a window of opportunity for a new challenger to the global order such as China. Whether such a challenger in the IR seizes this opportunity or not is another matter. The fact of the matter is that, as history has so often manifested, the problem of hegemons is that often they are the ones that cast themselves into a hegemonic afterglow whereby the state that is the hegemon over stretches itself so much rendering it ineffective in any one area such that it ends up losing legitimacy of its influence in the international system.

The likelihood then is that China which has been habouring aspirations of attaining world hegemony will make more advances for the throne. The yearning for this status is exemplified by recent rhetoric coming out of Beijing and on China's rising socio- economic indicators including its intensifying military capability. In fact, according to the US National Intelligence Council's Project: Global Trends 2025: "China will have the world's second largest economy and will be a leading military power by 2025". Coupled with its status as the world's most populous state, China is likely to feel more inclined to challenge for the status of world hegemon. Therefore, in 2007, President Hu Jintao proposed a new international order that he called a 'Harmonious World', which is a contemporary application of the Confucian principle of *guanxi* in international relations[87]. Accordingly, in a study titled "China Shift", Chinese scholar Dr. SU

[87] Saha S. 2010. China's Grand Strategy: From Confucius To Contemporary. United States Army War College.

Hao explains 'harmonious world' as "China's strategy to establish a new world order through strengthening diplomatic efforts at three levels: bilateral, regional and inter regional.

This notion has further been vigorously followed up by the current Chinese Premier Xi Jinping in his recent rhetoric with further suggestions of this steady process. Of late, the Premier has been using rhetoric to the effect that China offers a new world paradigm with yet more reference to the "Harmonious World" concept in which according to Chinese philosophy all will live together respecting one another as equals. The Premier further gives life to this concept when he elaborated on China's new poles of cooperation towards Africa for instance. Accordingly, he contends that China intends to uphold traditional friendship, unity and cooperation with African countries which he holds have always been an important grounding for China's foreign policy in which both should pursue mutually beneficial cooperation. He also suggests that, in- terms of aid, Africa is the major recipient area of China's foreign assistance as exemplified by a 51.8% of China's foreign assistance fund benefitting 51countries in Africa for the period of 2008- 2010. But above all that China intends to get into a relationship in which both parties treat each other with full sincerity and as complete equals, with the intention of pursuing jointly inclusive development. This renewed Chinese approach on Africa is best captured by Alden when he observed that;

> *"China's re-emergence as a global power of consequence is most clearly reflected not at the media spectacle which constitutes the G20 summits but rather in the oil fields, forests, and commercial markets of contemporary Africa. It is here, at the proverbial margins of traditional sites of power and its expression, that the new international politics of the 21st century are being made".*[88]

[88] Alden C. 2010 'China And Africa: A Survey Of Past, Present and Future': Paper Submitted To The China-Africa Civil Society. Forum on Peace And Development. Beijing.

Subsequently, this new development does not come up without implications for the international system. China's continuing economic and military growth and its expanding involvement in global affairs pose major implications for the power structure of the international system and therefore IR. Concurring with this viewpoint, Brigadier Subrata Saha of the Indian Army is of the view in his thesis titled '**China's Grand Strategy: From Confucius to Contemporary'** that China's rapid growth and increasing influence has actually begun to affect international order as it continues to present a different paradigm of politics and development[89]. He argues that since the British punitive expedition against China during the Opium War of 1839-42 ending in the 'Treaty of Nanjing' in which China was disastrously defeated, and also ended up ceding Hongkong, to the period of the Peoples Republican Army of Mao Zedong, the Chinese people have always considered the former period to be a period of great 'national humiliation'. Therefore this has set the scope and character of an unequal relationship with the West and subsequent trying to reclaim the lost status of a great power, by rectifying the historical aberration of China's decline since the Opium War. For that reason, to reclaim its superpower status, China has over the years operationalized a steady model of Diplomacy of Four Circles and strategy of Multiple Cooperation Circles in the international system that it hopes would ultimately springboard it into global prominence.

Therefore for China, one such vehicle in its approach to gaining Africa's confidence has been by remaining attached to its principles of respect for others sovereignty and non-interference in internal problems while doing business with them, thus hoping that it would sidestep all the sticky intrastate and interstate political issues and instead offer a more convenient alternative to the scrutinizing ways of the western countries. Consequently, through this policy China is

[89] Saha S. 2010. China's Grand Strategy: From Confucius to Contemporary. United States Army War College.

gaining competitive advantage over the West both commercially and politically; however this strategy in itself is counterproductive to Africa's development in that it seeks no form of accountability on the part of African countries. In a similar manner, the strategy is fast proving to be bringing China on a coalition coarse with the US and as such may inevitably bring them to actual confrontation over Africa. This is because no dominant state in history has ever relinquished its power position without a fight and in the same manner; no rising hegemon has ever established itself as the dominant state in the international order without fighting and winning a hegemonic war.

Another dimension to AFRICOM resistance is in the form of the European Union (EU) amongst these the most notable being from French officials and academics who have been equally opposed to the creation of the AFRICOM. According to them, the AFRICOM poses real risks to exporting the war on terror to Africa. Equally, other observers have asserted that, for decades France viewed its former colonies in Africa as an exclusive sphere of influence (referred to as *pré carré*). Particularly, they assert that France was not impressed when Djibouti, a historically French ally, allowed the US to establish a permanent base in the country. In fact some French observers viewed this decision as the "*new Fashoda*," which was a historical reference to a UK military defeat of France in Africa. For some French therefore, AFRICOM's creation was a sign that the era of exclusively French military influence in many of its former colonies was effectively over. According to this line of thought, some US academics therefore opined that because of this France actually actively lobbied its Western and Central African allies not to host AFRICOM headquarters and further coordinated its efforts with the EU thereby using the already existing African Peace Fund to avert US advances at the AU.

However, recently successive French administrations including those of Nicholas Sarkozy (President from May 2007 to May 2012) and the new French government of Francois Hollande have stated publicly that France had abandoned its past *Françafrique* policies under which Paris propped up dubious African regimes and maintained visible French presence in those countries. Sarkozy, while campaigning for re-election in 2012, said that *Françafrique* had become burdensome and that he wanted France to become more engaged in emerging markets in Asia and Latin America, which had greater potential for France's economic future. Although this is the case, Rachel Utley, a lecturer at the University of Leeds, has written that: "France is still keen to exercise a leading role in Africa, while offsetting the political, military, diplomatic, and financial costs of formerly national operations." According to Brigadier General Dominique Trinquand though, France's remaining military presence in Africa, in terms of both bases and peace-keeping operations, are 'in the process of being Europeanized,' as France invites other European countries to commit forces to the bases. Therefore as reported earlier, it may be concluded that due to rising costs France has moved away from its earlier position of not favoring an AFRICOM move to partake in Africa's activities.

4.4 Chapter Summary

It was observed in this chapter that over the years the US engagement in Africa has taken many forms through varied programmes in an effort to assist the continent with its security challenges. These have been done at a bilateral, regional and continent level. However due to varied problems affecting these programmes, they all could not endure the test of time and therefore folded up within short periods. Despite initial African opposition and mainly representing the position of South Africa and Nigeria threat to their hegemonic status, the majority of observers now saw AFRICOM as a potential partner to Africa's persistent security challenges.

Nonetheless, the US has developed a thorough plan and approach for its activities in Africa and equally allocated relevant resources of the Command activities in the continent which has since been operationalized and ripped benefits in some conflict afflicted areas and assisted in tackling pandemic diseases.

The chapter also noted that the earlier view that the US intended by the AFRICOM to block China's advances on Africa's natural resources did not hold water since China much more than the US had been shown to require Africa's natural resources like oil accounting for one third of its imports to fuel its rapid industrialization and diversify supplies away from the volatile Middle East region. Therefore the study observed that possibly like in Modelski's theory of Long Cycles, the US and China are involved in a hegemonic struggle to alter the international system which may in-fact result in an open conflict between the two over Africa. In this regard, the approach of China has been to counter US hegemony by offering a new concept of 'Harmonious World' based on the Confucian principle of *guanxi.* China's major motive for this is to restore its dignity in the international system that it lost since the British punitive expedition against China during the Opium War of 1839-42 which successive Chinese governments have according to some scholars always considered to be a period of great 'national humiliation' for the nation. Consequently, through this policy China has been gaining competitive advantage over the West both commercially and politically, but the same has been counterproductive to Africa's development in that it seeks no form of accountability on the part of African countries. In a similar manner, the strategy is fast proving to be bringing China on a coalition coarse with the US and as such may inevitably bring them to actual hegemonic confrontation over Africa.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

5.0 Introduction

This chapter broadly outlines the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study based on the objectives that it set to achieve. The chapter therefore notes the salient points and crystalizes them to fulfill an understanding of the intended aim.

5.1 Summary

Based on objective one which was to investigate the political and socio- economic impacts of the Africa- US AFRICOM security dynamics in Africa, the study found that based on the perception of the African countries that the US's decision to establish the AFRICOM was not bona fide but rather driven by US national interests the continent rejected the prospect of the AFRICOM without interrogating the possible benefits to it. Thus security challenges driven by opportunity conditions continue to take advantage of the dire conditions of Africa thereby creating insecurity and leading to the continent being the end loser. This is despite the interdependent realities of today that have shrunk political, economic and societal processes into a homogenous international system. As such, this situation has kept Africa a focus area of US and other actors in the international system who are equally interested in Africa's natural resources amongst others. The result of this has been a rekindling of antagonistic views between the West and the Far East which could result in an open contest occurring in Africa. Subsequently, the US decision to establish the AFRICOM has come in direct competition with the Chinese desire to control African resources. It is further noted that due to this the Chinese policy of noninterference in countries' domestic affairs resonates with African leaders, but at the same time has potential to retard progress made in Africa's governance and accountability standing.

On the second objective which intended to explore the preparedness of Africa's regional security strategy in tackling security challenges in Africa, the study established that there has been a slow pace at operationalizing the AU PSA, and that it may still take a long time before Africa is in a position to have a structure that may adequately tackle its security challenges. This is compounded by the new human security challenges that it has not even began to conceptualize and therefore prepare for them. To do this, an effective preparedness for the broad range of security challenges that range from armed conflict to humanitarian assistance requires closing the capabilities gaps in political, bureaucratic, military, civilian and infrastructural assets. Further this requires not just the technical assets associated with conflict management efforts, peacekeeping operations or sanctions to regimes. The ideal situation entails that at the early planning stages, mechanisms are in place for African leaders to champion the mission and play a proactive role in generating the required technical capabilities and forces including supporting the operations through the mission's life cycle. This includes the capacity of the AU to carry out adequate training of personnel, setup communication facilities between the AU and its RECs, and to have capacity for an effective CEWS.

Besides the technical preparedness of the APSA, the impartiality and legitimacy of the regional organizations is at times also affected by their ties with the respective conflicting parties which cast some negativity on the resolution efforts. Coupled with this, the benevolent efforts of hegemonic leadership of some countries despite their good intentions may at times fuel insecurity. Subsequently, security complexes have been observed to come into play which may fuel feelings of amity and enmity within the regional groupings and therefore escalate the conflict. The result of this is the development of security dilemmas which equally increase chances of insecurity within states and among regions if not properly managed.

On the main objective which looked at how the AFRICOM is assisting the AU security architecture, this study concluded that over the years the US engagement in Africa has been through many programmes at a bilateral, regional and continent level to assist in security challenges. Although some have failed due to various problems, others remain in place and have had an impact at the continent and regional levels. The study also established that despite initial African opposition the majority of observers now see AFRICOM as a potential partner to Africa's persistent security challenges.

It was also noted from the study that the earlier view that the US intended by the AFRICOM to block China's advances on Africa's natural resources where not necessarily so since China much more than the US had been benefiting more from Africa's natural resources like oil than a lot of other trade partners and actually required the resources more due to her heavy industry. Therefore the study observed that possibly like in Modelski's theory of Long Cycles, the US and China are involved in a hegemonic struggle to alter the international system which may result in an open conflict between the two over Africa and thus begin a hegemonic war.

5.2 Conclusion

Based on the above observations, this study concludes that the interdependent realities of today have shrunk political, economic and societal processes into a homogenous international system which has kept Africa a focus area for US and other actors who are interested in Africa's natural resources and secure environment. However, this has also led to a rekindling of antagonistic views between the West and the Far East and may result in an open contest in Africa. This is because the US AFRICOM has become a source of competition for China's interests. China policy of non-interference in Africa's domestic affairs though it resonates with African leaders,

has also been viewed by the US as a source of threat to Africa's governance and accountability standing and therefore to have a bearing on the US security policy.

The study also found that due to the slow pace at operationalizing the AU PSA, it may still take a long time before Africa is in a position to have a structure that may adequately tackle its broad range of security challenges. The architecture is also found to be deficient and requiring to close capabilities gaps in political, bureaucratic, military, civilian and infrastructural assets. This includes putting in place adequate technical assets associated with conflict management efforts and tackling human security challenges. The capacity of the AU to carry out adequate training of personnel, setup communication facilities between the AU and its RECs, and to have capacity for an effective CEWS was also found to be essential in this endeavor.

The study identified that an effective handling of security challenges needs to be seen to be legitimate and therefore regional organizations must be weary of security complexes and put mechanisms in place to help in handling political dynamics so that they guard against creating a security dilemma in the regions. Hegemonic leadership though essential should be exercised with caution so that feelings of enmity and amity are kept at a minimum.

Therefore to enhance the AU's security preparedness and at the same time avoid regional instability, a structured partnership with AFRICOM regional and continent arrangements may be beneficial to tackling security challenges. As such, the study concluded that contrary to some earlier believes, the intention of the AFRICOM was not to block China's advances on Africa's natural resources and the continent could therefore benefit more from the AFRICOM in order to bolster its security preparedness. The study also concluded that like in Modelski's theory of Long Cycles, the US and China's contest in Africa actually amounted to a hegemonic struggle to

alter the international system and may actually lead to an open conflict between the two over Africa and thus begin a hegemonic war.

5.3 Recommendations

This study recommends the following:

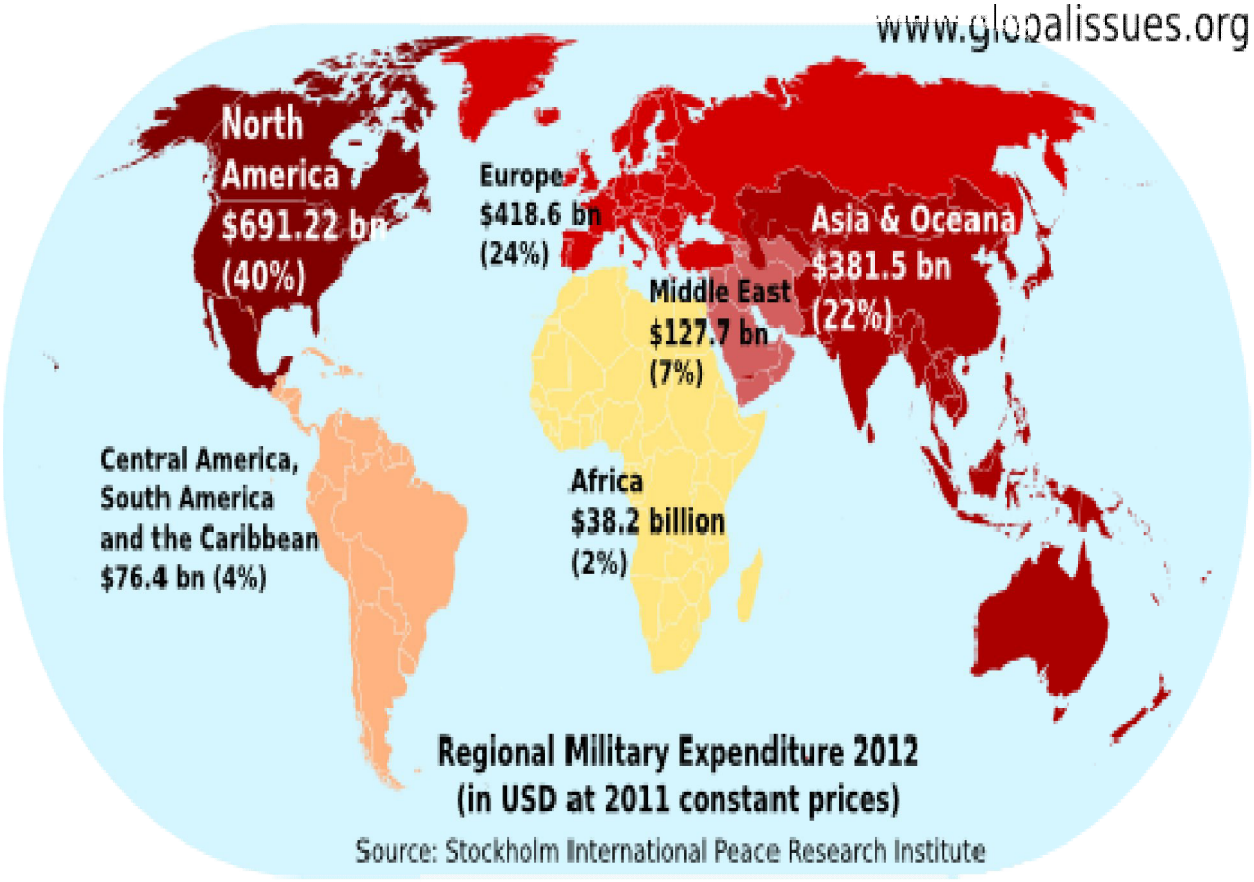
When operationalizing the AU PSA, a deliberate effort should be put to reorient the structure that may adequately respond to the broad range of security challenges. The architecture should also close capabilities gaps in the political, bureaucratic, military, civilian and infrastructural assets. This will further entail providing adequate technical assets associated with tackling human security challenges. The AU should also be capacitated carry out training of personnel, to setup communication facilities between the AU and its RECs, and to further enhance its capacity in the CEWS.

Whilst hegemonic leadership is essential for effective handling of security challenges, there needs to be concerted efforts to legitimize the process through the regional organizations and manage well the political dynamics in order to avoid security complexes and guard against creating a security dilemma in the regions.

In dealing with assistance from external partners, the AU should approach the matter with a unified viewpoint putting aside individual benefits. This therefore entails a structured partnership between the AFRICOM and continental arrangements which may be beneficial to tackling security challenges. The same approach will deny Africa to be used as a battleground for a possible hegemonic conflict between the US and China.

FIGURE 2

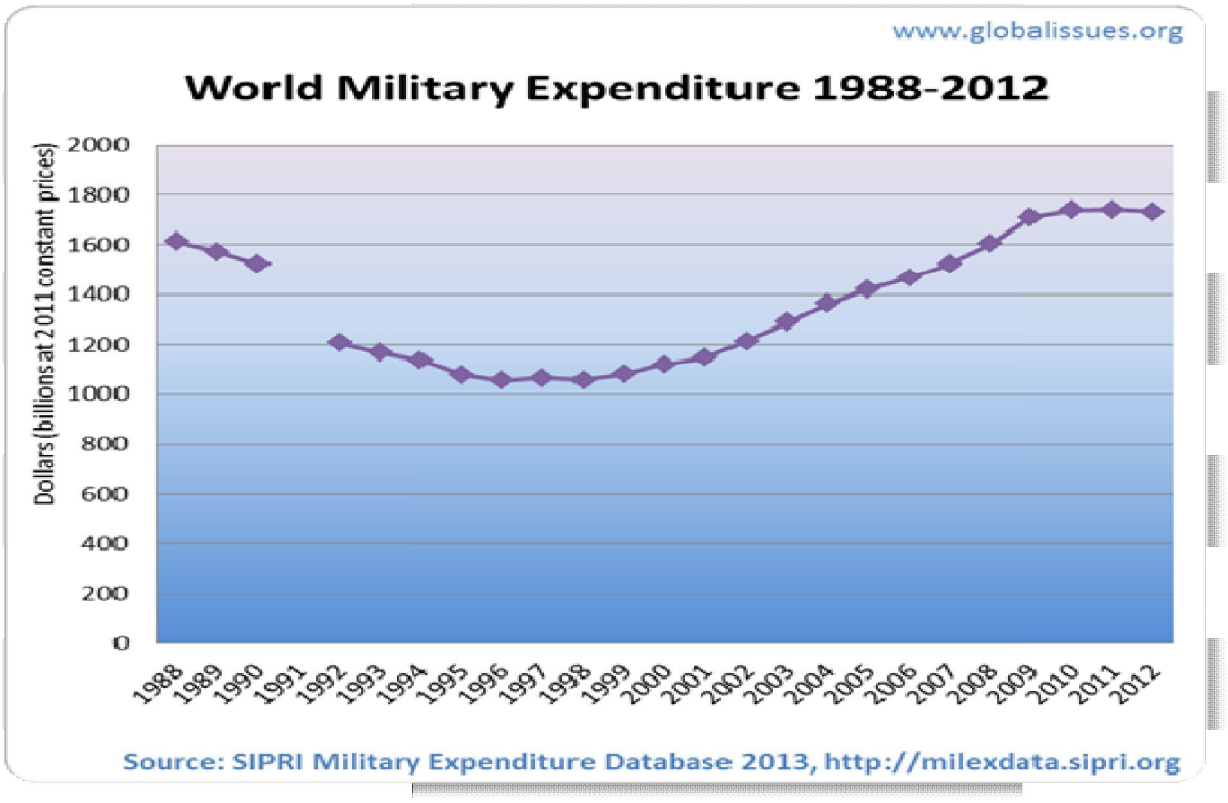
REGIONAL MILITARY EXPENDITURES 2012



SOURCE: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)

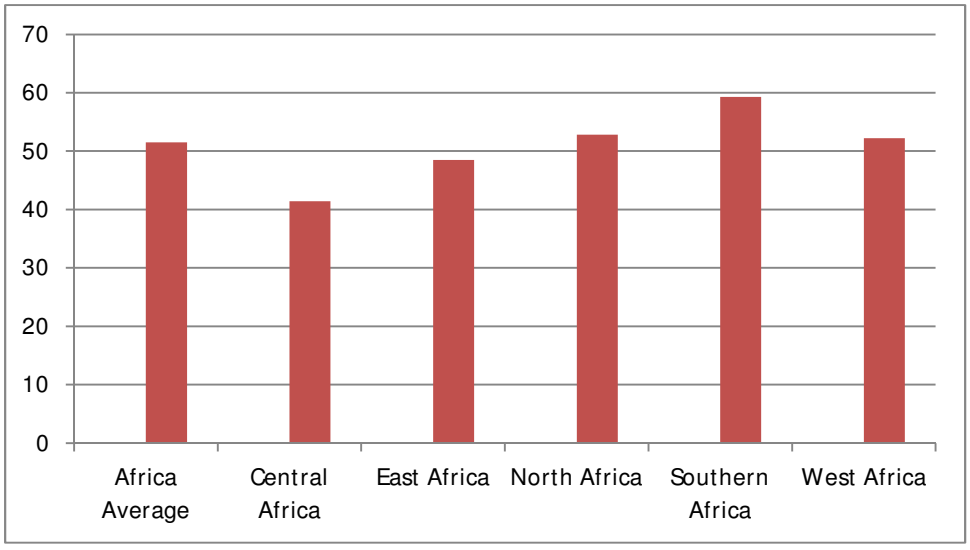
FIGURE 3

WORLD MILITARY EXPENDITURES 1988- 2012



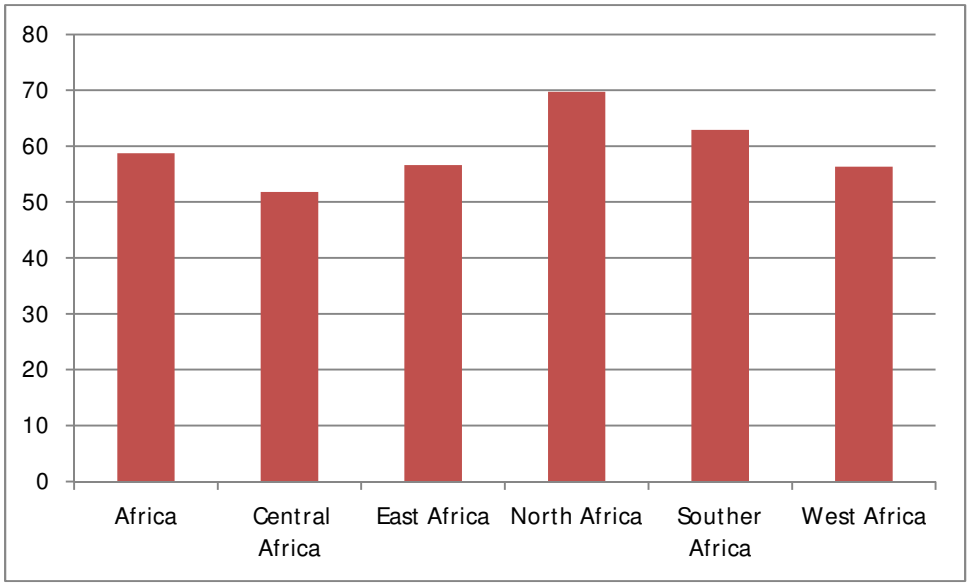
SOURCE: WWW.GLOBALISSUES.ORG

Figure 4: The Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance Rating for Africa- Safety and Security (%)



Source: Mo Ibrahim Index of Governance

Figure 5: The Human Development Overall Africa Rating (%)



Source: Human Development Index

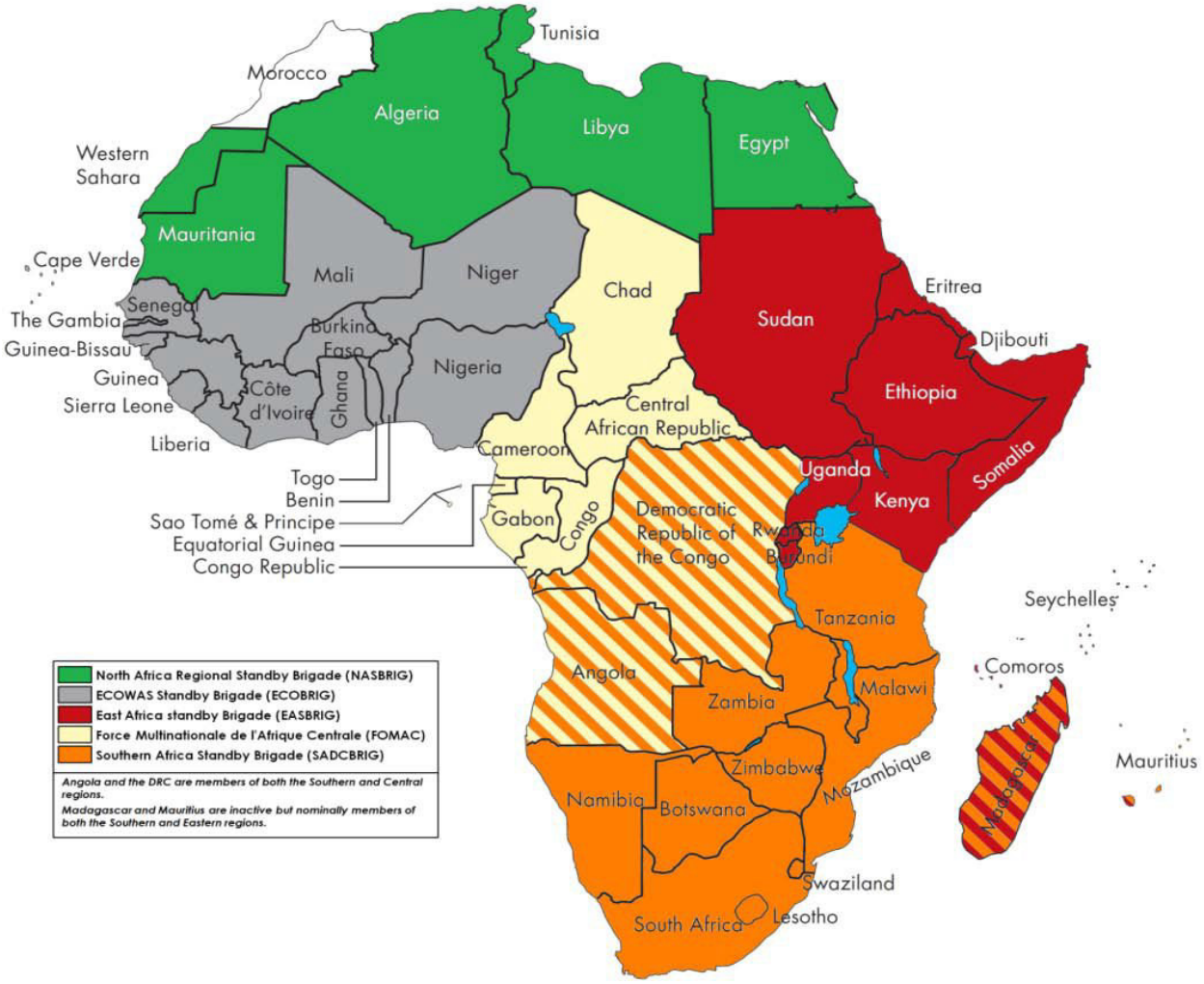


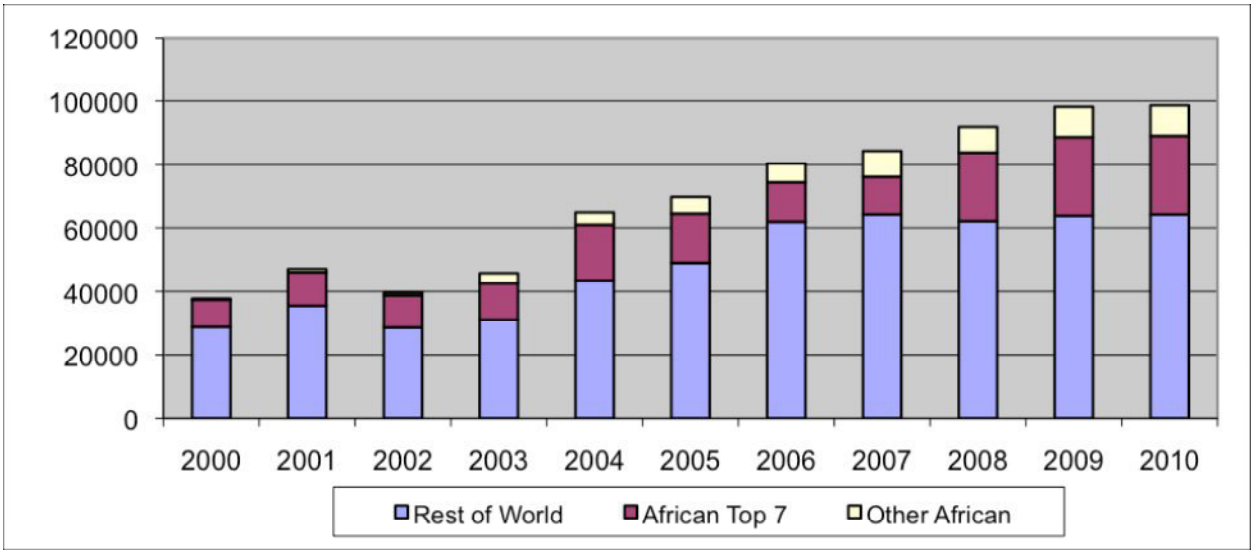
Figure 6: ASF Regions

Source: Jack Cilliers, *The African Standby Force: An Update on Progress*, 2008,

Figure 7: Capabilities for AU Conflict Management

Source: Council on Foreign Relations

Figure 8: Number of UN Peacekeeping Uniformed Personnel, 2000–2010



Source: Compiled by author from UN DPKO data analysis.

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