

**UNITED STATES AFRICA COMMAND AND HUMAN
SECURITY IN AFRICA**

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ABSTRACT

Since 2005, the United States (US) has shifted its justification for the militarization of the African continent to the more humanitarian security-development discourse. This apparent paradigmatic shift presents the United States African Command as more benign than it may be. However, the response to the emergence of United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) has ranged from wholesale condemnation to selective criticism of US policy. Skeptics of AFRICOM cite previous US military forays in Africa which led to a disproportionate development of military institutions relative to instruments of civilian rule. Others see AFRICOM as a naked attempt to exert American control over Africa's valuable natural resources (Taguem, 2010, Esterhuyse, 2008, Isike, Uzodike and Gilbert, 2008, 2009).

On 11th July 2009, while addressing Ghana's Parliament, President Barack Obama remarked that Africa is not the crude caricature of a continent at war but nonetheless, for far too many Africans, conflict is a part of life, as constant as the sun. He reiterated that America has responsibility to ameliorate the deplorable human security condition of Africans not just in words, but with support that strengthens Africans' capacity (President Obama's address to Ghana's Parliament July 11, 2009). In his 2010 National Security Strategy (NNS), President Obama called for partnership with African nations as they grow their economies, and strengthen their democratic institutions and governance. In June 2012, he approved Presidential policy directives that outline his vision for sub-Saharan Africa. The stated pillars of US strategy towards Africa are to strengthen democratic institutions, to spur economic growth, trade and investment, advancement of peace and security, and the promotion of opportunities and development by promoting food security and transforming Africa's public health system (US Strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa, 2012). The achievement of these stated goals is incumbent on the third goal which AFRICOM is expected to spearhead.

Africans predominantly see Washington's profession of concern for development and security as transparent cover for hegemonic assertions of "Imperialist power" (Stevenson, 2011:28). However, these debates have been based on conjectures informed by a historical review of major power involvement with Africa. There is a

need to move from these conjectural debates to provide empirical details of AFRICOM activities and their consequences for human security in Africa. This study therefore contributes to this debate by investigating AFRICOM's activities since its formation in 2007. The series of activities by AFRICOM on the continent and its intervention in security situations in Libya, Mali, Nigeria and Somalia makes this study very promising in light of the study's engagement with the strategic possibilities of AFRICOM through a critical review of the objective security conditions in Africa within a changing global security context. The research identifies the nexus between AFRICOM and human security in Africa. By doing so, it articulates the security concerns of African States and contributes to discussions on, and practices of, alternative ways of providing human security to African people(s).

This study argues that the lopsided power relationship between the United States of America and Africa engendered the imposition of AFRICOM on Africans without due consultation with the African Union (AU), while the multi-faceted challenges of poverty, inter-ethnic conflicts, religious intolerance, trans-border crimes and terrorist attacks in Africa induced the US government to categorize the continent as zone of conflicts from whence threats to US stability emanate. The thesis also argues that the successful securitization of these threats by United States government engendered the creation of USAFRICOM. The study constructs the above arguments on historical, exploratory, descriptive and critical foundations. The research contains a substantial amount of fieldwork data on which it bases an empirical evaluation and analysis.

DEDICATION

This Work is dedicated to the Almighty GOD for His ever abiding presence, His leading and faithfulness, His mercies upon my life and His marvelous and continuous help. Oh LORD, I remain eternally grateful for the abundance of all things.

To my beloved mother Mrs Joy Nwachi Onor (Ezigbo Nnem Oma), my mentor and Uncle Col. Victor Chinedu Ndulue, I am exceedingly grateful to both of you and I pray that the almighty LORD will reward you abundantly.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AQIM	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
AU	African Union
ACRI	African Crisis Response Initiative
ACOTA	Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance
ACRF	African Crisis Response Force
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
APS	Africa Partnership Station
AAPC	All African People's Congress
AfDB	African Development Bank
APFO	Adequate Public Facilities Ordinance
AQAP	Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
ANC	African National Congress
AOPIG	African Oil Policy Initiative Group
ACOTA	Africa Contingency Operation Training and Assistance
ADAPT	Africa Deployment Assistance Partnership Team
CA	Constitutive Acts
CA	Commission for Africa
CAADP	Comprehensive African Agriculture and Development Programme
CAQDAS	Computer Assisted Quantitative Data Analysis Software
CAR	Central African Republic
CENTCOM	Central Command
CHS	Committee on Human Security
CJTF-HOA	Combined Joint Task Force Horn of Africa
CS	Copenhagen School
CPRC	Chronic Poverty Research Centre
CGAR	Crisis Group African Report
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CSSDCA	Conference on Security Stability Development and Cooperation in Africa
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency

CDC	Centre for Disease Control
CIPA	Contribution to International Peace keeping Activities
CJOA	Combined Joint Operation Area
CONUS	Continental United States
DFID	Department for International Development
DoD	Department of Defense
DoS	Department of States
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DHS	Department of Health Service
DCMA	Deputy to the Commander for Civil-Military Activities
DCMO	Deputy to the Commander for Military Operations
EUCOM	European Command
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECOSOCC	Economic Social and Cultural Council
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
EIA	Energy Information Administration
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique
FOA	Food and Agriculture Organization
FGT	Four-Gamete Test
FLNM	Northern Mali Liberation Front
FIDH	International Federation for Human Rights
FMF	Foreign Military Financing
FMS	Foreign Military Sales
FOC	Full Operating Capacity
GAO	Government Accountability Office
GWOT	Global War on Terror
GSPC	Groupe Salafiste Pour la Predication et le Combat
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSP	Generalized System Preferences
GIA	Armed Islamic Group
GFM	Global Force Management
HA	Humanitarian Assistance
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries

HDI	Human Development Index
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IADB	Inter-American Development Bank
ICU	Islamic Courts Union
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRC	Internet Relay Chat
IMET	International Military Education and Training
IPT	Integrated Process Team
IOC	Initial Operating Capacity
JEM	Justice and Equity Movement
JFCOM	Joint Force Command
LANTCOM	US Atlantic Command
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MCA	Millennium Challenge Account
MCC	Millennium Challenge Corporation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MDRI	Multilateral Debt Relief Initiatives
MNA	National Movement of Azawad
MNLA	National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad
MPA	Azawad People's Movement
MNC	Multi National Corporation
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola
MUJAO	Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NAVAF	Naval Force Africa
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NIH	National Institute of Health
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NRM-A	National Resistance Movement-Army
NSR	National Security Review
NSS	National Security Strategy
OCRS	Organization Commune des Regions Sahariennes
OSAA	Office of the Special Adviser on Africa
OAU	Organisation of African Unity

OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OIC	Organization of Islamic Conference
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
OSD	Office of the Secretary of Defense
OEF-TS	Operation Enduring Freedom Trans-Sahara
PACOM	Pacific Command
PAE	Pacific Architects and Engineers
PAP	Pan African Parliament
PCRD	Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development
PDD	Presidential Decision Directives
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
PKO	Peace Keeping Operations
PMI	President's Malaria Initiative
PSC	Peace and Security Council
PSI	Pan-Sahel Initiative
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana
RFS	Request for Forces System
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDO/DATT	Senior Defense Official/Defense Attachee
SLA	Sudanese Liberation Army
SOCEUR	Special Operation Command Europe
SOCOM	Special Operation Command
SOLIC	Special Operation and Low Intensity Conflict
SPLA/M	Sudanese People Liberation Army/Movement
SSA	Sub-Sahara Africa
TDA	Trade and Development Agency
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
TSC	Theatre Security Operation
TSCTI	Trans Sahara Counter Terrorism Initiatives
TSCTP	Trans Sahara Counter Terrorism Partnership

UCC	Unified Combatant Command
UMA	Arab Maghreb Union
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNCESCR	United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
UNCOHR	United Nations Commission on Human Rights
UNMP	United Nations Millennium Project
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNITAF	Unified Task Force
UNOCI	United Nations Mission in Cote d'Ivoire
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNODC	United Nations Office of Drug and Crime
UNOHA	United Nations Office for Humanitarian Agency
UNOSOM	United Nations Mission in Somalia
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UNITA	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola
UNWPP	United Nations World Population Propects
USA	United States of America
USAFRICOM	United States African Command
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USCIRF	United States Commission on International Religious Freedom
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
USSTRICOM	United States Strike Command
VLCC	Very Large Crude Carrier
WHES	World Hunger Education Service
WHO	World Health Organisation
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WTO	World Trade Organisation
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

There has been a growing interest in Africa by the United States of America (USA). This interest is generated and shaped by its strategic concerns, most importantly, the growing demand for natural resources, especially oil, and an increase in terrorism threats on the continent. The continent's profile received further boost during the George W. Bush administration, who declared that: "Africa is increasingly vital to our strategic interest; we have seen that conditions on the other side of the world can have a direct impact on our own security" (Mboup, Mihalka and Lathrop, 2009:18). In his 2002 National Security Strategy, President George W. Bush opines that

In Africa, promise and opportunity sit side by side with disease, war, and desperate poverty. This threatens both a core value of the United States, preserving human dignity – and a strategic priority – combating global terror. American interests and American principles, therefore lead in the same direction. We will work with others for an African continent that lives in liberty, peace and growing prosperity. Together with European allies, we must help strengthen Africa's fragile states; help build indigenous capability to secure porous borders, and help build up the law enforcement and intelligence infrastructure to deny havens for terrorist (US NSS, 2002).

This reputedly increasing strategic geo-political and economic significance of Africa to the USA induced the Bush administration to create an exclusive hybrid unified combatant command for Africa known as AFRICOM in 2007. Until then, the continent had previously been Balkanized and put under the European Command (EUCOM), Pacific Command (PACOM) and Central Command (CENTCOM) predominantly as a peripheral area of importance (McFate, 2008).

AFRICOM is one of the nine unified combatant commands of the US Department of Defense (DoD). As one of the six that are regionally focused, it is devoted solely to Africa. AFRICOM is responsible to the Secretary of Defense for US military

relations with 54 African countries excluding Egypt. It supports US government objectives through the delivery and sustenance of effective security cooperation programs that assist African nations build their security capability to enable them to better provide for their own defence (US Africa Command: 2009a). AFRICOM was created by Presidential Order in 2007 and was officially activated on October 1, 2008, with General William E. 'Kip' Ward serving as its first commander. According to President Bush,

This creation of AFRICOM is to engender multifaceted development that will be mutually beneficial to the U.S. Government and Africans. The new command will strengthen our security cooperation with Africa and help to create new opportunities to bolster the capabilities of our partners in Africa. African Command will enhance our efforts to bring peace and security to the people of Africa and promote our common goals of development, health, education, democracy, and economic growth in Africa. (Bush, 2006).

AFRICOM is structured to support transnational institutions and governments and, irrespective of its status as a combatant command, it is unique compared to other Unified Combatant Commands (UCC) because it does not appear to have an armed combat orientation (Carmel, 2009:4). AFRICOM Commander's Intent states that the purpose of AFRICOM is twofold. These are one: to protect the US homeland, American citizens abroad, and United States National Interests from transnational threats emanating from Africa. Two, through sustained engagement, it is to enable African partners to create a security environment that promotes stability, improved governance, and continued development¹. The Commander's intent further states "that should preventive or enabling efforts fail, AFRICOM must always be prepared to prevail against any individual or organization that poses a threat to the United States, her national interests, or her allies and partners" (US Africa Command, 2008b).

President Barack Obama in his presidential address to Ghana's Parliament on July 11, 2009 remarked that Africa is not the crude caricature of a continent at war but nonetheless, for far too many Africans, conflict is a part of life, as constant as the

¹ The AFRICOM's Commander Intent is a set of prioritized goals that need to be accomplished by the commander within a given period.

sun. He reiterated that America has responsibility to ameliorate the deplorable human security condition of Africans not just in words, but with support that strengthens Africans capacity (President Obama's address to Ghana's Parliament July 11, 2009). In his 2010 National Security Strategy, President Obama called for partnership with African nations as they grow their economies, and strengthen their democratic institutions and governance. In June 2012, he approved Presidential policy directives that outline his vision for sub-Saharan Africa. The stated pillars of the United States (US) strategy towards Africa are to strengthen democratic institutions, to spur economic growth, trade and investment, advancement of peace and security and, the promotion of opportunities and development by promoting food security and transforming Africa's public health system². The achievement of these stated goals is incumbent on the third goal which AFRICOM is expected to spearhead.

The response to the emergence of AFRICOM has ranged from wholesale condemnation to selective criticism of US policy. Skeptics of AFRICOM cite previous US military forays in Africa which led to a disproportionate development of military institutions relative to instruments of civilian rule. Others see AFRICOM as a naked attempt to exert American control over Africa's valuable natural resources (Taguem, 2010; Esterhuysen, 2008; Isike, Uzodike and Gilbert, 2008; 2009). According to Jeremy Keenan of the University of London, Africans predominantly see Washington's profession of concern for development and security as transparent cover for hegemonic assertions of "Imperialist power" (cited in Stevenson, 2011:28). However, in the face of multifaceted security challenges of inter-ethnic conflicts, regional instability and the inability of most African governments to provide effective leadership, manage conflict and allocate resources equitably for the common good of their people, the need for human security enhancement cannot be underplayed.

The creation of AFRICOM is perceived by some scholars as signaling the militarization of US policy toward Africa. They argue that it is a short-sighted and self-destructive vision of US interests, namely, to expand the Global War on Terror,

² U.S. STRATEGY toward SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, 2012 at <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/06/14/fact-sheet-new-strategy-toward-sub-saharan-africa> (Accessed 14th December, 2011).

to undermine China's growing influence in the continent and to satiate America's hunger for oil and other resources which will inevitably exacerbate the human insecurity situation in Africa (Isike, Uzodike and Gilbert, 2009). As various Washington sources state openly, AFRICOM was created to counter the growing presence of China in Africa. China's successes are on the increase. For example, the Chinese government has secured long-term economic agreements for raw materials from Africa in exchange for Chinese aid and production sharing agreements and royalties. By informed accounts, China has been far shrewder than the West. Instead of offering savage IMF-dictated austerity and economic chaos as the West has, China is offering large credits and soft loans to build roads and schools in order to create good will (Engdahl, 2011:26).

Peter Pham, a leading Washington insider and an advisor of the US State and Defense Departments, states openly that among the aims of the new AFRICOM, is the objective of, "protecting access to hydrocarbons and other strategic resources which Africa has in abundance ... a task which includes ensuring against the vulnerability of those natural riches and ensuring that no other interested third parties, such as China, India, Japan, or Russia, obtain monopolies or preferential treatment." (Pham, 2011:31). In testimony before the US Congress supporting creation of AFRICOM in 2007, Pham, who is closely associated with the neo-conservative think-tank, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, stated:

This natural wealth makes Africa an inviting target for the attentions of the People's Republic of China, whose dynamic economy, averaging 9 percent growth per annum over the last two decades, has an almost insatiable thirst for oil as well as a need for other natural resources to sustain it. China is currently importing approximately 2.6 million barrels of crude per day, about half of its consumption;...roughly a third of its imports come from African sources...perhaps no other foreign region rivals Africa as the object of Beijing's sustained strategic interest in recent years.. many analysts expect that Africa—especially the states along its oil-rich western coastline—will increasingly becoming a theatre for strategic competition between the United States and its only real near-peer competitor on the global stage, China, as both countries seek to expand their influence and secure access to resources (Pham, 2011).

In a groundbreaking analysis, Canadian geopolitical analyst, Mahdi Darius Nazemroaya writes, “The map used by Washington for combating terrorism under the Pan-Sahel Initiative says a lot. The range or area of activity for the terrorists, within the borders of Algeria, Libya, Niger, Chad, Mali, and Mauritania according to Washington’s designation, is very similar to the boundaries or borders of the colonial territorial entity which France attempted to sustain in Africa in 1957” (Nazemroaya and Teil, 2011:39). The French called it the Common Organization of the Saharan Regions (Organisation commune des regions sahariennes, OCRS). It comprised the inner boundaries of the Sahel and Saharan countries of Mali, Niger, Chad, and Algeria. Paris used it to control the resource-rich countries for French exploitation of such raw materials as oil, gas, and uranium.

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

The US Government’s argument that the creation of a Unified Combatant Command³ that is regionally based and exclusively designed for Africa is a panacea for human security needs in Africa is viewed by many African scholars as contradictory to the tenets of human security. There is a shared concern among Africans that western-oriented state-based approaches to security will not address the human security needs of the continent. African policymakers are concerned with maintaining domestic security through state-building and establishing secured systems for dealing with food, health, trade, terrorism and environmental degradation. Human security approach has identified various threats as sources of insecurity in Africa and these threats require different prescriptions and specialized attention. Considering the fact that human security paradigm emerged to challenge and ameliorate the inadequacies of the militaristic, state-centric security approach by repositioning the individual human being as the referent object of security, the creation of AFRICOM, a component of DOD to militate against these threats, is both contradictory and questionable.

More over, the United States’ post 9/11 heightened interests in Africa that contrasts with decades of relative disinterest has raised debate over the actual motivations of this unprecedented attention. The presentation of a Unified Combatant Command

³ A Unified Combatant Command (UCC) is a United States Department of Defense command that is composed of forces from at least two Military Departments and has a broad and continuing mission.

(UCC) in the mode of AFRICOM as a hybrid benign organization that is geared toward the promotion of human security on the continent, is pure obfuscation and puts U.S efforts to “strengthen democratic institutions” at the top of the list. Beyond these idealist declarations of good intentions, some foreign policy experts consider the turnaround in the United States’ Africa policy to be the consequence of the rising strategic value of the continent for tangible American economic and security interests (Kansteiner, 2004:3). Despite the official rhetoric, they hold the actual objectives of the agenda of the United States in Africa to be, firstly, to secure its access to energy sources; secondly, to counter global terrorism, and thirdly, to contain the growing influence of China (Ellis cited in Mboup, 2008:7).

African security analysts have questioned the security interest AFRICOM has been designed to address. While US government sees failed states as the major threat to security because they can provide hideouts to terrorist networks (US NSS, 2002), African security analysts see violations of human rights, economic injustice, and political oppression as major threats to human security in Africa.

Moreover, the recent UN/NATO military intervention in the Libyan uprising under the guise of Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine as articulated in the U.N. Security Council Resolution 1973, (2011) has evoked suspicion among African political leaders, pundits and peace advocates. The Joint Task Force Odyssey Dawn in Libya was initiated by AFRICOM. The African Union (AU) opposed the military intervention, but rather preferred a political solution to the Libyan crisis while the US government insisted on regime change.

The proliferation of weaponry covertly transported from depots in Libya into neighboring countries has invigorated illicit arms smuggling across Africa, particularly in the Northwest. The Sahel ranks among the world’s principal smuggling routes and is maintained by militants from local Tuareg tribes who assist in trafficking arms. After the collapse of the Qadhafi regime in Libya, hundreds of looted missiles, Kalashnikov rifles, rocket propelled grenades, and small weapons were sold throughout the Sahel. Additionally, experts estimate Libya had as many as 20,000 first-generation man-portable air defence systems before the uprising, at least some of which are likely in the hands of terrorist organizations and militias seeking

to incite further instability in Africa and the Middle East. Armed Tuaregs fighting for Qadhafi returned to homelands in Mali and Niger and smuggled weapons that fuelled the Mali rebellion and Boko Haram onslaught in northern Nigeria, further destabilizing the region and reinforcing a safe haven for al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (Rodriguez, 2013).

In the final analysis, the central argument of the study is that there could be convergence of interests between the US interests in Africa vis-a-vis the establishment of AFRICOM and the enhancement of human security in Africa.

1.3 Aim, objectives and research questions of the study

This section presents aim, specific objectives and the research questions that guided the study.

1.3.1 The aim of the study

The general aim of this study is to investigate the set objectives, activities, prospects and challenges of AFRICOM for human security in Africa through a critical review of the objective security conditions in Africa within a changing global security context.

1.3.2 Specific objectives of the study

- To critically evaluate the United States national security policy and strategy in Africa.
- To determine the place of AFRICOM in the US National Security Strategy towards Africa.
- To determine the nature and scope of AFRICOM activities on the continent.
- To establish the likely effect of AFRICOM's activities on human security in Africa.
- To critically examine the relationship between AFRICOM and human security in Africa

1.3.3 Research questions

- What are the implications of AFRICOM for human security in Africa?

- What are the U.S. National Security interests and Strategy in Africa?
- Whose security interests will AFRICOM serve?
- Will increased US military activities in Africa assist the AU's strategic objective of promoting peace and human security or will it contribute to instability?
- How can AFRICOM intervention in Africa ameliorate the human insecurity in Africa?

1.4 The significance of the study

Most studies on AFRICOM have focused on the organization, roles and purpose of AFRICOM. From the reviewed literature, two opposing groups have emerged. The proponents of AFRICOM, who see it as the right prescription to tackle the continent's human security and development needs (Carmel 2009, Stevenson 2010, Stevenson 2011), and the opponents of AFRICOM who argue that AFRICOM has adverse consequences that will throw the continent into turmoil, chaos and pandemonium (Volman 2008, Volman and Klare 2004, Schaefer 2007, Okumu 2007, Mesfin 2009). However, the debates have been based on conjectures informed by a historical review of major power involvement with Africa.

This study moves beyond these conjectural debates by providing empirical details of AFRICOM activities and their consequences for human security in Africa. The study critically reviewed the activities of AFRICOM since its formation in 2007 within a changing global security context. The series of activities, operations and exercises by AFRICOM on the continent and its intervention in security situations in Libya, Mali, Nigeria, Somalia and Central African Republic are not systematically investigated in the extant literature. This is a neglected area to which the current research makes a significant contribution. . The study articulates the security concerns and demands of African states and engaged the strategic possibilities of AFRICOM to meet those demands. Finally, the study establishes that there is a nexus between human security and AFRICOM as military-to-military training with African partners enhances the capacity of African military to effectively and timely respond to crises situations in the continent hence, averts humanitarian catastrophes.

1.5 Broader issues of the study

The study addresses the militarization of U.S foreign policy towards Africa and securitization of the humanitarian pathologies in the continent. The longitudinal insecurity challenges in Africa were engendered by perennial disorder caused by her asymmetric relationship with the Western world. This relationship unduly integrated Africa into global capitalism and dislodged her from her traditional value system which was rooted in communalism. The study argues that the solutions to these challenges lie in an inclusive institutional framework that respects rule of law and gives priority to human development in accordance with African mores.

1.6 Scope and limitations of the study

This study focuses on human security in Africa within the purview of AFRICOM and U.S strategic interests in Africa. The study examines the causes and consequences of human (in)security in Africa, AFRICOM's activities (training, exercises and operations) in Africa and the convergence of interests between AFRICOM activities and human security promotion in Africa. It has been eight years since AFRICOM was established and thus it deserves to be considered a relatively new organization and a work in progress however, it has broadened the scope of its operations significantly.

The major limitation of this study is the enormous challenges faced in involving many AFRICOM staff and other stakeholders through surveys or interviews. The researcher was able to reach out to few highly placed AFRICOM staff. AFRICOM's involvement provided additional information from an insider's perspective about the real motives of the Command in Africa while the views of the other stakeholders, especially African senior military commanders in strategic command positions, provided useful insights. This thesis assumes that the African continent will remain strategically imperative to the American government in the foreseeable future and AFRICOM will continue to play a significant role in advancing U.S. interests. If this assumption is true, the U.S government will need to summon the political will and economic means to support AFRICOM in accomplishing its mission effectively.

During the investigation the researcher faced the following challenges:

- The researcher faced serious challenges in getting ethical clearance letter from Stellenbosch University regardless of the fact that due process was followed.
- Data collection and the pace of returning the questionnaires were slow. The researcher followed up with the respondents several times and was eventually able to collect sufficient completed copies of the questionnaires to reach a percentage that made the analyses of the data feasible.
- Some of the research interviewees were skeptical about the recording of the interview session. However, the researcher managed to convince them that the interviews are for academic purposes and that their identities will be concealed and protected.
- The researcher was not able to carry out the study in all the institutions designated in the proposal due to financial and other constraints, although he managed to conduct it in ten institutions across South Africa and Nigeria.

1.7 Research methodology and methods

Creswell (2012:7) defines research methodology as a strategy or plan of action that links methods to outcomes and governs our choice and use of methods (e.g., experimental research, survey research, ethnography, etc.) Methods (as distinct from methodology) are techniques and procedures we propose to use (e.g., questionnaire, interview, focus group, etc.). Quantitative method was applied to the analysis of questionnaires while the interviews were analysed by the use of qualitative method

1.7.1 Research design

Research design is the overall plan for obtaining answers to the questions being studied and for handling some of the difficulties encountered during the research process. Research design is the set of logical steps taken by the researcher to answer the research question. It forms the blueprint for the study and sets out the methodology used by the researcher to obtain sources of information, such as participants, elements and units of analysis, to collect and analyze the data, and to interpret the results (Brink, van der Walt and Van Rensburg 2012:96). Burns and Grove (2010:223) define research design as the blueprint for conducting the study

that maximizes control over factors that could interfere with the validity of the findings.

The study made use of qualitative and quantitative research methods. Payne and Payne (2004:176) opine that the qualitative method captures the intricacies of social life and “treats actions as part of holistic social process and context, rather than as something that can be extracted and studied in isolation”. The qualitative method lends itself to the investigation of complex social phenomena without predetermining or delimiting the paths that such investigation should follow. Further, the strength of the qualitative method lies in its unassailable explanatory power and in providing detailed information on the subject matter of research thus providing in-depth understanding of human/organizational behaviour and of social interactions as well as the rationale for such interactions. McNabb (2009:108) posits that quantitative research method helps political scientists to make effective decisions about their research proposals. He argues that the proper utilization of numbers, statistics with words makes communicating easier, faster and far more effective than the use of words alone.

1.7.2 Area of the study

The study was conducted in South Africa and Nigeria. Within South Africa, respondents and interviewees were drawn from key institutions such as the University of KwaZulu-Natal Pietermaritzburg campus, Stellenbosch University, Institute of Security Studies Pretoria, South African Defence Academy Sandakan, and South African Institute of International Affairs Johannesburg. In Nigeria, interviewees and respondents were drawn from the University of Ibadan, ECOWAS headquarter, Nigerian Naval headquarter, National Defence College, Nigerian Defence Headquarter, United States embassy (all in Abuja), and Nigerian Institute of International Affairs Lagos.

1.7.3 Population of the study

Polit and Hungler (1999:37) refer to the population as an aggregate or totality of all the objects, subjects or members that conform to a set of specifications. Identifying the target population requires specifying the criteria that determine which individuals are included and which individuals are not included. In other words, what

characteristics must an individual have to be included in the target population? Due to the specificity of the study the researcher considered the following characteristics:

- Age
- Academic qualification
- Specialization
- Institutional Affiliation

In this study the populations were as follows: military officers in Nigeria and South Africa as well as senior military officers from several African countries who were randomly selected; AFRICOM's staff; scholars, security experts, diplomats, policy makers; staff and postgraduate students in the Disciplines of Politics, International Relations, Strategic Studies, Policy and Development studies.

1.7.4 The eligibility criteria

The eligibility criteria were that the participants had to

- be informed on international politics, U.S foreign policy especially in Africa and African affairs.

- Considering the fact that most of AFRICOM's activities revolve around security/military cooperation with African partners, large number of the respondents were drawn from military institutions in Africa while AFRICOM staff were equally considered.
- Members of both governmental and non-governmental institutions were interviewed.
- Security and foreign policy scholars and postgraduate students were equally considered.

1.7.5 Sample

A sample is a subset of a population selected to participate in the study: it is a fraction of the whole, selected to participate in the research project (Brink 1996:133; Polit & Hungler 1999:227). Once the target population has been identified, the researcher needs to select individuals from the target population to be part of the sample that participates in the research, In this survey, a subset of three hundred (300) respondents and fourteen (14) interviewees were selected.

1.7.6 Data collection and instruments used

Polit and Hungler (1999:267) define data as information obtained in a course of a study. In this study the researcher used a combination of data collection methods known as methodological triangulation, that is the use of two or more independent sources of data or data collection methods within one study in order to help ensure that the data are telling you what you think they are telling you (Saunders, Lewis and Thomhill, 2003). The combination of the methods is to bridge the gap between qualitative and quantitative paradigms in order to answer research questions holistically. Survey method was employed to collect data from primary and secondary sources.

1.7.7 Interviews

Primary data was drawn from in-depth interviews based on unstructured questions as well as the administration of questionnaire. Bauer and Gaskell (2000:51) define interview process as conversation between two or more friends with the aim of eliciting data. Mc Nabb (2009:138) argues that interview is used in an exploratory research; the personal interview is used to collect the basic data for gaining an understanding of the relationship between the people in the study and the larger social group about which the study is focused. It should be noted that radical social constructionists faulted this method on the ground that it cannot provide a mirror reflection of the reality that exist in social world as elucidated by Miller and Glassner (1997:99), However, this study agrees with the views expressed by Harding and Latour (cited in Miller and Glassner, 1997:99) that information about social worlds is achievable through in-depth interviewing. Oral face to face interviews were conducted with fourteen (14) interviewees. The interviewees included: AFRICOM Spokesperson in AFRICOM's Military Liaison Office at the ECOWAS headquarters, Abuja; Department of Defense personnel assigned as Senior Official/Defense Attaché (SDO/DATT) in the United States Embassy in Nigeria; Officials in the Office of Security Cooperation in Nigeria and South Africa. Interviews were also conducted with stakeholders in various strategic command positions within the Nigerian Armed Forces, South African Armed Forces, Institute of Strategic Studies, Pretoria, South African Institute of International Affairs, Johannesburg, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs Lagos, ECOWAS, African Union Standby Force

and security experts in the academic community. The unstructured interviews afforded the interviewees the freedom to discuss the topic holistically.

1.7.8 Questionnaires

According to Jupp (2006:27), questionnaire can be defined as a set of carefully designed questions given in exactly the same form to a group of people in order to collect data about some topic(s) in which the researcher is interested. McNabb (2009: 150) defines questionnaire as a set of open or closed-end questions that respondents are asked to answer. Three hundred (300) copies of questionnaires were administered to respondents in South Africa and Nigeria. The essence of the questionnaire is to determine what people know, what they think or how they plan to act in regard to AFRICOM. The questionnaires measured both Africans and non-Africans factual knowledge, opinions, attitudes and motives towards AFRICOM. The questionnaires consisted mainly of structured questions with a few open-ended questions.

1.7.9 Secondary data

Secondary data was collected from libraries at the University of KwaZulu-Natal Pietermaritzburg and Howard campuses, South Africa. University of Ibadan, National Institute of International Affairs Lagos, ECOWAS headquarters and National Defence College, Abuja, executive summaries, memoranda available through open sources, reports of periodicals and information retrieved from U.S. Government Accountability Offices (GAO), AFRICOM posture statements, and Commander's intent and relevant literatures on various United States Agencies, including the US Congress. The internet served as an invaluable source of information for the study given the contemporary nature of this research.

1.7.10 Methods of data analysis

The methods of data analysis were multi-dimensional. An intrinsic case study method was applied to the analysis of AFRICOM. Bennet and Elman (2008:705) opine that case studies are usually employed to confirm the presumed causal processes that lie beneath larger studies. The basic rationale for using case study method is to investigate the attitudes of AFRICOM, its interactions and relationship with African Partners, and its level of responsiveness to its mandated objectives of security enhancement and conflict prevention in Africa.

The unstructured questions were appraised by coding system and the textual material of the data was evaluated and explained with the use of Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS). Strauss (1987: 29) defines coding as a process in which codes are given to parts of sentences, whole sentences or paragraphs. In this study, the goal of coding is not to count things, but to "fracture" the data and rearrange them into categories that facilitate comparison between things in the same category and that aid in the development of theoretical concepts" (Maxwell, 2005:96).

The questionnaires were grouped into categories and classes and later translated in numerical form for counting and additional statistical analysis with the use of SPSS version 18. Content analysis was applied to data collected from secondary sources. Hosti (1996:85) defines content analysis as any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics within a text. Numerical figures were assessed and statistically analyzed. Findings are represented in tables and charts.

1.8 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations have become a cornerstone for conducting effective and meaningful research. As such, the ethical behavior of individual researchers is under unprecedented scrutiny (Best and Kahn, 2006; Trimble and Fisher, 2006). In today's society, any concerns regarding ethical practices will negatively influence attitudes about science, and the abuses committed by a few are often the ones that receive widespread publicity (Mauthner, Birch, Jessop, and Miller, 2003).

The researcher meticulously followed the research ethics policy of University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN 2013). Respondents were informed of the purpose and procedures of the research study prior to the data collection commencing. A consent form was attached and signed by all respondents in the study areas before they engaged with the study. The following basic principles were strictly observed by the researcher:

- No pressure on individuals to participate
- Respect individual autonomy
- Avoid causing harm

- Maintain anonymity and confidentiality
- Take particular care in research with all the research groups.

1.9 Structure of dissertation

The study is organized into seven chapters.

➤ Chapter one: General introduction

This chapter provides the background to the study. It contains the statement of the problem, research questions, aim and objectives of the study, significance of the study, scope of the study and limitation. It also highlights the existing gap in the literature and explains the methodology.

➤ Chapter two: Literature review and theoretical framework

This chapter reviews relevant literature on AFRICOM, security and human security. It contains conceptual clarifications and explores the aim, objectives, modalities, processes, and implications of AFRICOM for Africa. It also defines and elaborates the study's theoretical framework.

➤ Chapter three: An overview of the causes and consequences of human insecurity in Africa.

This chapter analyses the Human Security situation in selected African countries, its evolution and dynamics and various initiatives by the African Union (A.U) and sub-regional bodies in mitigating the insecurity challenges in Africa.

➤ Chapter four: Human security challenges in the Sahel region and the Horn of Africa

This chapter examines human insecurity in selected African countries especially the countries in the Sahel region and Horn of Africa.

➤ Chapter five: U.S foreign policy in Africa and the emergence of AFRICOM

This chapter explores United States foreign policy toward Africa vis-à-vis the emergence of AFRICOM, its programs, activities and exercises in Africa

➤ Chapter six: Data presentation and analysis

This chapter contains the presentation and analyses of all the data collected through the interview processes and the questionnaires.

➤ Chapter seven: Conclusion, summary of findings and recommendations

This chapter contains the conclusion, findings and Policy recommendation on how to enhance the Human Security situation in the continent.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Historically, the concept of security has been most closely associated with national security and has its roots in the situation in Europe before, during and immediately after the thirty years war (1618-1648). Prior to this war, the dominant form of political organization in Europe was feudalism. Feudal society was based on a hierarchical structure of social relations. Two parallel hierarchies existed in Europe, the sacred and the temporal. The former consisted of the Pope at the apex with cardinals, archbishops, bishops and priests below him in descending order (Nnoli, 2006:2). This structure was referred to as sacred, clerical or ecclesiastical system. On the temporal side, the Holy Roman Emperor occupied the apex of the hierarchy followed, in descending order, by the monarch, the greater nobles, the lesser nobles, and the serfs. In between, were the artisans, craftsmen, merchants and slave. There was a complex system of interwoven relationships among the hierarchies.

This complexity in social relations contained seeds of conflicts, which erupted into war in 1618. In the course of the war a new situation emerged with the following features. The central army that had suppressed all local centers of power including the powers and authorities of the Holy Roman Emperor and Pope, the emergence of a central bureaucracy within a given territorial area, the institution of government, and population which transferred their loyalty to the new center of power, to which they now turned for their livelihood and solution of their most pressing and difficult challenges (Nnoli, 2006:8). This transference of loyalty led to the development of cohesion within the population. Over time, they became culturally, socially, economically and militarily impermeable to other groups and peoples. The treaty of Westphalia that ended the war in 1648 led to the emergence of modern state by ratifying the territorial units as the only actors in international relations. The Treaty provided that: (a) these states are sovereign. (b) Only states have the monopoly of the use of force. (c). States are equal in international law and relations. (d) States must have defined geographical territories with definite populations and functional

governments. The Westphalia system later evolved to contemporary international system with its projection of security from a state-centric view (Nnoli, 2006:19). The emergent nation-states were units of powers unfettered by any restrictions from within and outside their territories. Inter-state relations comprised a system of one power jockeying with another power. All aspects of international relations depended on how much power each state could muster. The safety of a state, its population and the integrity of its boundaries can only be guaranteed by this power. In this chapter, the study will review the extant literature on security, its origin, trend and evolutionary processes that engendered the emergence of human security paradigm, The chapter will also review the sequence of events that led to the creation of the United States African Command (USAFRICOM) for Africa.

2.1 State-centric Approach to Security

The traditional conceptualization of security equates security with the survival of the state and the promotion of its national interests. National interests are specifically measured in terms of power, classically defined by Hans Morgenthau (1948:25) as, “anything that establishes and maintains the control of man over minds and actions of others”. And the state is seen as a container of security, ensuring the security of the people within its borders. Security is narrowly defined within the purview of state-centrism as, “the study of the threat, use and control of military force (Walt, 1991:26). The realist paradigm retains hegemonic status in the academic and policy spheres, emphasizing the state as the referent object of security and the military as the primary threat and tool in its maintenance (Williams, 2006).

The realists constructed the state as a necessary unit for wellbeing and survival of any human group within the anarchical international environment. The international situations that shaped the realists’ world view were based on the assumptions that state possesses a will to survive and a will to power. States live in fear of losing their possessions to others and are tempted by opportunities of acquiring new possession as elucidated by Hobbes (1787) that all states were equally and constantly driven by fear that their survival, the most cherished of their state possessions might be threatened.

Therefore, security was premised on power calculus. Both the military and the diplomats played a critical role in the coalition building that guaranteed security while international trade acted as a barometer of peace, goodwill and mutually assured security between states. However, the end of the Cold War and the events of 11 September, 2001 have seen the traditional statist, militarist and zero sum approach to security receding in the minds of policy-makers and analysts. Strategic studies have been transformed into security studies, bipolarity has been replaced by unipolarity and there has been a fundamental decline in inter-state wars while intra-state conflicts have escalated to alarming proportions. There are also human induced climatic changes, growing incidents of terrorism and the spread of endemic diseases which have informed national policy and global nuances (Gaan, 2010:2). Furthermore, the growing paradigmatic shift in the nature of security imperatives faced by states has exposed the weakness of the realist world view in addressing contemporary security challenges (Gilbert, Uzodike and Isike, 2009:267).

Rahman (2005:5) traces the contemporary theoretical debate over the “security” question to the early 1980s, a period of heightened Cold War tensions. He posits that the origins of the movement to expand the definition and scope of security issues away from the predominantly military-strategic focus of the Cold War were to be found in Europe, the geographical heart of renewed superpower animosities and the centre of the most immediate nuclear dangers at that time. The end of the Cold War hastened the trend towards refashioning the agenda of international security analysis towards new and expanding emphases upon challenges to the well-being not only of the state, but also of individuals and communities at a sub-state level and, beyond the level of the state, of security at the regional and even global levels. The academic discipline of strategic studies began to give way to a corresponding growth in so-called “security studies,” either rationalized as a necessary expansion to the narrowness of (military) focus of traditional strategic studies or promoted as an entirely new sub-field within the study of International Relations.

2.2 Conceptual Clarification of Security

The concept of security has been much contested. Hence, there are a plethora of definitions of security, not least because the very nature of security defies the pursuit

of an agreed general definition. There are various typologies in security discourse. For example, job security, spiritual security, emotional security, social security, psychological security, among others. Each typology is actuated towards a particular threat. However, this study will be looking at security within the ambit of politics cum international relations. Many scholars have defined security in various ways depending on their intellectual predilections and ideological proclivities. This chapter will provide and examine some these definitions through a critical review of existing literature. Ken Booth in his work "Reflections of a Fallen Realist" succinctly states that "'Security' is what we make it. It is an epiphenomenon, inter-subjectively created (Booth, 1994:18). Different world views and discourses about politics deliver different views and discourses about security.

According to Liotta (2002:477) the word security is derived from *se* (without) + *cura* (care) - the quality or state of being secure or as a freedom from danger (freedom from fear or according to the most popular etymological interpretation, the term security derives from Latin *securus*, safe, secure, anxiety). In the classical sense security - from the Latin *Securitas*, refers to tranquillity and freedom of care, or what Cicero termed the absence of anxiety upon which the fulfilled life depends.

Two major approaches had dominated security thinking until 1980s. The realist approach which sees security as derivative of power and the idealist approach which argues that security is beyond the realist notions of armies, guns and war. The idealists see security as a consequence of peace. Stephen Walt (1991:212) sees security as, "the study of the threat, use and control of military force." Arnold Wolfers (1962:150) sees security from both objective and subjective senses. Objective sense of security measures the absence of threats to acquired values while subjective sense of security measures the absence of fear that such values will be attacked. For Hartland-Thunberg (1982:50) security is the ability of a nation to pursue successfully its national interests, as it sees them, any place in the world. Huysmans (2006:44) sees security as a political technology, which "interlocks system of knowledge, representations, practices, and institutional forms that imagine, direct and act upon bodies, spaces, and flows in certain ways". Post-structural scholarship argues that the political technology of security links sovereignty, discipline, and government under the bio-power of governmentality which seeks to

(re)order society, preserve power relations, and oppress or exclude oppositions (Burke, 2002:1-27; Bigo, 2002:63-92). For Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde (1998:23), “security is the move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics or as above politics.” Walter Lippman sees national security as the nation’s ability to secure her core values and if threatened, to defend these values by any possible means (cited in Wolfer, 1962:150). Trager and Simonia (1973:36) define national security as that part of governmental policy having as its objective the creation of national and international political conditions favourable to the protection or extension of vital national values against existing and potential adversaries. Micheal Louw in his introductory note to the Institute of Security Studies symposium (1978) defines national security as combination of traditional defence policy and the non-military actions of a state to ensure its total capacity to survive as a political entity in order to exert influence and to carry out its internal and international objectives. Damus (1977:13) views security from the socio-economic perspective and defines security as “the prevention of property damage, injury and loss of lives caused by military means as well as limitation of such damage, casualty and death in the event of war”. Mroz (1980:105) sees security as the relative freedom from harmful threats. Bellany (1981:102) defines security as relative freedom from war, coupled with relative high expectation that defeat will not be a consequence of any war that should occur. For Martins (1983:12), security is the assurance of future wellbeing. Giacomo Luciani (1989:151) posits that national security is the ability of a nation to withstand aggression from abroad. Canadian National Defence College defines national security as the preservation of a way of life acceptable to the people and compatible with the needs and legitimate aspirations of others. It includes freedom from military attack or coercion, freedom from internal subversion and freedom from the erosion of the political, economic and social values which are essential to the quality of life (Course documents, National Defence College.1989).

With few exceptions, the above definitions have some fundamental peculiarities. They are too narrow and statist in nature. They rely heavily on the use of the military both as a source and means of tackling threats. They are restricted to external threats without considering intra-state threats which are no less devastating than military

threats. Most of these definitions are Eurocentric and western oriented and therefore, do not consider the complex security problematic of nations beyond the western and northern hemispheres. The state is preferred as the primary referent object while negating other important actors that are worthy of consideration.

Maxi Schoeman (1998:722-3) criticized Walt in particular for 'de-historicizing' the international state system and assuming its inevitability, rather than admitting that it is a human construct and a product of specific era and context. On the other hand, Richard Ullman (1983) has argued that although it may be easier and politically expedient to focus on the salient, external, military issues, this may actually be counter-productive to overall security, as it ignores legitimate non-military threats and threats emerging from within the state. Ullman defined a threat to national security as, an action or sequence of events that threatens drastically over a relatively brief span of time to degrade the quality of life for the inhabitants of a state or threatens significantly to narrow the range of policy choices available to the government of a state or to private, non-government entities within the state (Ullman, 1983:133). Hedley Bull (1961:28) condemns excessive self-interest in approaches to national security, and argues for a broader view that encompasses common interests and national securities. Leonard Beaton raises the need to expand the conception of security beyond the limits of parochial national security to include a range of systemic considerations (Beaton, 1972). Mutimer (2006:49) contends that "the war-like notion of security excludes other important actors and level of analyses, including individuals and groups as well as other institutions". He observes that the modern move away from inter-state to intra-state conflict in particular, stresses the importance of individuals, groups and institutional analyses.

Al-Mashat observes that national security literature is statist and not society oriented. As such, it strengthens psychological dependence on the state and confronts social powers with a real challenge to their function and their very existence (Al Mashat, 1985:29). Society's sacrifices are perceived as obligatory, but the state's privileges are justified as necessary for survival. Nnoli furthers this argument by insisting that society was not subordinated to the state, it was absent altogether as a result of the automatic transposing of the Westphalia system to different cultural and historical contexts, which consequently neglected, for example, the specificities of Third

World states formation and the type of conflict and, therefore, security problems that are prevalent in the Third World inter-state or domestic conflict and insecurity (Nnoli, 2006:25). He argues that by emphasizing the security of the state, the Westphalia security doctrine does not take into account the possibilities of demand for security from elements within the state. By predicating security on the state it not only ignores these demands in favour of other elements but also legitimizes the state politically and morally, building an aura around it that reifies it and makes it look like a system divorced from the interests of the individuals and groups that compose it (Nnoli, 2006:26). Ayooob (1994:6) argues that the impetus for the statist conceptualization of security is a reflection of Westphalia trajectory of historical development and post 1945 European evolution.

Consequently, Krause and Williams, (1996:230) argue that the realist focus on military threats to the state emanating from outside of its borders is no longer sufficient as a means of determining what or who is being secured, what these threats look like and from where they originate. Critical school of security studies argues that in eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe, the state's claim that its security concerns were paramount relative to those of its population was plausible. The states in Europe then were, on the whole, capable of providing internal order and preserving external sovereignty at a cost by and large deemed acceptable by the societies they governed. However, numerous processes like globalization, drastic decline in interstate wars, religious extremism and state sponsored terrorism in the twenty and twenty-first centuries brought into question the state's capacity to sustain its side of the bargain. Ann Tickner (1995:179) argues that of approximately 127 "significant wars" which have occurred since 1945, all but two of them were within the so called Less Developed Countries (LDCs). Therefore, she accuses the realists of being ethnocentric in their conceptualizations, as they narrowly define security in terms of conflict between the great powers.

Ayooob (1995:6) argues that the application of the realist school's historically conditioned definition of security to the analysis of the Third World situations has created major intellectual and conceptual problems. He notes that the characteristics of western based security namely, its external orientation, its strong link with systemic security and its focus on major power, rivalries have been so thoroughly

diluted in the Third World that the explanatory power of the concept has been vastly reduced when applied to Third World contexts. Responding to the proportionately greater number of intrastate conflicts in the Third World as compared to the First World, Mohammed Ayooob stresses political-institutional underdevelopment as the predominant source of conflict. He, therefore, argues that national security is a function of state building, which requires that a state possesses more than simply "security hardware" (control of coercive force) but also "security software" (legitimacy and integration). Ayooob advances a different definition: security or insecurity is defined in relation to vulnerabilities, both internal and external, that threatens, or has the potential to, bring down or significantly weaken state structures, both territorial and institutional, and regimes (1997: 130). African scholars conceive security in broader terms to include the whole gamut of human needs. Hence, security for Africans connotes freedom from, or elimination of, threats not only to the physical existence of the state, but also to its ability for self-protection and development, and the enhancement of the general well-being of all the people (Akinyeye, 2001:40). Cilliers (2004:11) posits that security is time-bound and malleable. It implies protection against, or safety from, a future risk of severe deprivation, injury or death, and requires rules, order and impartial adjudication and application.

Expressing a similar view, Holsti and Holsti (1996:15) notes that inter-state security in many areas especially in Third World countries "has become increasingly dependent on security within those states." In the Third World, the security threats to the state apparatus are far more frequently internal than external, especially given that many decolonized nations were formed containing substantial linguistic, cultural, or ethnic minorities with few ties to the state. Many of the intrastate wars we have witnessed therefore concern questions of national liberation, unification or secession questions "of statehood and the nature of community within states." These "people's wars" often make no distinctions between soldiers and civilians, and thus result in extraordinarily high civilian death tolls. Moreover, because they are not conducted by states which have limited goals and a strong interest in self-perpetuation as an organized group, the "ordinary cost-benefit analyses that underlie

wars as a 'continuation of politics by other means' no longer apply” (Holsti and Holsti, 1996:26-7).

Ole Wæver (1989) opines that one can view security as that which is in language theory called a speech act. It is the utterance itself that is the act. By saying ‘security’ a state representative moves the peculiar case into a specific area: claiming a special right to use means necessary to block this development. Baldwin (1997:15) argues that security is gradational rather than dichotomous: you can have neither perfect security, nor perfect insecurity, only security by varying degree. For Caldwell and Williams Jr. (2006:1-2), security and insecurity also have objective and subjective aspects: things can at times appear more threatening to one’s security than they are in reality, and at times less, leading some to label them as “socially constructed” concepts. Security also involves, and in fact requires, a threat; and threats, in the traditional-security-sense, are made up of a combination of the capability and intent to do harm or enact violence (Baldwin 1997, 15; Caldwell and Williams, Jr., 2006, 9). Ken Booth (1991:22-3) argues that the best starting point for conceptualizing security lies in the real conditions of insecurity suffered by people and collectivities, while bearing in mind that some degree of insecurity, as a life determining condition, is universal. To the extent an individual or group is insecure, to that extent their life choices and chances are taken away. The corollary of the relationship between insecurity and a determined life is that a degree of security creates life possibilities. Security might therefore, be conceived as synonymous with opening up space in people’s lives. Booth posits that the pressures to broaden and update the concept of security arose from the fact that the threats to the wellbeing of individuals and the interests of nations across the world derive primarily not from a neighbor’s army but from other challenges, such as economic collapse, political oppression, scarcity, overpopulation, ethnic rivalry, the destruction of nature, terrorism, crime and disease. In most of the cases just mentioned, people are more threatened by the policies and inadequacies of their own government than by the Napoleonic ambitions of their neighbors.

Booth insists that if we treat security as the security of the state, then we are ignoring the insecurity of people who are under threat from the state. He calls for a reorientation from (neo-) realism to a critical approach in security studies. His reason

for this, which is the core critique of traditional security studies made by critical theorists, is that he sees the traditional security approach as being characterized by three elements which should be changed. These three elements are that traditional security has “emphasised military threats and the need for strong counters; it has been status quo oriented; and it has centred on states” (Booth, 1991:321) Thus, he emphasizes emancipation as one way to help loosen the grip of the neo-realist tradition.

Security’ means the absence of threats. Emancipation is the freedom of people (as individuals and groups) from those physical human constraints which stop them carrying out what they would freely choose to do. War and the threat of war is one of those constraints, together with poverty, poor education, and political oppression and so on. Security and emancipation are two sides of the same coin. Emancipation, not power or order, produces true security Emancipation, theoretically is security (Booth 1991:319).

Two interrelated conclusions follow Ken Booth’s postulation. First, security can be understood as an instrumental value: it frees its possessors to a greater or lesser extent from life-determining constraints and so allows different life possibilities to be explored. Second, security is beyond mere survival. One can survive without being secure. Security is survival-plus, the plus being the possibility to explore human becoming.⁴

Tarry (1999:8-9) succinctly criticizes Booth’s postulation of emancipation as freeing people from physical and human constraints which stop them from carrying out what they would freely choose to do on the ground that it is methodologically unsound. According to her, Booth’s definition lacks two fundamental criteria. (1) it does not provide a clear delineation of those cases which are included and those which are excluded from being a security concern, and (2) the categorization of a definition is

⁴Based on the foregoing, Booth (1991) argues that those entities called ‘states’ are obviously important features of world politics, but they are unreliable, illogical and too diverse in their character to use as the primary referent objects for comprehensive theory of security. He, therefore, proposes that individual humans are the ultimate referent. He further adds that “implicit in the preceding argument is the Kantian notion that we should treat people as ends and not means. States, however, should be treated as means and not ends”States can be utilized in enhancing security. Also the security of the state can contribute to the security of the individual. But the security of the state is only a means for the security of the individual. Thus state security per se is not valuable, but state security as a means for individual security is.

not mutually exclusive (there are some ambiguous cases that could fit in more than one category). Firstly, by locating security and insecurity at the individual level, Booth makes his definition so inclusive that its conceptualization prevents it from being analytically meaningful, as it seems to approach any individual problem as a threat and preferences of all people could not possibly be taken into account. Secondly, there are lots of inevitable situations when one person's freedom contradicting another's cannot be resolved without further increasing the insecurity of both parties. Sarah gives a powerful example of this situation within the context of Canada. Booth's definition would identify the federal government as the primary security threat for Québec sovereignists who would freely choose to separate from the federation. Since Booth characterizes states as being "means and not ends," he would consider the Canadian state to be a threat to the distinct Québécois identity. This emancipation of the sovereignists would, however, be in fierce opposition to Québec nationalists who would freely choose to have Québec remain within the federation. As both choices are equally legitimate among equal individuals, it is difficult to imagine how this contradiction could be resolved in such a manner as to not make all Canadians more insecure.

Buzan (1991:62) concurs that the threats emanating from state, whether direct or indirect, intended or unanticipated, are serious enough to dominate the relatively small and fragile universe of individual security. He acknowledges that it is paradoxical to see the state, which was created to secure individuals from each other, itself becoming a threat to individuals. However, he admits that the resultant image of day-day life leaves no doubt that the security of individual in any comprehensive sense is beyond reasonable possibility of attainment (1991:36). He insists that "whatever threats come from a state will be of a lower order of magnitude than those which would arise in its absence" (Buzan, 1991:37), because individuals are by their very nature creators of threats irrespective of their types and magnitude. He argues that the security of individuals, then, is inseparably entangled with that of the state, and there is no real option of going back. Moreover, it is easily forgotten that individuals often choose to place their lives at risk in pursuit of other values. Therefore, to find individuals dependent on the state for maintenance of their general security environment, while at the same time seeing the state as a significant source

of threats to their personal security should not be seen as unusual. After all, Hobbes enunciated that the great dilemma which lies at the root of much political philosophy is how to balance freedom of action for the individual against the potential and actual threats which such freedom poses for others. The state has no fear of certain death, can defend itself much more efficiently than individual, and can command enormous range of resources to its support irrespective of its lumbering, incoherent and generally brontosaurus-like behavior (Buzan,1991:20).

Heinrich Von Treitschke in effect supports Buzan's view when he forcefully argues that the state is "primordial and necessary", that it exists as "an independent force" and that "it does not ask primarily for opinion, but demands obedience"(Von Treitschke,1992:289-96). Von Treitschke's view is predicated on maximalist state extrapolation that the state requires independent standing above its citizens because of the essential role it plays in realization of individual interests. The minimalists have countered this view by positing that the state is the sum total of its parts and therefore, should be instrumental to their ends, supporting John Locke's (1690 cited in Buzan, 1991:23) argument that the great and chief end of men putting themselves under government is the preservation of their property which in the state of nature is very unsafe and very insecure due to the chaotic conditions that pervade existence and prevented individuals from the effective pursuit of their values.

Emma Rothschild (1995: 61) insightfully notes that security is thus "a condition both of individuals and of states" and "a condition or an objective that constituted a relationship between individuals and states". Aiyede (2010) posits that without secure and stable countries and a body of law whereby countries can regulate their interaction, individual, community, regional and international security remains elusive. Reynolds (1980:47) explicitly challenges this maximalist view by insisting that individual values are and should be the prime referent by which the state's behavior is judged. This view supports the notion of a social contract as elucidated by Thomas Hobbes (Hobbes quoted in Buzan,1991:38) that "people founded the state in order to defend themselves from the invasion of foreigners and the injuries of one another, and thereby to secure them in such sort as that by their own industry, and by the fruit of the earth, they may nourish themselves and live contentedly."

Buzan (1991:3) states that the concept of security is, in itself, more versatile and penetrating. He argues that the understanding of power as the route to security was inherently self-defeating. He posits that security is an “essentially contested concept” which necessarily generates unsolvable debates about its meaning and application because it contains an ideological element that renders empirical evidence irrelevant as a means of resolving the dispute (Buzan, 1991:2-7). Buzan proposes the integration of his five sectors or dimensions of security and the interdependent levels of analysis as a better way of understanding the concept. He views a sector as a means of identifying specific types of interaction (Buzan, Waever and Wilde, 1998:7). Buzan’s five sectors comprise military security, political security, economic security, societal security and environmental security (1991:19-20). His levels of analysis include the individual, national and international (both regional and system-wide) security. Thus, Buzan sees security principally as survival and the state’s ability to maintain functional integrity and sovereignty against perceived hostile force. In his seminal book, “People, States and Fear” Buzan argues that the security of human collectivities is affected by factors in five major sectors: Military, political, economic, societal and environmental securities.

Generally speaking, military security concerns the two-level interplay of the armed offensive and defensive capabilities of states, and states’ perceptions of each other’s intentions. Political security concerns the organizational stability of states, systems of government and the ideologies that give them legitimacy. Economic security concerns access to the resources, finance and markets necessary to sustain acceptable levels of welfare and state power. Societal security concerns the sustainability, within acceptable conditions of evolution, traditional patterns of language, culture and religious and national identity and custom. Environmental security concerns the maintenance of the local and the planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other human enterprises depend. These five sectors do not operate in isolation from each other. Each defines a focal point within the security problematic, and a way of ordering priorities, but all are woven together in a strong web of linkages (Buzan, 1991: 19 – 20).

The above analysis were modified in Buzan's subsequent work (see Waever et al.1993:24-27) to move away from its implicit and sometimes explicit placement of the state as the sole referent of security in the five sector. If a multi-sectorial approach to security is desirable, types of threats and what is at risk should invariably determine the referent object of security. Buzan, Waever and Wilde (1998:5) argue that analysis means objects that are defined by a range of spatial scales, from small to large while levels are locations where both outcomes and sources of explanation can be located.

2.3 Individual security

The security of individuals and sub-state communities such as tribal, ethnic and religious groups is coterminous with the idea of human security. Individuals and sub-state groups are component parts of the state and therefore, their security is directly proportional to the quality of their relationships with the state. These intricate webs of relationships could be positive, neutral or negative. However, the state can enhance the security of individuals and group collectivities through the instrument of institutional mechanism (rule-making, adjudication and implementation). Here, it should be noted that there exists a conflict between individual and the state as earlier elucidated by Buzan. The greater the extent to which freedoms must be foregone, the more powerful the state grows internally and the more likely it is that, paradoxically, the state will become a source of threat to individuals and other groups within the state. Consequently, Buzan adopted national and international security as the main focus of analysis because of state sovereignty and systemic level of analysis.

2.4 National security

The state, which may be defined as a territorial unit with definite population that is politically sovereign, is the second level of analysis. Different governments have used the label "national security", and the concomitant term "national interest", to justify their actions and to promote the desirability of their preferred policies. National security was traditionally equated with external defence of a nation's territory although not exclusively. In realist-state centric thinking, national security and national interest are so imperative for state survival that individual rights and privileges can be violated with impunity in pursuance of them. At this juncture, it is

worth noting that in the face of contemporary challenges and post 9/11 environment, a great many threats have been nationalized.

Arnold Wolfers, in his seminal article first published in 1952, describes “national security” as an “ambiguous symbol” which can be meaningless and deceptive especially if applied as a policy label. He defines national security as the “absence of threats to acquired values”, Wolfers notes that there is inherent danger of misconception when the term is used without specifications (Wolfers, 1962:147-50). Baldwin (1997:12-18) made a remarkable contribution to the concept by reformulating Wolfers’ definition to “a low probability of damage to acquired values”. In adherence to Wolfers’ recommendation, he sets out two major specifications and five minor ones. They are as follows: “Security for whom? Security for which values? How much security? From what threats? By what means? At what cost? And in what time period”? Baldwin acknowledges that all these specifications need not necessarily apply in every analysis nonetheless; the means, costs, and time period must be clearly specified so that policy alternatives can be comparatively analyzed in a systemic way. The sum of Baldwin’s argument is that the provision of the values of national security involves some opportunity costs as well as problems of diminishing returns.

2.5 International security

This concept underpins the primary responsibilities of states as containers and providers of security to their respective populations. These roles privilege states as the major actors in the international system. International system consists of relationships among state actors. These complex webs of relationships influence the behavior of states in diverse ways. International organizations also play various roles which differ according to time, circumstances and given mandates. The efficacy of international organizations is dependent on cooperation between its component parts (state actors). The defining characteristic of international system is anarchy (the absence of any central governing body as opposed to total chaos). These organizations moderate relationships among and between states through charters, treaties, multilateral and bilateral agreements; deviants are threatened with the use of force (military), sanction or boycott. The state is the leading object of analysis in this system because it is central to systemically generated threats to acquired values.

Nwolise (1985) introduces ten additional approaches to security, complementing Buzan's five sectorial approaches. These approaches include physical, psychological, spiritual, technological, national image, territorial, legal, treasury, people's power and global security.

Booth in his later work opines that new thinking about security is not simply a matter of "broadening" the subject matter (widening the agenda of issues beyond the merely military). It is possible to expand international security studies' both vertically and horizontally, and still remain within an asserted neo-realist framework and approach. Although it also broadens the agenda vertically and horizontally, critical security studies are fundamentally different because the agenda derives from a radically different political philosophy, theory, and methodology. He canvasses for critical security studies that develop from what he calls "global moral science" rather than traditional security theory that derives from the "dismal science" of international relations. He argues that social and political science cannot be separated from life but are inseparable from social and political criticism/replication and social and political practice; he believes that theory is constitutive rather than explanatory; and as such, there should be a linkage between theory and historical/social/political context. Security studies should be more concerned with the search for meaning than the endless accumulation of knowledge (Booth, 1994:13). Gaan (2010:1) argues that the peremptory nature of traditional security which has made policy makers impervious of global patterns of insecurity needs to be broadened. Hence, he advocates for the incorporation of insights from the Copenhagen and Welsh schools that will provide grist to rethinking state responses to the threats emanating from diverse sources.

Steven Smith (2005:57) argues that the broadening and deepening of the concept of security is very imperative, considering the fact that humanity has been plagued by deepening crises which were not defined in the Westphalia thematic some centuries ago. Craig Snyder (2008:38) contends that while states are the principal actors in the international system, due primarily to their command over the overwhelming bulk of military power, non-state actors such as terrorists, separatists or national liberation movements are also included.

The increasing pressure to broaden the concept and the inability of the dominant state-centric paradigm to adequately address contemporary security problematic has resulted in the evolution of alternative postulations. This rethinking and re-conceptualization of security was shaped by four major contributors, namely, the commission on Global Governance and its conception of “common security”, Academic Peace Research and their proposal regarding “stable peace”, Third World Security Approaches and Post-Cold War Revival in Security Thinking. The idea of common security was initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev, the last president of the defunct Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), towards the end of the Cold War. Common security is premised on the notion that security must be sought and maintained not against one’s enemies but with them. This approach posits that states, in searching for security, end up making themselves more insecure by enhancing their military power, which in turn causes others to feel insecure and increase their military power in response (Herz, 1950; Wheeler and Booth, 1992 cited in Bilgin, 2003:204). Common security seeks to mitigate the security dilemma by organizing policies concerning security in coordination with others to maximize mutual as opposed to unilateral security (Bilgin, 2003:204). The concept of common security was later popularized by the Palme Commission in 1982. The Commission’s emphasis was on global security that is nonmilitary, nonzero sum and nonviolent in approach. Olaf Palme, in his introduction to the report of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues titled “Common Security: A Programme for Disarmament”, wrote:

Our alternative is common security. There can be no hope of victory in a nuclear war; the two sides would be united in suffering and destruction. They can survive only together. They must achieve security not against the adversary but with him. International security must rest on a commitment to joint survival rather than on a threat of mutual destruction (1982:ix).

By putting common security into practice, Gorbachev changed the Soviet approach to arms control, accepting sufficiency rather than seeking parity with the United States (Allison 1991 cited in Bilgin, 2003:204). Accordingly, the Soviet Union was able to make unilateral concessions to reduce their arms, which in turn took away the West’s threat and paved the way for the end of the Cold War. The notion of a

nonmilitary approach to security was further expanded by the students of Peace Research and their proposal regarding “Stable Peace”. They laid the intellectual foundation for an alternative paradigm, through massive production of studies that focused on individuals and groups as referents of security. Notable among these, are Garrison and Phipps (1989), Dunn (1991), and Rabinowitch (1997). However, Johan Galtung and Kenneth Boulding criticize the notions of individuals and groups as the referent objects of security.

Galtung (1969) argues that peace does not just mean the absence of war; it is also related to the establishment of conditions for social justice. In making this point, Galtung distinguishes between personal and structural violence. The latter is defined as those socio-economic institutions and relations that oppress human beings by preventing them from realizing their potential. Violence, for Galtung (quoted in Bilgin, 2003:205), is all those “avoidable insults to basic human needs, and more generally to life, lowering the real level of needs satisfaction below what is potentially possible.” Moreover, he defines cultural violence as those mechanisms that render acceptable both direct violence (as in killing, repression, and delocalization) and structural violence (as in exploitation, penetration, and marginalization). Thus, Galtung turns both the use of violence and the ways in which violence is legitimized by the society into a subject of study. By adopting a broader definition of violence and an approach that focuses on human needs, he and other students of peace research shift the focus away from the state and the military dimension of security to individuals and social groups and their needs (Bilgin, 2003:205). Galtung posits that security can only be achievable when the structural causes of insecurity of individuals and social groups as well as states are tackled. He categorizes peace into two types, namely, positive peace and negative peace. He defines positive peace as the absence of both direct (physical) violence and indirect (structural and cultural) violence, while negative peace means the mere absence of armed conflict (Galtung, 1996:32).

Other notable contributors to Academic Peace Research are Kenneth Boulding with his conceptualization of stable peace (1978), and Kaldor (1997) who emphasizes the increasing inappropriateness of traditional security, given the security concerns of individuals and social groups. These concerns are equally expressed by the Third

World Security School. Scholars like Caroline Thomas (1987), Thomas and Saravanamutu (1989), Sayigh (1990), Ayoob (1995, 1997) and Nnoli (2006) share the view that dominant state-centric security paradigm is both western and status quo oriented. The Third World Approach argues that security conceptualization should be holistic, comprising economic, political and environmental issues. Third World security approach criticizes the realist approach on the grounds that it is biased, lopsided and skewed. It does not take into consideration the specificities of Third World Countries (Bilgin, 2003:206). Wilkin (1999:28) argues that the appropriation of the traditional security paradigm by Africans has produced negative consequences. Thus, rather than providing security for their citizens, states are frequently the instruments that destroy the security of their populations. Alberth and Carlsson (2009:2) argue that the essence of security is the furtherance of peace which upholds human well-being.

Subsequently, the post-Cold War era has seen the emergence of revivalist scholars that are critical of established ways of thinking about security. These scholars are encapsulated under various schools of thought, notably, the Copenhagen, Welsch and Frankfurt schools of thought. These academics argue that an interstate framework is no longer the locus of the security problems faced by many actors around the world. Baldwin(1995), Tickner(1995), Buzan(1991), Sorensen(1996), Bilgin, Booth, and, Jone(1998), Buzan, Waeber, and Wilde (1998), Krause and Williams (1998) were notable among them. The post-Cold War security revivalists argue that the growing disparities in economic opportunities both within and between states, the disastrous effects of globalization on Third World countries, diminishing non-renewable resources that have endangered families and communities, the proliferation of intrastate conflicts and the increasing waves of trans-border crime, illicit drugs and terrorism have provided the impetus for an alternative approach.

Colliers (2004:38) observes that “without the provision of national security, neither citizens nor communities can be personally secure in the broader sense of the term.” According to Richard Falk, while the new threats to security which defy boundaries cannot be solved by one state alone, the uneven development fostered by a hierarchical international system of states and a global capitalist economy has contributed to an intolerable situation. The security of the rich seems to be

increasingly diminishing the insecurity of the poor (cited in Wolf, 1997:18). However, Hoogensen (2005:125) argues that national security does not necessarily mean security of people in their everyday lives. “Secure state does not always mean secure people”. The Commission on Human Security concur with this view when they argue that:

The state remains the fundamental purveyor of security. Yet it often fails to fulfil its security obligations. . . . That is why attention must now shift from the security of the state to the security of the people—to human security” (C.H.S, 2003:1).

2.6 A paradigm shift: the emergence of Human Security discourse

Re-conceptualization of security has become necessary because of gradual but fundamental and long-term changes in the international system. Some of the prime factors which have necessitated new thinking on the concept and scope of security studies are the demise of the Cold War which has led to a globally interdependent world; change in nature of warfare as now there is struggle for techno –economic, political and cultural space rather than pure conventional military means; states are more than ever dependent on International society and institutions. Against the backdrop of all these factors, the late 20th century has seen a rise to prominence of non-traditional security (NTS) concerns, in particular, human security. The genealogy of the idea can be related to if not traced back to the growing dissatisfaction with prevailing notions of development and security in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Economics undoubtedly led the way with its critiques of the dominant models of economic development beginning in the 1960s. Kanti Bajpai (2000:16) argues that the most important forerunners of the idea of NTS/ human security were the reports of a series of multinational independent commissions composed of prominent leaders, intellectuals and academicians.

Beginning in the 1970s the Club of Rome group produced a series of volumes on the “world problematique” which were premised on the idea that there are complexities of problems troubling people of all nations: poverty, degradation of the environment, alienation of youth, rejection of traditional values, and inflation and other monetary

and economic disruptions. These challenges give credence to the concept of human security. The term ‘Human Security’ was originally accepted and officially used by UNDP in its 1994 report, in which global human security problems were categorized into seven, namely: economic security, environmental security, personal security, community security, food security, health security and political security (Suhrke, 1999, Fourie and Schonteich, 2001, Thomas and Tow, 2002, UNDP, 1994 cited in Gilbert, Uzodike and Isike, 2009:267). Human security represents a shift away from the kind of thinking that sees ‘security’ purely in terms of territorial security or the protection of national interest from internal and external aggression. It concerns itself with the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who seek security in their everyday lives. In essence, the concept of human security is woven around issues of human emancipation (Booth 1991: 539), social justice (Peterson 1992) and human dignity and the environment, if they have political outcomes (Ayoob 1995). Human security identifies the security of human lives as the central objective of national and international security policy. It contrasts with, and grew out of increasing dissatisfaction with the state-centred concept of security as an adequate conceptual framework for understanding human vulnerabilities in the contemporary world, and military interventions as adequate responses to them (Fukuda-Parr and Messineo, 2012:21).

The concept of human security emphasizes the protection of individuals. It takes as its objectives peace, international stability and protection for individuals and communities. It comprises everything that is ‘empowering’ for individuals: human rights, including economic social and cultural rights, access to education and health care, equal opportunities and good governance (UNESCO, 2008:3).

The UNDP Human Development Report considers that the emerging concerns of human security are job security, income security, health security, environmental security, and security from crime. The Report adds that people’s feelings of insecurity arise more from worries about daily life than from the dread of some cataclysmic world event. Thus, UNDP defines human security as safety from the constant threats of hunger, disease, crime and repression. It also means protection from sudden and hurtful disruption in the pattern of our daily lives—whether in our

homes, in our jobs, in our communities or in our environment (UNDP, 1994:39). Hence, UNDP equates human security with the holistic security policies that ensure the integration of pragmatic strategies for the promotion of human rights, human dignity, and women empowerment, enhancement of the well-being of children, democratic governance and development (UNDP, 1994 cited in Gilbert, Uzodike and Isike 2009:267).

Kaldor (2007:10) sees the vulnerability of human beings as pervasive, and threatened by new wars that are intertwined with other global threats like disease, natural disasters, poverty and homelessness. He argues that the dominant state-centric approach does not reduce that insecurity; rather the approach makes it worse. Similarly, Mack (2004:47-53) rails against realism's failure to recognize the state as a possible internal aggressor, as well as its inherent analytic inability to explain the 95% of all warfare that is now within, rather than between, states. Mahbub ul-Haq (1995:115) proposes human security as a new paradigm of security: the world is entering a new era in which the very concept of security will change- and change dramatically. Security will be interpreted as security of people, not just territory, security of individuals, not just nations, security through development, not through arms, security of all the people everywhere- in their homes, in their jobs, in their streets, in their communities, and in their environment (UNDP,1994 cited in Gilbert, Uzodike and Isike, 2009:267).

In essence, human security means safety for people from both violent and non-violent threats. It is a condition or state of being characterized by freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, their safety, or even their lives. From a foreign policy perspective, human security is perhaps best understood as a shift in perspective or orientation. It is an alternative way of seeing the world, taking people as its point of reference, rather than focusing exclusively on the security of territory or governments (C.H.S, 2003:40).

For Anara Tabyshalieva (2006:13) the very utility of the idea of human security lies in the fact that, in contrast to earlier state-centred concepts of security that mainly connote military power, human security opts for "a more inclusive and multifaceted notion of security based on the individual". According to Kaldor (2007:185-190) the concept of human security is anchored on five pillars: primacy of human rights,

legitimate political authority, multilateralism, a bottom up approach with a regional focus.

Kaul (1995:313 - 319), in equating human security with the security of individuals rather than just the security of nations or territory, underscores the primacy of human security in contemporary times thus: “What is needed today is not so much territorial security – the security of the state – but human security, the security of the people in their everyday lives, one that is reflected in the lives of our people, not in the weapons of our country.” Vulnerabilities springing from non – traditional sources are a greater threat to human existence and global peace and security than inter – state war and aggression. For example, poverty, disease, famine and state oppression of citizens have combined to produce 17 million refugees, 20 million internally displaced persons, and massive migrations of people within and beyond national borders (Boutros – Ghali 1992). It is this consideration that led Campbell (2002:8) to argue that human security is a theory that:

retreats from the concept of might, one that validate all citizens, men and women, Africans, Asians, Indians, and all peoples. This new theory informs a foreign policy that is based on demilitarization of the planet, reversing environmental degradation and ending crimes against humanity.

Rothschild (1995:55) posits that the human security concept expands the scope of analysis and policy in multiple directions. He argues that the concept extends downwards “to the security of groups and individuals”; horizontally, from military security to political, economic, social, environmental, or “human security”, and in all directions “upwards to international institutions, downwards to regional or local government, sideways to nongovernmental organizations, to public opinion and the press and to the abstract forces of nature or of the market”. In similar vein, Kofi Annan, the former secretary general of the United Nations posits 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 opportunity and choices to fulfill his or her potential (Annan, 2005a). 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 freedom of future generation to inherit a healthy natural environment – these are the inter-related building blocks for human and therefore national security. According to Frederick Mutesa and Wilma Nchito, “the many faces of human security”, equate security with people rather than territories, with development rather than arms; it is bound up with social stability and economic opportunity. As well as involving safety from such threats as hunger, disease and oppression, it means absence of sudden, unpredictable disruptions in day to day life (OSAA, 2005: np).

Hence, Robert McNamara not only appreciates the strategic imperativeness of a nation’s military capabilities but also insists that development is necessary for effective security. He emphasizes that ignorance on the part of leaders makes this fact problematic.

The fact is that we do not always grasp the meaning of security in this context. In a modernizing society, security means development. Security is not military hardware, though it may include it, security is not military force, though it may involve it, security is not traditional military activities, though it may encompass it, security is development, and without development there can be no security. A developing nation that does not in fact develop simply cannot remain secure for the intractable reason that its own citizenry cannot shed its human nature ... that is what we do not understand, and what governments of modernizing nations do not always understand (McNamara, 1968:9).

He goes further to warn that any society that seeks to achieve adequate military security against the background of acute food shortage, population explosion, low level of productivity, and per capita income, low technological development, inadequate and inefficient public utilities, and chronic problem of unemployment, has false sense of security. McNamara (1968:10). With the rise of political protest against the uneven distribution of the benefits of globalization, James Wolfensohn, then President of the World Bank noted in 2000 that: “when we think about security, we need to think beyond battalions and borders. We need to think about human security, about winning a different war, the fight against poverty” (cited in Thomas 2000:5). Similarly, Michel Camdessus, then President of IMF, remarked in 2000 that “Poverty is the ultimate threat facing humanity. The gap between rich and poor

nations is potentially socially explosive....if the poor are left hopeless, poverty will undermine societies through confrontation, violence and civil disorder” (quoted in Thomas, 2000:3). Scholars such as Bajpai (2000), Thakur (2000), Leaning (2000), Axworthy (2001), Hampson (2002), and Alkire (2003) all suggest that the conceptualization of human security should be broadened to accommodate a wider range of issues (such as poverty, disease, and environmental disasters). They each counter the narrow perspective of state-centric security not only by citing the substantive importance of human vulnerabilities, but also by arguing that in shifting the referent of security, these issues necessarily fall under the human security umbrella. To them, the subsequent analytic and normative difficulties are unfortunate but unavoidable consequences of broadening the security paradigm beyond threats to the state. For example, Leaning and Alkire widen the definition to include the social, psychological, political, economic aspects of vulnerability, and all critical and pervasive threats to the vital core “consistent with long term flourishing” (quoted in Owen, 2004:378).

By contrast, Krause (2000) and Mark (2004) argue for a narrower focus. Krause cites pragmatism, conceptual clarity, and analytic rigor as reasons to focus human security on violent threats. Krause (2000) labels the broad conception a potential laundry list of “bad things that can happen” and points to the perils of including the lowest common denominator of individual vulnerability and well-being under the rubric of security. For example, he points out that securitizing education can have few benefits. Mark (2004:27) stresses that “any definition that conflates dependent and independent variables renders causal analysis virtually impossible”. MacFarlane believes that the merit of any definition should be judged on its “value added” conceptual and policy consequences, and that because of this, analytic clarity and significant normative results are on the side of the narrow focus (cited in Owen, 2004:379-80). Hubert points out that although the debate may at first appear polarized (narrow vs. broad), there is in fact significant convergence among proponents. Proponents are not debating the merits of various threats, but of attributing the appropriate policy responses.

Against the backdrop of this debate, this study adopts a hybrid definition of human security as derived from the Commission on Human Security (2002) and expanded

by Owen (2004:383-4). “Human security is the protection of the vital core of all human lives from critical and pervasive environmental, economic, food, and health, personal and political threats.”

Wanzala (1996:85) emphasizes the developmental component of security cum human security by arguing that “if the conventional notion of security focuses mainly on military might to ward off aggression or contain adversarial states, human security relies on enhancing peoples’ capability to adequately improve their lives. Duffield (2001:16) supports this view when he posits that: “development is ultimately impossible without stability and, at the same time, security is not sustainable without development”. He argues that there is a mutually binding and reinforcing relationship between security and development. Abutudu (2003:107) affirms the security-development nexus by stating that the human security recognition of the qualitative improvement to lives is a strong developmental component.

The conceptual consequence described above means that it is difficult to separate new security regimes from development and humanitarian activities and vice versa. This study therefore, will conceptualize human security as freedom from want and freedom from fear. Human security as freedom from want describes a condition of existence in which basic material needs are met, and in which there is a reasonable expectation that protection will be afforded during any crisis or downturn, natural or man-made, so that survival is not threatened. Human security as freedom from fear describes a condition of existence in which human dignity is realized, embracing not only physical safety but going beyond that to include meaningful participation in the life of the community, control over one’s life and so forth (Thomas, 2007:108-109). The very purpose of human security is to reevaluate current security theory and policy – to rally the world’s thinkers, leaders, and resources to the issues actually affecting people, rather than to those the military establishment deems important. Proponents are mistaken if they believe this will be accomplished with a vaguely defined, amorphous concept. Advocates of the narrow conceptualization are aware of this reality and think we should cut our losses and focus on one’s harm, violence. This will, however, do little to protect the millions who will die this year alone from nonviolent preventable human security threats.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, several authors address human security as a framework in which to re-evaluate our understanding and norms of sovereignty. Newman points out that human security reverses our common understanding of how to link the citizen to the state. Traditional security sees state legitimacy looking outward to the international system for power, recognition, and independence. Human security forces the state to look inward to the “people from where it draws its legitimacy”. Evans cites the prominence of human security in Asian regional institutions not only as a sign of its vitality, but also as a litmus test for the international climate in which sovereignty might be readdressed.

There are four important distinctions between a deep conceptualization of security and the traditional view; (1) the referent object shifts from the state to individual (2) there is recognition that the state can be the source of threats to individuals (3) there is an ontological shift that frames security as a human condition and (4) there is a linkage between security and development. These four factors all have unique consequences for individual human beings

2.7 The complexity of Africa’s security

Nnoli (2006:227) enunciates that the application of the new security conceptualization to Africa reveals the extent and intensity of the deterioration of individual security. The growing misery on the continent has endangered overwhelming numbers of Africans and many African states are under high pressure to satisfy the conflicting demands from both external and internal environments. State security in Africa has been narrowly translated as regime security or the personal security of the ruler who often identified himself as personifying the state. Critics and oppositions to domestic and public policies are threats to national security. The result, more often than not, was institutionalized repression of whole regions, groups and peoples (Salih, 1999:127; Abutudu, 2001). According to Ukeje (2005:10), the security problems facing contemporary Africa deserve more rigorous and comprehensive attention. First, Africa has become a major flashpoint of bloody civil wars and several other low-intensity conflicts, particularly since the end of the Cold War when the safety valves that the superpowers made available to prevent conflicts were promptly removed. Although many of these conflicts and civil wars were occurring within states, their “primary locale...is to be found where there is a

combination of entrenched poverty, an excessive dependence on natural resource exports, and poor economic governance and state weakness” (Clover, 2004: 8-9). It is very difficult to distinguish between different types of conflicts as they are usually matched by criminal impunity and large-scale violation of human rights, as well as by complex humanitarian emergencies: massive internal displacements and refugee flows, collapse of sources of livelihood and municipal facilities, the spread of communicable and life-threatening diseases, the proliferation and widespread use of small arms and light weapons, and so on.

These new conflicts are driven by a variety of factors, not least a militaristic ideology that incubates a frightful regime of terror and insecurity (Boyd and Choo, 2005: 117; Abdullah, 2004). Second, the collateral in terms of human, social and infrastructural capital losses are enormous. One study indicates that “armed conflict is surely one reason why at least 250 million people in Sub-Saharan Africa- nearly half of the population- are living below the poverty lines since the mid-1990s” (Colletta, Kostner and Wiederhofer , 1996: ix). A third point has to do with the legitimate fear that identity and resource-induced conflicts could undermine and consume whatever modest progresses may have been achieved on the continent. Again, these complex security concerns are happening at a most inauspicious moment when national security infrastructures have themselves been weakened, when more renegade groups are springing up, gaining access to dangerous weapons and challenging state authority, when new African wars are assuming a vicious pattern of impunity, plunder and profiteering, and finally, against the backdrop of what Herbst and Mills called the growing “diseconomies of scale” feeding directly into security problems for larger countries which have greater trouble policing their territories (Herbst and Mills, 2003: 24-25).

Many African governments lack the capacity to equitably distribute the limited resources within their disposal for the wellbeing of their citizens and hence their security. This lack of political will on the part of most African governments to provide effective political leadership, manage social conflict and allocate resources equitably for the common good of their people has engendered multifaceted challenges of inter-ethnic conflicts, regional instability, and violent extremism which have greatly undermined many African states. The challenges of porous borders,

weak judicial and law enforcement institutions and poorly managed economies also contribute to the vulnerability of Africans to threats from both traditional and non-traditional realms of security (Isike, Uzodike and Gilbert:2009). These are compounded by natural disasters like drought, poor planning and prioritization of programs, corruption and mismanagement (Goucha and Cilliers: 2001).

2.8 The evolution of U.S policy toward Africa

The changed global environment since the end of the cold war coupled with the aftermath of 9/11 terrorist attacks on U.S. homeland security, have witnessed the emergence of new forms of securitization characterized by the proliferation of private military forces and private security companies offering military and police services that were previously under the jurisdiction of the state. Various factors account for these perennial outbreaks of disorder, and these factors have exacerbated insecurity within African continent. The remote causes include the colonial heritage of authoritarian governance and artificial boundaries, cold-war rivalries by super-power actors and competition among elites for scarce state resources. Other factors are support for internal conflicts by outside actors, corruption, and government policy and resource misallocations (OSAA: 2005).

Africa as a whole has been identified by the U.S. government in particular and the Western world in general, as a breeding ground and incubation site for international terrorism. This Eurocentric reflexive belief is rooted in the assumption that international terrorism thrives amidst poverty and underdevelopment, which are prevalent in Africa (Keller, 2013:1). Gordon Brown, former British Prime Minister sums up this worldview as follows. “We understand that it is not just morally and ethically right that developing countries move from poverty to prosperity, but that it is a political imperative-central to our long-term national security and peace-to tackle the poverty that leads to civil wars, failed states and safe havens for terrorists” (Quoted in Christian Aid, 2004:2). Hence, Africa has been recognized as a region of both strategic and humanitarian interest. The continent of Africa has never featured prominently in the US foreign policy radar. During the Cold War era, US national interest was predicated on fighting and containing communism wherever it might appear. In aggressive pursuit of this objective, a consistent axiom of US foreign policy has been “no permanent friends or enemies, only permanent interests”. US

policy toward Africa is driven by US interests irrespective of the consequences for Africans. Iyoob and Keller (2006) note that Ethiopia was the only African country where the US was significantly present at the onset of the Cold War. However, the US presence became more visible in Africa at the height of super- power rivalries in US efforts to counter Soviet influence.

This policy of ‘selective engagement’ with African governments where US national interests were the primary imperative was followed until the demise of the Cold War. The end of (US versus Soviet) ideological animosity has seen the US resorting to a policy of ‘disengagement’ in the interim and continued ‘selective engagement’ as typified by the doctrine of global war on terror (GWOT). However, it would be misleading to assert that the shift in US policy towards Africa was due to the end of Cold War and response to the events of 9/11. The National Security Strategy of the United States for fiscal year 1992 represented a watershed in US policy on African security issues. The preamble stressed US anxiety about:

the turmoil and dangers in the developing world...[which] remains a dangerous place-a place of ethnic antagonisms, national rivalries, religious tensions, spreading weaponry, personal ambitions and lingering authoritarianism (US Government,1991:v).

Consequently, President Bush Snr issued a presidential policy directive for the comprehensive review of US policy toward Africa in more than a decade. It created a roadmap for renewed US interest in Africa, taking cognizance of the post-Cold War security architecture and the attendant changes. This de-classified document became known as the “National Security Review 30: American Policy toward Africa in the 1990s” (NSR 30). Among other items, this document articulated that the post-Cold War developments in Africa had simultaneously provided significant opportunities for, and obstacles to, US interests (Aning, 2001:45).

The document acknowledges the fundamental roles of both regional and sub-regional organizations in Africa and therefore, seeks for its optimal utilization in the achievement of US foreign policy objectives. Five major areas of interests are highlighted. These include (a) the need to access selected African air and naval facilities, air space and sea lanes (b) the effort to downsize African militaries (c) the need to retain significant US military presence in Africa (d) the need to subordinate

African military to civilian control through democratic norms and finally (e) to enhance the capacity of African military in peace keeping operations and conflict resolution. Despite this rhetoric, President Bush Snr administration maintained a policy of constructive ‘disengagement’ with Africa on the assumption that African crises were costly in both political and financial terms. This minimalist strategy manifested in the lack of US response to the Liberian crisis, a close African ally with strong historical links (see Ellis, 1999; Reno, 1998:79-113 cited in Aning, 2001:45).

However, an increase in US engagement with Africa started under President Bill Clinton. President Clinton during his 1991 campaign suggested that his administration would end the paralysis that had characterized US-Africa relations. In December 1991, he presented his conception of international events as a presidential aspirant. He perceived a world where:

[a] new set of threats in an even less stable world will force us ...to keep our guard up ...to protect our interests and values. To do that, [w]e ...must maintain military forces strong enough to deter, and when necessary to defeat any threat to our essential interests (Clinton, 1992:26-27).

Clinton stressed four major foreign policy issues that presumably mark a departure from the policy of his predecessor. These include the adoption of the principle of multilateralism as against unilateralism, insistence on global democracy, tackling the challenges of separatism and ethnic rivalries which are widespread in Africa, and the creation of a small lightly armed, and highly efficient, mobile rapid response force that could intervene at short notice in Africa (Volman, 1993:24). He made enormous efforts to integrate Africa more fully into the global economy through trade and investment (Keller, 2006). Clinton’s government devoted considerable amounts of time and energy to forming strategic partnerships with African countries which of course, relates to human security concerns. Clinton’s effort subsequently formed the basis for African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI). President Clinton’s avowed commitment to play a commanding role in Africa and beyond is illustrated by his inauguration speech:

As an old order passes, the world is freer but less stable...America must continue to lead the world we did so much to make....we will not shrink from challenges, nor fail to seize the opportunities of this New World. Together with

our friends and allies, we will work to shape change, lest it engulf us (New York Times, 21 January 1993).

Despite Clinton's rhetoric, the reality was that intrastate conflicts escalated in Africa and the US's roles in mitigating these conflicts were minimal. The sudden withdrawal of US troops from the Somali crisis was a clear example. Clarke and Herbst (1997:80) argue that the Somali debacle fundamentally altered US engagement with, and interventions in Africa. In 1994, Clinton signed Presidential Decision Directive 25 (PDD 25) that forbade US intervention in future crises unless national interests were in jeopardy and the assignment had distinct and limited objectives as well as a well-defined exit strategy (Malan, 1997: quoted in Aning, 2001:48). This policy reflected the Clinton administration's inert response to the Rwandan genocide of 1994 that claimed the lives of 800,000 Africans. However, Dueck (2006:137-8) notes that domestic political pressure was undoubtedly a significant dampener, but the approach also reflected the administration's priority to avoid the costs and risks of serious military action. The net result was a series of half-hearted interventions which served only to reaffirm the perception that the US was unwilling to sustain any significant costs.

These manifestations of apathy by international communities, especially the US, over the security predicaments of African countries created a sense of 'collective guilt' after the Rwandan massacres. The conflicts in DRC and Burundi also helped to compel the US to review their policy concerning Africa. Mahbubabi points out that the US actively and successfully worked behind the scenes of the UNSC to ensure the word 'genocide' was not used in any Security Council Resolution as this would have meant that the US, as signatory to the Genocide Convention would have had a legal obligation to act. In eliminating the word genocide, the US not only avoided the necessity for involvement in what was an extreme case of human rights violation, but also prevented the wider international community from taking action (Mahbubabi, 2005:50). In October 1996, the then US Secretary of State, Warren Christopher announced to African leaders while addressing the O. A. U, the US readiness to create a new political and military partnership with African states. This readiness eventually translated into the creation of African Crisis Response Force (ACRF). This idea was not well received by African states and was quickly rebranded and retuned

to become the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI). According to Ploch (2011:24), ACRI was a bilateral training programme designed to improve the capabilities of individual African state's militaries to prepare them for multinational peacekeeping operations in situations where a cease-fire or peace accord already existed.

In 1998 Clinton made a highly publicised six-nation tour of the continent during which he expressed regret for “the sin of neglect and ignorance” that the United States had committed in its treatment of Africa, particularly during the Cold War (Bullock, 2011:9). Clinton announced that it was “time for Americans to put a new Africa on our map” and for the United States to forge a new beginning in its relations with Africans. Minter (2000:270) argues that the “apology” was understated given the decades-long US support for Zaire's dictator, Mobutu Sese Seko, US collaboration with the South African Apartheid regime and many other questionable engagements. Cameron (2002:270) asserts that Clinton's increased engagement was partly due to lobbying efforts of the Congressional Black Caucus and other African-American groups. Nevertheless, it did serve to indicate that Washington's stated goals had shifted somewhat from its Cold War stance. This renewed engagement took a twist in August 1998, when the US Government launched a cruise missile attack against a Sudanese pharmaceutical plant suspected of producing chemical weapon compounds for al-Qaeda in response to terrorists bombing attacks against the US Diplomatic missions in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam. When he announced the attack Clinton told the US population that “our target was terror” (Ploch, 2011:14). The embassy bombings and the retaliatory strike against Sudan are considered by many analysts to be a turning point in US Strategic policy towards Africa (Bacevich cited in Bullock, 2011:8). In February 2000, during his campaign for Presidency, George W Bush was asked:

Does Africa fit in to your definition of strategic interests?
Bush responded : at some point in time the President has got to clearly define what the national strategic interests are, and while Africa may be important, it doesn't fit into the national strategic interests, as far as I can see them (Lehrer, 2000).

The Bush administration's security policy in Africa was defined by two important factors. Firstly, the conviction that the US had become too dependent on energy

supplies from the Middle East and Venezuela and these two regions were becoming increasingly hostile to the US government and her citizens. New discoveries of significant oil reserves in many African countries in recent years offered the US an opportunity for alternative source of energy in a less volatile region. Secondly, the fear that the growing rate of Islamic fundamentalism in many African countries could be exploited by terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda to establish bases given the ungoverned space created by weak, failing or failed states in Africa (Vines and Cargill, 2010:53). President Bush appointed two African-Americans to the main foreign policy positions, Colin Powell as Secretary of State and Condoleezza Rice as National Security Advisor, which “sent a strong signal that Africa would not be neglected.” (Cameron, 2002:170).

2.9 U.S Post 9/11 security architecture in Africa

From 2000 to 2006, President Bush doubled development assistance to Africa to US\$21.5 billion and quadrupled the funding to Sub-Saharan countries to US\$5.6 billion (Kim and Schaefer, 2008). President Bush also enhanced several key programs to boost trade between the United States and Africa. African Growth Opportunity Act (AGOA) which was created in 2000 under the Clinton Administration was highly emphasized during the Bush Administration and as a result, US imports from Africa totalled over US\$44 billion in 2006, representing over five times the level of imports from Africa in 2001 (Liser, 2007). The African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) were signed into law on May 18, 2000 as Title 1 of The Trade and Development Act of 2000. The Act offers tangible incentives for African countries to continue their efforts to open their economies and build free markets (AGOA, 2008). However, this increase was largely due to oil imports from Africa. Other value-added products like processed agricultural products, footwear, clothing, and automobile parts increased from US\$1.4 billion in 2001 to US\$3.2 billion in 2006. Moreover, many African economies were not structured to benefit from AGOA initiative, considering the fact that stringent conditions were created which disqualified many African countries. This view was succinctly elucidated by the Assistant US Trade Representative for Africa, Liser Florizelle:

Central African Republic lost its eligibility in 2004 following a coup d’etat; Eritrea lost its eligibility in 2004 for its shortcomings on economic reform and human rights; and

Cote d'Ivoire was terminated in 2005 for lack of progress on political and economic reforms. Our hope and expectation is that these and other countries currently not found eligible will strive to create conditions so that they may be positively reconsidered. A number of formerly ineligible countries did exactly that: Liberia and Mauritania addressed the problems we raised during the eligibility review process, made significant economic and political reforms in response to our concerns, and are now AGOA beneficiary countries (Liser, 2007:3).

The events of 9/11 eventually resulted in the formation of Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) in 2002 as a subordinate command to US Central Command (CENTCOM) with its headquarters in Djibouti. The stated mission of this command was a kinetic anti-terrorism operation given the fact that states like, for instance, Somalia were seen as failed states. This was particularly evident in Somalia given her prior connections to regional terrorism which made her an apparent safe-haven for al-Qaeda and its affiliates. Subsequently, the US Congress sponsored an African policy review in 2004. The review identified five factors which will shape the increased US interests in Africa over the succeeding decades. These factors include the following: oil and global trade, maritime security, armed conflicts, violent extremism and HIV/AIDS pandemics (Kansteiner and Morrison, 2004:123). In the health sphere, President Bush's Administration created the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) in 2003. In his state of the Union Address the same year, President Bush mentioned Africa as a continent that is ravaged with the scourge of HIV/AIDS. However, he expressed hope and promise for the future. He stated that:

AIDS can be prevented. Anti-retroviral drugs can extend life for many years. And the cost of those drugs has dropped from \$12,000 a year to under \$300 a year, which places a tremendous possibility within our grasp. Ladies and gentlemen, seldom has history offered a greater opportunity to do so much for so many. We have confronted, and will continue to confront, HIV/AIDS in our own country. And to meet a severe and urgent crisis abroad, tonight I propose the Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, a work of mercy beyond all current international efforts to help the people of Africa... I ask the Congress to commit \$15 billion over the next five years, including nearly \$10

billion in new money, to turn the tide against AIDS in the most afflicted nations of Africa and the Caribbean (Bush, 2003)

The US government through the State Department established the Pan-Sahel Initiative (PSI) with the stated goal of preventing countries like Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger from becoming safe-havens for terrorist and criminal organizations. According to Fah (2010:84) the US provided basic training and equipment to protect the region's porous borders, track the movement of people, combat terrorism and enhance regional stability in the vast, largely uninhabited region. The PSI was subsequently expanded in 2005 to become the Trans-Sahara Counter-Terrorism Initiative (TSCTI) which included Algeria, Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal and Tunisia. TSCTI was endowed with the wider mandate of strengthening regional counter-terrorism capabilities, enhancing and institutionalising cooperation amongst the region's security forces, promoting democratic governance and fostering bilateral relations between the US and individual African states (Isike, Okeke-Uzodike and Gilbert, 2008:33). This Counter-Terrorism Initiative was also extended to countries like Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda in 2003 under the umbrella of East African Counter-Terrorism Initiative (Fah, 2010:84). In 2004, the US created the Africa Partnership Station (APS). The stated objective of APS is to build the Maritime capacities of the US-African partners so as to maintain the rule of law within their Territorial waters and exclusive economic zones, combat illegal activity including trafficking of drugs, people and arms, and to militate against piracy, oil theft and environmental crime (Pham cited in Bullock, 2011:15).

The attempt by the US Government to create a UCC that is exclusively responsible for Africa has been aired both in the White House and Pentagon circles for a number of years. US policymakers view the current state of affairs in sub-Saharan Africa as a serious threat to American national interests (Kfir, 2008:113). The 2002 US NSS states

In Africa, promise and opportunity sit side by side with disease, war, and desperate poverty. This threatens both a core value of the United States—preserving human dignity—and our strategic priority—combating global

terror. American interests and American principles, therefore, lead in the same direction: we will work with others for an African continent that lives in liberty, peace, and growing prosperity. Together with our European allies, we must help strengthen Africa's fragile states; help build indigenous capability to secure porous borders, and help build up the law enforcement and intelligence infrastructure to deny havens for terrorists (The 2002 US NSS).

The document further states that an ever more lethal environment exists in Africa as local civil wars spread beyond borders to create regional war zones. Among its recommendations were: forming coalitions of the willing and cooperative security arrangements to confront the emerging transnational threats and the requirement for a security strategy that focuses on bilateral engagement due to the large size of the continent.

Consequently, the Bush administration focused on three interlocking strategies for Africa. (1) The engagement of countries such as South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya, and Ethiopia that have major influence within their respective regions. (2) The coordination of European allies and international institutions for constructive conflict mediation and peace operations in some parts of African conflict zones although with minimal result, and (3) the attempt to reform states and to strengthen sub-regional organizations (The 2002 US NSS). Prior to his visit to Africa late in his Administration, President Bush announced a US\$15bn package to fight the scourge of HIV/AIDS pandemic in Africa, and in 2004, President Bush inaugurated the US\$1bn millennium challenge account (MCA). The MCA was created to increase US foreign aid to Africa by 50 per cent over the next three years and there were conditionalities attached which would-be beneficiaries must meet (Keller, 2013:7).

2.10 The creation of USAFRICOM

Hence, in October 2007, the Bush Administration announced the creation of United States Africa Command (USAFRICOM) with its own headquarters and staff. According to Kraxberger (2005:47) AFRICOM emphasizes Africa's growing importance in US geo-strategic thinking. Washington has realized the considerable significance of Africa's vast natural resources, rising population, unexplored markets, internal instability, rampant diseases and terrorism (Kraxberger cited in

Kfir, 2008:114). Until that time, Africa had never been a priority for U.S defense planners. It had been a peripheral area of importance until 1952 when EUCOM was given the responsibility for the Algerian Departments of French Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya (Catoire, 2000).

In the 1960s, growing fears of communism in sub-Saharan Africa led to the strategic decision to give the Atlantic Command (now U.S. Joint Forces Command) planning and operational responsibility for sub-Saharan Africa, with EUCOM retaining responsibility for North Africa. The Unified Command Plan was revised in 1962 when the newly established U.S. Strike Command (USSTRICOM) was given responsibility for sub-Saharan Africa. After USSTRICOM was dissolved in 1971, military responsibility for sub-Saharan Africa would remain unassigned for the next eleven years until the 1982 biennial review of the Unified Command Plan, when US strategic planners assigned sub-Saharan Africa to EUCOM (Catoire cited in Kempfsky, 2009:42). In 1983, Africa was re-divided between PACOM, CENTCOM, and EUCOM. This structure would remain essentially unchanged for the next twenty-five years until 2007. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, Theresa Whelan remarked:

after a period of involuntary neglect due to pressing business elsewhere, the United States appears to appreciate Africa's elevated strategic importance in terms of counter-terrorism and energy security, among other things, and to regard regional stability, democratic development, economic reform, good governance, humanitarian assistance, and the fight against HIV/AIDs as subsidiary objectives that are conducive to serving those two interests (Stevenson, 2011:48).

This view was also expressed by NATO Supreme Allied Commander, General Craddock, who stated, "While Africa is rich in both human potential and mineral resources, it has historically struggled with relatively unstable governments, internal political strife, and economic problems. Many states remain fragile due to a variety of factors, including corruption, endemic and pandemic health problems, historical ethnic animosities, and endemic poverty" (Craddock, 2007). In effect, Craddock endorsed the view previously expressed by Susan Rice, former assistant secretary of state on African affairs during the Clinton administration:

Much of Africa has become a veritable incubator for the foot soldiers of terrorism. Its poor, young, disaffected, unhealthy, undereducated populations often have no stake in government, no faith in the future, and harbour an easily exploitable discontent with the status quo. . . . These are the swamps we must drain. And we must do so for the cold, hard reason that to do otherwise we are going to place our national security at further and more permanent risk. (Lyman and Morrison cited in Kempster, 2009:43).

However, Lusane, Jordan and Minter (2009:7) argue that the present US foreign policy assumption that the critical threats in the international system and against the United States come from rogue states, resurgent Cold War enemies and from international terrorists is a narrow framework which will always produce unilateral and counterproductive responses. They posit that the obvious security threats are engendered by social, political, and economic instabilities and stimulated by unequal power relations and lack of accountability on the part of large states.

Many governments, scholars and civil society organizations have questioned the rationale behind the creation of AFRICOM. Most African governments and sub-regional organizations have adverse opinions of and stances towards AFRICOM. Nigeria, South Africa, Libya and Algeria have led the opposition to AFRICOM. Nigeria, for instance, has insisted that the imposing presence of the US Military cannot be tolerated around the Gulf of Guinea region (Moore, 2007).

Nigerian Foreign Affairs Minister, Ojo Mmaduekwe, is quoted as follows in "Leadership Nigeria": "If the command is about stationing US troops on African soil, we feel there is no need for that" (Leadership Nigeria, October 3, 2007). In South Africa, the South African Defense Minister, Mosiuoa Lekota, has warned that any SADC country offering to host AFRICOM would "suffer negative consequences from SADC fellows" (Daily News October 23, 2007). Al Jazeera quotes Algerian Foreign Minister Mourad Medelci stressing his country's rejection of any military deployment on its soil within the context of the "Global War on Terror". Also the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA), which comprises membership from Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, Mauritania and Algeria, has declared its opposition to foreign military forces operating in Africa (Reed, 2007:7). Volman (2004) makes a forceful argument that

AFRICOM is a geopolitical bulwark against China as well as a platform for kinetic counter terrorism operations which will be antithetical to Africa's stability and development.

In similar vein, Schaefer (2007) offers a 'big picture' essay containing several sharp, if down beat, insights: in particular, he questions the optimistic western "assumption that African is capable of ameliorating the security crises in Africa". In his view, Africa needs to develop a security model that "does not take western ideas and experiences as a starting point". Okumu (2007) contends that an AFRICOM that is answerable to the Department of Defense, given wide discretion and granted operational autonomy, as well as possessing a relatively better understanding of Africa's strategic realities, may ultimately become the major, or dominant, influence on the substance of US foreign policy towards Africa. It may, by default, come to participate in many crucial aspects of policy implementation and even dictate principles and policies to African governments. It could inevitably overshadow the civilian led policy research and policy making leadership as well as the interagency process, ultimately shifting the initiative away from the Department of state. Berschinski (2007:51) argues that the current U.S. foreign policy toward Africa reflects this "post-9/11 response to perceived security threats emanating from the continent." This belief reflects a new type of threat in Africa that is qualitatively different from threats during the Cold War. Africa is viewed as particularly worrisome due to its weak and failing states, high poverty rates, ethnic conflicts, poor governance, and large uncontrolled areas. These characteristics have been emphasized post-9/11 because poverty, weak institutions, and corruption make states vulnerable to terrorist networks and drug cartels within their borders (U.S. White House 2002). Responding to these critical views, Whelan cautions that "what you should note about the 'African media' is it tends to be incestuous. They pick up the same story and repeat it over and over –it's not necessarily a very sophisticated media out there and it also tends to be dominated by – in West Africa area, the Nigeria media, Southern Africa, the South Africa media, and in the East, the Kenyan media. And they tend to deal in rumour oftentimes more than fact" (Whelan quoted in Burgess, 2008).

Resistance culminated in a January 2008 African Union (AU) summit in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, when AFRICOM was a topic of discussion. However, member states refrained from passing a resolution condemning the new command, which meant that the process of creating AFRICOM could realistically continue without African censure (U.S. Embassy Official, March 3, 2008). In the wake of the AU summit, US officials pressed on towards AFRICOM's full operational capability on October 1, 2008. Nevertheless, the directive to place an AFRICOM headquarters in Africa was temporarily jettisoned in response to strong African resistance to the prospect of an enhanced US military presence on the continent (Washington Post, February 21, 2008). Even more modest proposals for AFRICOM —regional integration teams or regional offices, which would work with sub- regional organizations, were dropped (Burgess, 2008:2). With the end of plans to expeditiously place AFRICOM headquarters on the continent, resistance diminished in some African countries, and with offers of training and other forms of assistance, states began to engage AFRICOM (Stars and Stripes June 29, 2008:1).

AFRICOM is purported to militate against these new threats. To the public, AFRICOM is presented as a benign presence that will bring stability, peace, and prosperity to the African continent. Looking deeper, it is a military command that has been structured to bring security only to the US and to bolster the interests of the American elite few, not the interests of Africans. Furthermore, AFRICOM gives the Department of Defense (DoD) a dangerous level of jurisdiction over the State Department, USAID and other non-military agencies. Ambassadors, who have traditionally been the point-persons for US foreign operations, may now be overshadowed by Commander of AFRICOM.

Some security analysts who focus on Africa argue that the creation of AFRICOM may lead to blind endorsement by the United States Government (as occurred during the cold war), of institutionally ineffective, economically corrupt and politically repressive regimes led by astute and ruthless leaders. These regimes would enthusiastically cooperate with AFRICOM, which would give them a deceitful alibi to commit various human rights abuses using cold war tactics with some modifications. Schraeder (2006) argues that overt US presence or connection in Africa could thus transform the stakes of African conflicts and make them more

impervious to diplomatic solution. A similar view was expressed by former South African Defense minister, Lekota that the presence of AFRICOM could exacerbate regional tensions, as rival states compete to host AFRICOM facilities, rather than contribute to compromise solutions resulting in regional security complexes as enunciated in Buzan (1997:12).

Tuckey (2008:32) notes that: “What the people of Africa need is not increased military presence but debt relief, fair trade policies, jobs, expansion of education, and improvements upon existing US policies such as the President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and the Millennium Challenge Account. If the US were willing to boost the budgets of the State Department and USAID toward those ends, we may find precisely the results the Bush Administration is seeking in terms of stability. Long-term security is not generated through armed soldiers’ but rather through teachers, women, youth, micro-finance, fair and equitable policy.” Mark Malam, while testifying before the Senate, The Sub-Committee on African Affairs of the US, pointed out that ultimately, peace and democracy in Africa are elements that can be attained if America is willing to work in concert with Africans to determine their needs and desires. Pushing a military strategy that serves merely to benefit special interest groups like private military sub-contractors and the oil industry will only provoke opposition, as it has already done in many countries around the world. Advancing a diplomatic strategy that relies on true partnership with African governments, the African Union, and African civil society is the only approach that is in the mutual, long-term interests of the American people and the citizens of Africa’s many nations. Malam’s concern is that in Africa, mass displacement, hunger and disease is often the humanitarian fall-out of political failures. In order to address such challenges effectively, there may be military strength, political direction and humanitarian action, but this could not be done by integrating those elements under AFRICOM. There could be coordination between humanitarian, development and military actors but not integration⁵.

⁵Testimony by Mark Malan, “AFRICOM: A Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing?” before the Subcommittee on African Affairs, Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate, at the hearing entitled Exploring the U.S. Africa Command and the New Strategic Relationship with Africa, 110th Cong., 1st sess., 1 August 2007, <http://foreign.senate.gov/testimony/2007/MalanTestimony070801.pdf>.

Volman and Klare (2004) state that considering the prevailing image of the U.S. military in the Iraqi war, Africans are particularly concerned that AFRICOM will somehow become the lead U.S. government interlocutor with Africa representing the definite militarization of U.S. foreign policy towards the continent, despite the brave attempt to put a civilian mask on the face of the combatant command. They further argue that “the U.S. increased involvement and militarization of the continent would only fuel terrorism which it was meant to stop and increase anti – American sentiment in Africa” (Volman and Klare, 2004:28). Many Africans think that military power is absolutely no panacea for terrorist threats, and that, in most cases, it will backfire after building animosity and allowing conditions to deteriorate, as in Somalia where events speak for themselves. Mesfin (2009) argues that contrary to promotion of human security, AFRICOM will produce many unintentional and adverse costs, which will linger for decades, including the risk of triggering a reciprocal militarization of China’s Africa policy. In the coming decades, China could conceivably , - and regardless of the associated hassle - vigorously expand its military co-operation with African states through pacts, joint exercises, intelligence exchange and training; pay its oil bills with increased sales of weapons, deploy its military forces, establish military facilities in Africa, or even set up its own Africa command.

According to Frazer (2007), deeper analysis suggests, however, that the conception of AFRICOM was partially owing to the thinness of American understanding of diverse and complex African societies. The conception was very poorly thought through and badly implemented: for instance, leaving out Egypt, which is a major player in the international relations of Africa and key to its stability. Abel Esterhuyse, a South African academic and military strategist, likewise confirms that Africans are skeptical about AFRICOM. According to Esterhuyse, Americans should be open and transparent on their interests in Africa. Africans, he stresses, are suspicious of America’s real strategic interests in Africa, and this is aggravated by America’s aggressive and militarized way of addressing problems in Iraq and Afghanistan.

According to Esterhuyse, the problem is that the image of U.S. foreign policy in many parts of Africa is informed by U.S. military actions in other parts of the world,

especially in Afghanistan and Iraq. This image is strongly associated with the U.S. military profile in general and that of aggressive use of military force in particular. It also stands in stark contrast to efforts by DoD functionaries to attach a 'soft power' approach to AFRICOM and efforts to downplay a hard-core military role for the U.S. in Africa. A pertinent question is: how long will such 'soft-power' approach last before AFRICOM shows its true character and Africa or certain countries in Africa will be "Iraqed?" (Esterhuysen, 2008:123-6). Esterhuysen shares Malan's view that Africans are afraid of the possibility that Americans would militarize their humanitarian action in Africa, and that American defense personnel may well play a significant role in such action. Esterhuysen highlights African concerns that AFRICOM is wearing a humanitarian mask in order to ensure a soft landing for the Command on the Africa continent. According to Esterhuysen, America's humanitarian commitment could indeed be questioned in view of the U.S.'s inaction in past or recent humanitarian crises, such as those in Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Darfur (Sudan).

However, Carmel (2009) argues that AFRICOM was formed to implement the U.S. national security strategy that seeks to strengthen states and eliminate ungoverned space, as well as establish relationships with African states that offer a means to greater state stability and foster economic development (as noted earlier). According to the current AFRICOM Commander, Gen. Rodriguez, AFRICOM is an innovation designed with the conviction that American security is as threatened by weak and failing states as by strong ones. The command aims to address the roots of instability by promoting civil and defence sector reforms, military professionalism, and capacity-building programs which allow Africans to help themselves (Rodriguez, 2013). As one high-level official put it, "Military security (alone) doesn't give stability; it only allows a pause from the cycle of instability. You also need the pillars of a good economy, effective governance, and the rule of law"(Keenan, 2010:614). AFRICOM is showing signs of serving to protect unpopular, repressive regimes supportive of US interests. In the case of North Africa and the Sahel regions, the 'security-development' discourse explicitly links Africa's poor, her 'dangerous classes' as Abrahamsen calls them, the marginalised and excluded to international security 'problems' and 'terrorism' (Abrahamsen cited in Keenan, 2010:638).

Regarding terrorism, former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan (2004) acknowledged that the “chaos can no longer be contained by frontiers”. Threats are no longer insulated, due to globalisation and interdependence through travel and trade. Global insecurity can be addressed by “securing the development” in areas of underdevelopment, which not only improves the safety of people in the developing world, but in the developed world (Dr Annan quoted in Denney, 2011:278). This has profound political and structural implications on the formation of AFRICOM and its role in providing security and development. Keenan (2008:18) considers the development aspect of the security-development nexus as a guise for what is essentially a narrow militaristic agenda. The ‘development’ aspect then, conceals U.S. domestic strategic concerns that go beyond just focussing on servicing the GWOT. He thereby scrutinises the concept that AFRICOM will deliver security to African countries it engages with and thereby be able to deliver it. Drawing on the U.S. involvement pre-2008, Keenan assesses that this organisation has a tripartite agenda: to exploit Africa’s resources; to limit Chinese engagement in Africa and to secure African countries as a counter balance in the GWOT (Keenan, 2008:16). Keenan’s ideas are based on his research in the Sahel and the Maghreb regions of Africa, where after the GWOT was announced, an intelligence deception was created that spread the idea of terrorism. This was designed to create, he claims, the ideological conditions for U.S. ‘invasion’ of Africa to secure U.S. strategic, natural resources (ibid).

This particular project came under the Pan-Sahel Initiative (PSI), which has been taken over by the Trans Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP), which now comes under the umbrella of AFRICOM. Keenan agrees with Abrahamson that the USA, like the UK in Blair’s ‘Commission for Africa’ (2005), are aiming at ‘securitizing’ Africa. This change the security-development nexus, with the discourse shifting from one of ‘development/humanitarian’ to that of ‘risk/fear/security’ with Africa increasingly being mentioned in relation to the GWOT and the potential danger that it poses internationally (Keenan, 2008:18). By interpreting underdeveloped areas as dangerous, the role of aid and development has changed to containing the ‘threat’ thereby merging the security and development agendas so that they become indistinguishable. Keenan goes so far as to claim that the ‘overly

militaristic' role of EUCOM, from which AFRICOM took over, has just been framed in a more seductive rhetoric of 'development-humanitarian' aims, especially since Obama's inauguration.

2.11.1 Theoretical Framework

Many theories in political science and social sciences in general, can be used to explain the implications of AFRICOM for Africans. Theories such as imperialism, neo-colonialism, political realism or *realpolitik*, power and securitization are germane to the topic under discussion because of their interrelatedness and analytical extrapolation of AFRICOM's imposition on Africans.

The theory of imperialism is anchored on economic domination, subordination and exploitation of weak economies by the developed economies (Lenin cited in Aja, 1998:46). One of its major proponents was V.I. Lenin who gave the theory its most outstanding technical meaning as the highest stage in the development of capitalism when, among other items, the export of capital by monopoly capitalists in 19th century Europe to pre-capitalist economies in overseas territories became more pronounced than ordinary export of manufacturers goods and services (Ake,1985:20). Closely related to imperialism is the theory of neo-colonialism. The substance of neo-colonialism is the continual economic and technological domination of the dependent economies by foreign economies and other interests without direct political control and subordination (Yansane, 1980: 24). Implicit in neo-colonial dominance is the continual export of capital and technology from the developed countries to expand and deepen the sphere of capitalist accumulation (Onwuka, 1987: 52). The mechanisms for neo-colonialism include the following: multinational corporations (MNCs), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and even the weak and subservient neo-colonial states in the periphery (Aja, 1998:51). In material sense, neo-colonial strategy is facilitated by tactics such as foreign grants, loans, aid, economic assistance, military-defence pacts and agreements. In this way, dependent countries get more chained into the world market dominated by developed capitalist states. For example, France has been able to maintain a largely integrated banking network and principles to appropriate neo-colonial monetary and financial standards in many francophone African states. In

Nigeria, foreign oil companies have exercised monopolies in exploration and exploitation of resources. Western multinational corporations (such as Texaco, Chevron, Total, Elf, Mobil and Shell) have monopolized Nigeria's rich oil reserves. According to Ake (1985:126), in virtually all the underdeveloped countries in which neo-colonialism has managed to bolster its position, there are growing crises of external debt burden, food crisis, high unemployment rate, technological backwardness and diversion of scarce resources to arms.

While not underrating the relevance of theories outlined above, the study will be framed by theories of power within the ambit of realpolitik or political realism, securitization and human security paradigm. Additionally, the endemic human insecurity in Africa can be explored through the application of relative deprivation theory and neo-colonialism. This study argues that the lopsided power relationship between the US and Africa engendered the imposition of AFRICOM on Africans without due consultation with the AU, while the multi-faceted challenges of poverty, inter-ethnic conflicts, religious intolerance, trans-border crimes, ungoverned space and violent extremism in Africa induced the US government to categorize the continent as a zone of conflict from which emanate threats to its stability. The creation of a unified combatant command (UCC) in the mode of AFRICOM is an attempt to adequately securitize and militate against these threats.

2.11.2 Theory of Political Realism or Realpolitik

Political realists agree that state behavior is rational. This agreement is premised on the logic that states are guided by "national interest," usually defined in terms of survival, security, power, and relative capabilities (Holsti, 1996:37). National interest may vary according to specific circumstances. The similarity of motives among nations permits state managers to reconstruct the logic of policymaking in their pursuit of national interests--what Morgenthau called the "rational hypothesis"--and to avoid the fallacies of "concern with motives and concern with ideological preferences"(Morgenthau, 1962:18). The state can also be conceptualized as a unitary actor. Because the central problems for states are starkly defined by the nature of the international system, their actions are primarily a response to external rather than domestic political forces. According to Stephen Krasner, the state can be

treated as an autonomous actor pursuing goals associated with power and the general interest of the society (Krasner, 1975:33).

Political realism identifies power, national interests and state survival as crucial in the analysis of interstate relations (Clapman, 1996:230; Zartman, 1967: 25-54). Political scientists who specialise in International Relations principally define “power” in terms of actor’s ability to exercise influence over other actors within the international system. This influence can be coercive, attractive, cooperative, or competitive (Useem, 2003). Mechanisms can include the threat or use of force, economic interaction or pressure, diplomacy and cultural exchange. Power can be viewed from different perspectives such as: power as the goal of a state or leaders, power as reflecting victory in conflict and the attainment of security, power as control over resources and capability, and power as a measure of influence or control over outcomes, events, actors and issues (Frisch, 2006:49). Moreover, the distinction between power as capabilities and usable options is especially important in this nuclear age , as the United States discovered in Vietnam and the Soviets learned in Afghanistan. The terrorist attack on New York and Washington of September 11, 2001, even more dramatically illustrated the disjuncture between material capabilities and political impact.

The elements of power include military, economic and technological capabilities of states. The theory of realism also asserts that a nation-state’s military capability is vital or key to the achievement of its national interests. This is so considering that in global politics, states may be able to achieve their objectives through the use of threats and military force (Brown and Sean, 1995:9). The threat or use of military power by the US and members of NATO has been the trend particularly in Iraq, Afghanistan , Libya and the imposition of AFRICOM on Africans. The operations are meant to safeguard and bolster the interests of the US and members of the NATO coalition. Territorially, related elements of national power such as defensive mountain ranges, water bodies, and natural resources such as oil, among others, are of significant value in terms of increasing a nation state’s power. (Thompson, 2009:16). Realist theorists observe that although nation states can pursue other objectives that are indirectly linked to power and security, these two elements remain vital or key elements to the leader of any nation in as far as the pursuance and

attainment of national objectives is concerned. In other words, in the view of the realists, national security remains the top priority in the hierarchy of state objectives (Maeresera, 2010:75).

The realist view of human nature and international politics is a pessimistic and tragic one. Man is capable of great love, kindness, and sacrifice, of course, but realists recognize that all humans are also motivated in no small part by greed and a lust for power. All social relations are therefore marked to some degree by a clash of these selfish desires, regardless of our good intentions and aspirations. In this analysis, what defines the essence of politics as a social institution is the struggle for power. This intrinsic contest for influence and power is present within states and other domestic political communities, but it is often subdued by effective laws, government, or shared norms. The competition for power among groups of individuals (i.e., states) on the international scene, however, is particularly intense because those controlling factors are largely ineffective in the absence of a common authority. Thus, the unremitting struggle for power in international system, which sadly but frequently manifests itself in violence and war, is an inevitable result of human nature. Some scholars emphasize the religious sources of man's flawed nature, while others maintain a secular view. Whether because of original sin, nature and biology, or some other cause, the arena of politics is fundamentally tragic (Milbank, 2008, Berger, 2011).

Different philosophical bases exist for the tragic stance found in inter-state relations, but the idea of a fundamental conflict between ethics and politics pervades all of them. For Morgenthau, the fundamental problem is that man is corrupted by his insatiable drive to dominate others. Like all animals, we have natural appetites and desires and are driven by the basic impulse of self-preservation (Morgenthau, 1978:4). Beyond safeguarding the conditions necessary for existence, however, we also possess an innate drive for self-assertion, a desire to assert ourselves as individuals against the world, thereby discovering our own power. This drive can manifest itself in many ways for example, by overcoming physical barriers in the natural world, competing in sports, or writing books and articles. Whenever man, acting alone or in concert with others, seeks to control others he has entered the political sphere (Ibid). Unfortunately, because man's natural urge to dominate others

would be satisfied only if every other human became the object of his domination; the lust for power is effectively unquenchable. Thus, all politics is defined by the permanence and ubiquity of the struggle for power. The “animus dominandi” or the desire to dominate lies at the heart of the human predicament (Morgenthau, 1978:29). Morgenthau’s citation of Nietzschean philosophy evokes one of the most famous passages of *Beyond Good and Evil*: “Life itself is essentially appropriation, injury, overpowering of the strange and weaker, suppression, severity, imposition of one’s own forms, incorporation and, at the least and mildest, exploitation” (quoted in Petersen, 1999:83).

For E.H. Carr in “*The Twenty Years’ Crisis*”, the ubiquitous thirst for power is similarly driven by a deep facet of human nature. Despite his focus on human nature, Carr relies heavily on Darwin alone, commenting that “when the harmony of interests was already threatened by conflicts of increasing gravity, the rationality of the world was saved by a good stiff dose of Darwinism. The reality of conflict was admitted.” Carr explains: “The exercise of power always appears to beget the appetite for more power” (Carr, 2001:208). There is, as Dr. Niebuhr says, “no possibility of drawing a sharp line between the will to power and the will to live” (Niebuhr, 1960:3). Arguing that states are power-hungry entities and cannot be seen as morally responsible to each other, Carr draws on Hobbes’ conception of the Leviathan of the state as an Artificial Man, and also on thinkers like Machiavelli and Hegel (Carr,2001:104-5). The Hobbesian social contract, the argument goes, redirects and translates the anarchy of pre-Leviathan society from the individual level to the international level, so that people forming political communities accept global chaos in exchange for domestic peace (Carr, 2001:136-40). Classical realism thus sees states operating in an anarchic realm that reflects Hobbes’ state of nature, which is “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short” (Hobbes, 2002:xiii).

For both Carr and Niebuhr, the nature of states reflects the inherent nature of human social groups. In *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, Niebuhr suggests that inter-group dynamics naturally result in winners and losers, and so “conflict between the national unit remains as a permanent rather than a passing characteristic of their relation to each other.” Niebuhr’s Christian Realism undoubtedly reinforced this conception of permanent conflict, firmly linking it to the doctrine of original sin. According to

Annette Freyberg-Inan, another side of Niebuhr's argument is that "man's quintessential experience as a mortal being is a pervasive sense of insecurity, the insecurity results in over-defensiveness" (Freyberg-Inan, 2004:68). The drive for power is magnified at the group and state level because, for many reasons, groups do not have the moral capability of individuals. Niebuhr argues that the will to conquer death by amassing power informs an egoistic and individualistic human nature. Niebuhr mirrors Nietzsche in this claim, although he argues from a theological perspective that is quite separate from the will to power. However, other realist scholars like Herbert Butterfield (1950) and Robert Jervis (1979) emphasize how even the well-intentioned search for mere physical security (that is, the impulse of self-preservation) paradoxically generates anxiety, mutual fear, and conflict.

Whether man seeks power over his fellow man because of a natural urge for self-assertion or simply in the cause of self-preservation, there is no escaping the evil inherent in politics. In *Reflections on the State of Political Science*, Morgenthau asks, "Why is it that the political act, in its concern with man's power over man and the concomitant denial of the other man's freedom, carries within itself an element of immorality and puts upon the actor the stigma of guilt?" (Morgenthau, 1955:442). Kenneth Thompson, in his book *The Study of International Politics*, notes the indisputable fact that ethics and politics are in conflict wherever man acts politically. That is the case because it is the essence of politics that man chooses goals and objectives which are limited and therefore equitable and just only for particular groups and nations. Only in the human imagination can policies and political acts be purely uncorrupted and undefiled by injustice "as soon as we leave the realm of our thoughts and aspirations," (Thompson, 1952:451). Morgenthau in his later work, *In Defense of the National Interest: a Critical Examination of American Foreign Policy*, writes,

We are inevitably involved in sin and guilt. While our hand carries the good intent to what seems to be its consummation, the fruit of evil grows from the seed of noble thought. We want peace among nations and harmony among individuals, yet our actions end in conflict and war. We want to see all men free, but our actions put others in chains as others do to us. We believe in the equality of all men, and our very demands on society make others unequal (Morgenthau, 1982:17-19).

In short, politics inevitably generates “dirty hands,” it necessarily entails some dose of evil. The very act of acting destroys our moral integrity for two reasons. First, there is the problem of our natural limitations: we are unable to control all of the consequences of our actions (some of which will inevitably impinge on others) and we are unable to completely satisfy all competing moral ends through our actions (in order to satisfy one legitimate moral end we inevitably must neglect others). But the paramount reason politics entails doing evil is that its essence and aim is the struggle for power over men, “for it is to this degree that it degrades man to a means for other men” (Morgenthau, 1982:38). Evil corrupts all politics, but especially international politics. Thompson argues that “This universal aspect of the corruption of absolute justice in the realm of politics finds its outstanding expression in international morality. There my nation’s justice means oftentimes your nation’s injustice; my nation’s security and the requirements assigned thereto may appear as the cause of your nation’s insecurity” (Thompson, 1952:461).

Once one comprehends the tragedy of human nature, the problems and challenges of contemporary world politics can be seen in their true light. From Morgenthau’s perspective in the year after World War II ended, the drop of evil which inevitably spoils the best of intentions had transformed “churches into political organizations, revolutions into dictatorships and love of country into imperialism” (Morgenthau, 1960). The fact of the matter is that there is a little bit of totalitarian buried somewhere, way down deep, in each and every one of us as elucidated by Morgenthau and Thompson who warn of a dangerous crusading nationalism, where nations see themselves as the repositories of values and ideas that are good for all mankind and hear a calling to extend the benefits of their system to peoples everywhere. The human desire for self-determination is thus transformed into a national mission aimed at, as Arendt describes it, “bringing its light to other, less fortunate peoples that, for whatever reasons, have miraculously been left by history without a national mission” (Arendt, 2013:52).

There are two types of power, namely hard power and soft power. Hard power refers to coercive tactics such as the threat or the use of armed forces, assassination, while soft power involves economic pressure and sanctions, subterfuge and intimidation.

Power can also be categorized into super power, great power, regional power and middle power. However, despite the wide applicability of political realism in the analysis of international relations, the theory has faced widespread criticism for its unsatisfactory explanation of the full range of international relations. If human nature explains war and conflict, what accounts for peace and cooperation? In addition, critics have noted a lack of precision and even contradictions in the way realists use such core concepts as 'power,' 'national interest', and 'balance of power.' They also see possible contradictions between the central descriptive and prescriptive elements of realism. On the one hand, nations and their leaders "think and act in terms of interests defined as power," but, on the other, statesmen are urged to exercise prudence and self-restraint, as well as to recognize the legitimate interests of other nations (Oren, 2009:283-301). Power plays a central role in political realism, but the correlation between relative power balances and political outcomes is often less than compelling, suggesting the need to enrich analyses with other variables

2.11.3 Securitization Theory

Securitization theory was propounded and developed by the Copenhagen School (CS) under the leadership of Ole Wæver and Barry Buzan as a tool for practical security analysis. The CS describes securitization as the inter-subjective and socially constructed process by which a threat to a particular referent object is acknowledged and deemed worth protecting. In *Securitization and Desecuritization*, Wæver presents the logic that informs the theoretical development of 'securitization. Based on a particular understanding of security, that which is national security, Wæver formulates a threat-defense modality extracted from observations of certain operations in the field of security. Wæver argues that the same logic which conceptualizes the construction of the threat-defense sequence in the military sector can be used to understand 'securitization' processes in other sectors (Wæver 1995: 51). Securitization is the inter-subjective establishment of an existential threat, which demands urgent and immediate attention, as well as the use of extraordinary measures to counter this threat (Buzan et al 1998: 24-25; Wæver 1995: 51).

The CS defines this social interaction as a rhetorical one: a discursive exchange between a securitizing actor and an audience in relation to an object, the referent, and

that which threatens it. Using an Austinian understanding of speech acts, the CS explains that a successful securitization process is facilitated by internal or linguistic factors and by external or contextual factors, the social capital of the speaker and the nature of the threat (Buzan et al 1998: 32-33). The goal of the Copenhagen School is defined as the following: “Based on a clear idea of the nature of security, securitization studies aims to gain an increasingly precise understanding of who securitizes, on what issues (threats), for whom (referent objects), why, with what results and, not least, under what conditions (what explains when securitization is successful)” (Buzan et al 1998: 32).

The securitizing actor is that who puts forward a claim to securitize an issue. The CS explains that the successful securitization of a referent object will depend on the inter-subjective agreement among the subjects as to whether the claim made by the actor is legitimate or not. They argue that “no one is excluded from attempts to articulate alternative interpretations of security,” but as a result of the power structures within the field of security, certain actors, typically state elites, hold an advantaged position over defining security threats (Buzan et al 1998: 31-32). Wæver states that “by definition something is a security problem when the elites declare it so” (Wæver 1995: 54). Although, the CS has attempted to move away from this explicitly state elite orientation, their focus remains on successful instances of securitization, which due to the biased nature of security are generally dominated by statist elites (Buzan et al 1998: 37-39).

Critical analysts of security argue that the statist field of security has led to securitization processes that exclude certain groups and ideas resulting in negative consequences for the individuals or the global community (Wyn Jones, 1999: 99; Bellamy, Bleiker and Devetak (eds.) 2008; Hansen, 1999; Hoogensen and Rottem, 2005; Krause and Williams, 1997). A commonly cited example of this potentially harmful approach to security is the arms race of the Cold War, whereby the procurement of weapons and their dispersion to client states in the name of ‘national security’ contributed to political repression, armed rebellions and civil war, and a shift of resources away from other security issues, such as food or environmental (Cheesman, 2005: 63; Wyn Jones 1999: 99). A more contemporary case in point is the ‘Global War on Terror’ (GWOt), which Bellamy et al (eds.) critically explored in

their 2008 book, *Security and the War on Terror*. Williams, one of the contributors, argues that the US government dominated approach to terrorism resulted in a revitalization of political realism and a militaristic security policy. He argues that the securitization of international terrorism, led by the elite directed security policies of the US, pushed the promotion of human security and environmental sustainability to the side-lines of the international security agenda ((Williams, 2008: 10).

Security politics remains a largely closed domain governed largely by state elites. This institutional dominance translates into securitization processes which are the product of politics of exclusion and control that often generate adverse impacts on individual and global security. In short, by labelling something as ‘security’, an issue is dramatized as an issue of supreme priority. One can therefore think of securitization as the process through which non-politicized (issues not talked about) or politicized (issues publicly debated) issues are elevated to security issues that need to be dealt with urgency, bypassing legitimate public debate and democratic procedures. Securitization provided a fresh take on the increasingly tiresome debate between those who claimed that threats are objective (i.e., what really constitutes a threat to international security) on the one hand, and those that maintained that security is subjective (what is perceived to be a threat) on the other. In an attempt to sidestep or bypass this debate, the Copenhagen school suggests that security should instead be seen as a speech act, where the central issue is not if threats are real or not, but the ways in which a certain issue (troop movements, migration, or environmental degradation) can be socially constructed as a threat. The idea of speech acts has a long tradition in philosophy and refers to the idea that by saying something, something is done. So, just as the naming of a ship is a speech act that brings something into effect, the uttering of ‘security’ can be viewed as an act by which all kind of issues (military, political, economic, and environmental) can become staged as a threat.

However, not all talk about security qualifies as securitization in the sense understood by Ole Wæver and his Copenhagen colleagues. A securitizing speech act needs to follow a specific rhetorical structure, derived from war and its historical connotations of survival, urgency, threat, and defense. The constitution of securitization within the national security discourse implies an emphasis on

authority, the confronting and construction of threats and enemies, an ability to make decisions and the adoption of emergency measures (Buzan and Hansen, 2009:213-214). According to Buzan et al (1998:25), the way to study securitization is to study discourse and political constellations. When does an argument with this particular rhetorical and semiotic structure achieve sufficient effect to make an audience tolerate violations of rules that would otherwise have to be obeyed? If by means of an argument about the priority and urgency of an existential threat the securitizing actor has managed to break free of procedures or rules he or she would otherwise be bound by, we are witnessing a case of securitization. Moreover, ordinary issues can be reframed to become political issues or above politics using security platform. Thus, an event or action which is a public issue which is non-political is defined ranging from non-politicized issue through politicized to securitization (Buzan et al, 1998:23).

However important and innovative contribution to our understanding of security may it be, the securitization framework is problematically narrow. First, the form of act constructing security is defined narrowly, with the main focus on the speech of dominant actors, usually political leaders, which encourages an interpretation that securitization is only happening when there are discursive interventions of those who are institutionally legitimate to speak on behalf of a particular political community (usually a state). This also excludes a focus on other forms of representations, such as images or material practices. (McDonald, 2008: 564). At the same time, the conceptual framework of securitization puts a special emphasis on the acceptance of the audience which is claimed to be essential in the successful securitization process. Contextual factors, which the Copenhagen school terms facilitating conditions, help explain why some securitizing moves are more likely to be accepted by the audience than the other. These facilitating conditions are taken as givens that either help or hinder securitization but are not conceptualized as constitutive of the speech acts, which is at odds with the claim that security is a social construction. There is tension between understanding securitization as a productive process by focusing on the performative power of the speech act, and as a constructed process by claiming that security is inter-subjectively constituted (Sulovic, 2010:5).

2.11.4 Human Security Paradigm

Various attempts have been made to provide an adequate conceptualization of human security. There are two main contemporary theories of international relations. At one end of the continuum is an approach based on a neo-realist theoretical framework, which maintains a continued emphasis on the primacy of the state within a broadened conceptualization of human security. Some call this approach the ‘new security thinking’. A postmodernist or ‘critical human security’ approach that is rooted within the pluralist theory of international politics represents the other end in this security discourse.

Human security paradigm emerged in the 1990s to challenge and ameliorate the inadequacies of the realist state-centric world view which crystallized during the cold war. It is rooted within the pluralistic tradition in international politics. Human security focuses on people’s own perceptions of their in/security and their articulations of opportunities and threats in their everyday lives. Human security is strongly linked to notions of values and interests. And since they may be different in different places, the concept of human security is regionally bound (Burgess, 2007:97). Thus, people may have different views on what security means for them. According to the United Nations Development Programme (Human Development Report, 1994), human security is defined as: “Safety for people from both violent and non-violent threats. It is a condition or state of being characterized by freedom from pervasive threats to people’s rights, their safety, or even their lives.”

Human security paradigm serves as a counter to the selfish pursuit of state or elite security. People become the primary referent of security. The main point is to understand security comprehensively and holistically in terms of the real-life, everyday experiences of human beings and their complex social and economic relations as these are embedded within global structures. It therefore becomes imperative to view security in terms of patterns of systemic inclusion and exclusion of people (Thomas, 2002). The twin goals of protection and empowerment: “freedom from fear” and “freedom from want” (United Nations Commission on Human Security, 2003) thus represent the core principles of ensuring survival, meeting basic needs (protecting livelihood) and safeguarding the human dignity of the most

vulnerable groups in society. In this way, emphasis shifts from a security dilemma of states to a survival dilemma of people (Hudson, 2005:163).

The notion of human security is based on the premise that the individual human being is the only irreducible focus for discourse on security. Mac Farlane and Khong (2006:2) posit that the claims of all other referents (the group, the community, the state, the region and the globe) derived from the sovereignty of the human individual and the individual's rights to dignity in her or his life. They argue that in ethical terms, the security claims of other referents, including the state, draw whatever value they have from the claim that they address the needs and aspirations of the individuals who make them up. Campbell (2002:8) argues that human security is a theory that: retreats from the concept of might, and emphasizes the right and wellbeing of individuals and social groups. According to the Commission on Human Security, the objective of human security thus is to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillments (CHS, 2003:4). The Human Security Commission argues that protecting the vital core of human lives necessitates taking action on countering deprivation from extreme poverty, ill health and other maladies, and the effects of environmental degradations (CHS, 2003:6). Barry Buzan in his seminal work, *People, State and Fear*, broadened the conceptualization of security into five sectoral areas namely, political, economic, social and environmental security, in addition to the militaristic security (Buzan, 1991).

Subsequently, the UNDP has stratified various threats to human security under seven broad categories. These are economic, food, health, environment, personal, community and political threats. The essence of this categorization is to adequately mitigate against human vulnerabilities which are beyond the state-centric purview. However, given the human centrality of the paradigm, scholars such as Krause, Buzan, Macfarlane, and Mark point out that "security" is the label given to the highest priority issues; and that making everything a security threat in effect prioritizes nothing. Moreover, shifting the referent to the individual proliferates the concept without adding analytic value – the more harms that are labeled 'security threats', the harder it is to study the relations between them (Owen, 2004:379). As Mack puts it, "bad things must be studied separately" (Mack, 2002:14). Paris adds

that researchers should stick to “clearly defined topics and empirical questions” (Paris, 2001:87-102). The second line of critique addresses the potentially unmanageable policy consequences of human security. Here, the first charge is that labeling all potential harms to the individual security threats makes prioritizing political action impossible.

These three theories constitute the frameworks for the analysis of AFRICOM in the continent.

2.11.5 Relative Deprivation Theory (RD)

The paradigmatic study of the protracted human security pathology in the continent is viewed through the analytical lens of relative deprivation theory. Relative deprivation theory was developed by Ted Robert Gurr. The theory links economic disparity with the propensity of individuals to resort to violent political action. Gurr uses relative deprivation to “denote the tension that develops from a discrepancy between the ‘ought’ and the ‘is’ of collective value satisfaction, that disposes men to violence” (Gurr, 1970:3-4). The theory furnishes a more useful analysis of internal conflict (especially collective violence). The concept of RD finds its clearest expression in the works of James Davies (1962: 5-19), Oberschall (1969: 5-23), and Birrel (1972: 317- 343). This theory places the relative sense of deprivation as the main source of grievance and conflict behaviours among people. As Runciman (1966: 9) pointedly notes, if people have no reason to expect or hope for more than they can achieve, they will be less discontented with what they have, or even grateful simply to be able to hold on to it. According to Gurr (1970:9-11), "all collective attacks within a political community against the political regime, its actors or its policies" emanate from feelings of deprivation. He further elaborates on the forms of political violence with which he is concerned:

Turmoil: Relatively spontaneous, unorganized political violence with substantial popular participation, including violent political strikes, riots, political clashes, and localized rebellions. Conspiracy: Highly organized political violence with limited participation, including organized political assassinations, Small scale terrorism, small-scale guerrilla wars, coups d'e'tat and mutinies. Internal war: Highly organized political violence with widespread popular participation, designed to overthrow the regime or dissolve

the state and accompanied by extensive violence, including large-scale terrorism and guerrilla wars, civil wars, and revolutions (Gurr, 1970:11).

In his masterpiece *Why Men Rebel*, Gurr (1970: 24) argues that the greater the deprivation an individual perceives relative to his expectation, the greater his discontent; the more widespread and intense discontent is among the members of a society, the more likely and severe is civil strife. In essence, what Gurr is saying is that collective disadvantage and relative deprivation underlie violent political mobilization. When individuals' expectations of economic or political goods exceed the actual distribution of those goods, political violence is more likely. Fearon and Laitin (2003:75-90) demonstrate that poverty is a positive predictor of violent domestic conflict, along with general political instability, rough terrain, and large population levels, because it is related to "financially and bureaucratically weak states" and aids insurgents in recruitment.

2.12 Conclusion

This chapter contributes to the human security debate through a review and analysis of the evolutionary trend and sequence of events that engendered the global call for reconceptualization of security. The chapter examined the uniqueness of African security which deserves peculiar and urgent attention. It also canvassed, inter alia, the inadequacies of Western oriented security paradigm in addressing the human security needs of the continent. Hence, the theories of power within the purview of political realism, securitization and human security paradigm are adopted as frameworks for the study's theoretical analyses, while relative deprivation theory is used to explain the negative response of African people to Western imperialist incursion into the continent. In the next chapter, the study will critically examine the fundamental causes and consequences of human insecurity in Africa. The endogenous and exogenous factors that coalesced to produce humanitarian catastrophe will be empirically investigated.

CHAPTER THREE

AN OVERVIEW OF THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF HUMAN INSECURITY IN AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

The human security situation in Africa is of utmost concern not only to Africans but to the other regions of the world. However, the human security situation in Africa historically has been characterized by pathology of conflict that has disruptive consequences for the wellbeing of her people. There were histories of conflicts in pre-colonial Africa. However, histories also show that conflicts and wars were not unique to Africa as evidence abounds of its existence in other regions of the world. Furthermore, pre-colonial African conflicts were not recorded to have occurred on the large scale of some conflicts in today's Africa (Taiwo, 2009:59). The characteristics of pre-colonial conflicts varied between internal rebellions, wars of conquests between kingdoms, tribal wars over farmlands and reciprocal killings over murdered kin (Bujra, 2002:29). However, there were long peaceful periods of economic boom and inter-state relations which enhanced the wellbeing of the people.

Insecurity and instability in much of Africa has become a single, complex and interrelated problem that is an intrinsic part of the debate about the nature and capability of the African state (Aning, 2003:4). While there are only a few collapsed or failed states in Africa, most African states are weak, as governance has contracted rather than expanded in recent decades parallel with the acute economic crises experienced by the continent (Cilliers, 2004:21, Messner, 2014:23-26). Africa has been judged to be "the most warring region on the planet" (Van Tongeren, 1999:11; Jackson, 2000a:210).

The rate of conflict in Africa increased drastically in the late 1980s when half of its region were plunged into violent crises, affecting the security conditions of about 30 per cent of the continent's population (Jackson, 2000:208). By mid-2001, violent conflicts of diverse magnitude have impinged on the human security conditions of many African countries. Countries like Rwanda, Liberia, Algeria, Sierra Leone,

Burundi, Congo-Brazzaville, Uganda, Senegal, Guinea, Angola, Western Sahara, Chad and the Comoros were engrossed in violent conflicts while many other states like Lesotho, South Africa, Namibia, Kenya, Central African Republic, Djibouti, Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire, and Nigeria faced instability, high levels of domestic political violence, or burgeoning secessionist and rebel movements (Jackson, 2000). Countries like Somalia, Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo have continued to engage in unending internal conflicts which have spilled over into neighbouring states and upset regional security. The rapid growth of regional and intra-state conflict in viciousness, intensity, magnitude and complexity has compounded the security challenges in Africa. These threats have been much more pronounced and indeed have taken on a scale, intensity and frequency that have defied even the imaginations of scholars, policy-makers and practitioners.

The fact is that whenever and wherever conflict occurs, the security of individuals and communities are seriously undermined. As Wanyande (1997: 1-2) discloses, the costs of conflicts in Africa in terms of loss of human life and property, and the destruction of social infrastructure are enormous. Hundreds of thousands of people have been killed in many of the countries in which the conflicts occur. Many others have also suffered and continue to suffer untold psychological trauma associated with conflicts. Moreover, once conflicts occur, scarce resources are inevitably diverted to the purchase of military equipment at the expense of socio-economic development (Report of the Commission for Africa (RCA), 2005: 107). The Rwandan genocide of 1994 stands as vivid testimony of conflict-engendered suffering that is prevalent in Africa. The insecurity situation in the continent is graphically illustrated by Annan when he points out that:

Since 1970, more than 30 wars have been fought in Africa; the vast majority of them are intra-state in origin. In 1996 alone, 14 of the 52 countries of Africa were afflicted by armed conflict, accounting for more than half of all war related deaths worldwide and resulting in more than 8 million refugees, returnees and displaced persons. The consequences of those conflicts have seriously undermined Africa's efforts to ensure long-term stability, prosperity and peace for its people (UNSCOR, 1998:4).

Jackson (2000:22) posits that about eight million Africans were estimated to have lost their lives as a direct result of war from 1960 to 2000 and about five and a half million of these figures were civilians. Statistics of refugees show that within the period, there were eleven million internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Africa and another three million cross-border refugees (DFID 2000:para.21).

This challenge of insecurity has engendered poverty and endangered the human security of many Africans. Akokpari (2007), posits that Africa has an alarming amount of conflicts and instability. Over 40 per cent of its 800 million people live below the poverty line and this percentage is predicted to rise. Currently, there are conflicts of diverse magnitude in many African countries which are detrimental to human wellbeing and engender gross violation of individual rights. Libya, Egypt, Mali, Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan, Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo and Central African Republic are hot spots where low premiums are placed on human lives and wellbeing. This worsening security situation is more pronounced in Sub-Saharan Africa with far-reaching consequences. According to McKinley (2005:10), about five hundred million Africans face the daily struggle of survival on less than \$2 income. In 18 out of 40 Sub-Saharan countries, the proportion of under-nourished people has increased steadily over the past decades to reach 400 million people at present (World Bank Report 2010). The maternal mortality ratio for the world is estimated at 400 per 100,000 live births but, at 1,000 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births in Africa. The countries with the highest maternal mortality ratio are all in Africa and out of twelve countries with the highest number of maternal deaths; the continent is home to seven, thus accounting for one-third of global maternal deaths. Adding to the challenges of insecurity is the excruciating burden of HIV/AIDS epidemic. While HIV/AIDS is a global crisis, the continent has the highest incidence of the disease.

According to WHO and UNAIDS, (2010:20), over three-quarters of all AIDS deaths occurred in Sub-Saharan Africa. Worldwide, some 40 million people are currently infected with the HIV virus; over 25 million of them are in Africa. More than 10 million children in Africa have been orphaned by AIDS. While the global HIV/AIDS prevalence rate is estimated at 1 per cent, the average for Sub-Saharan Africa is over 9 per cent (UNICEF, 2012). This pandemic disease is deepening and spreading

poverty, worsening gender inequalities and eroding governments' capabilities to adequately cater for citizens. Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest proportion of people living in abject poverty, with nearly half of its population below the international poverty line of \$1 a day.

Compounding the security challenges in Africa is the complex series of interconnected and ever-evolving crises faced by countries of the Sahel region. The crises in Mali and Nigeria were not least a result of the security vacuum following the Libyan revolution. The ousting of the Gaddafi regime in 2011 and the subsequent fragility of the Libyan state exacerbated the Sahel's longstanding political, economic and humanitarian vulnerabilities. Instability in Mali and increased arms flows from Libya into the region collided with a humanitarian crisis brought on by drought and poor harvests in a region already burdened by chronic poverty and food insecurity.

These volatile mixes of insecurity and conflict aggravated the continent's developmental process and caused Africa's human security condition to deteriorate. This view is corroborated by Solomon and Wart (2005:4) who argue that territorial disputes, armed conflict, civil wars, violence and the collapse of governments and ultimately the state have come to represent the greatest challenges to peace, security and stability in Africa. In this chapter, the study explores some of the endogenous and exogenous causes of human insecurity in Africa and their consequences for the continent's security problematiques.

3.2 Historical Background

Various factors are responsible for the deplorable human security situation in Africa. The immediate causes of human insecurity in Africa include dictatorial regimes, poverty, state weakness or fragility, injustice, exclusion and discrimination. Others include political instability, ethno-religious rivalries and electoral violence. Beyond the immediate pathologies mentioned above, there are various historical factors that account for these perennial disorders. The great cataclysms of Western colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonial interventions and the subsequent misrule by post-colonial political leaders are fundamental factors that have exacerbated and are exacerbating the condition of human security in Africa. Tejan-Cole (1998:481), for

instance, argues that we cannot comprehend the contemporary security situation in Africa without making reference to the turmoil and tragedy of the past.

Rodney (1984) argues that the precondition for understanding the root of political instability and insecurity in Africa is an examination of the historical development and the dynamics of the peripheral capitalist state in Africa. Mazrui (2008:37) concurs with this view when he posits that the seeds of post-colonial wars lie in the sociological and political mess which 'white' colonialism created in Africa. He further argues that colonial powers destroyed old methods of conflict resolution and traditional African political institution, without creating an effective substitute. Nwolise (2001:26) avers that Africa's security problematic can be dated as far back as the trans-atlantic, East African, and North African slave systems and dynamics, specifically between the 1450s and the 1850s when about 400,000,000 African sons and daughters were violently seized and taken to Europe as sellable commodities. The method of their acquisition introduced violence, rape, murder and torture, all of which cheapened and degraded human life to scales never previously known in Africa (Taiwo, 2009:62).

3.3 The colonial legacy

The contemporary security situation in Africa is rooted in the "Berlinist state" that parceled out African territories to various imperialist powers (Kieh, 2007:3). The balkanization of Africa into spheres of influence by the European powers dated back to the 15th century with the colonization of Angola in 1442, and Mozambique in 1505 by Portugal. The colonial conquest was furthered by French occupation of Senegal, Reunion and Mauritius in 1637, 1663 and 1715 respectively. In 1652, the Dutch settled at the Cape while the British occupied Sierra-Leone, Cape Colony, Natal, Gold Coast and Nigeria in 1808, 1814, 1843, 1842 and 1851 respectively. Algiers, Equatorial Africa and Tunisia were invaded by France in 1830, 1841 and 1881. The British invaded and occupied Basutoland in 1868 and subsequently annexed the Transvaal in 1877 (Woddis, 1961; Fordham, 1968; Oliver and Fage cited in Offiong, 2001:8). The British occupation of Egypt in 1882 which was intended to insure the British control of the Suez Canal resulted in the alienation of France and consequential territorial disputes that were resolved in Berlin conference of 1884-1885 (Offiong, 2001:9).

In 1885, King Leopold of Belgium seized the Congo and German East Africa was also established. Subsequently, others followed: Sudan 1889, Zanzibar 1890, Nyasaland 1891, Northern and Southern Rhodesia 1891, Bechuanaland 1891, Uganda 1893, Dahome 1894, Kenya 1895, Nigeria 1900, Italian Somaliland 1905, Libya 1911, and Spanish Morocco 1912. Thus, African societies were attacked and conquered. Eventually, Ethiopia was Africa's only autonomous state, but was invaded by fascist Italy in 1935 (Woddis cited in Effiong, 2001:10). However, it is noteworthy that these conquests were not achieved without considerable resistance from African societies. Western powers merged different ethnic groups into provinces with little regard for the people living in the newly controlled areas, or for existing geographic or cultural boundaries. Populations that had previously identified themselves as distinct, based on their cultural, ethnic, and/or religious heritage, were forced to unify under a single national identity. The new multi-ethnic colonial territories were maintained, upheld, and controlled through the use of violence, and through the implementation of imperialist policies. In regard to vast areas occupied and the diversity of African communities, the Western powers created a class of intermediaries to assist them. Certain populations were denied their political, economic, social, and human rights. The various ethnic nationalities that opposed the imposition of colonialism were grossly repressed and marginalized to the advantage of those who cooperated with colonial policies. The colonial authorities enhanced the authority of African chiefs who supported and propagated colonial ideas to the detriment of the emerging nationalists while recalcitrant African leaders were deposed and exiled. This pattern of selective marginalization polarized societies and created conflicts. Ancient unresolved conflicts and other hostilities between African societies which came under colonial rule were fully exploited by the colonial administrations while old hostilities were deepened.

Governments were organized according to European colonial theory and practice, and were staffed predominantly by European decision-makers. The colonial government was usually headed by a Governor-General appointed by the metropolitan power without consultation with the colonized. In British colonial territories, the system of 'indirect rule' was introduced as a result of shortage of colonial staff, meaning that they were using African authorities to keep order, collect

taxes and supply labour. In communities where centralised systems of government were not entrenched (for example, the Igbo-speaking people of South-Eastern Nigeria), paramount rulers were appointed and imposed on the people. In French colonial territories, policies of assimilation and association were introduced which used a system of direct rule where African chiefs were no more than colonial puppets. As agents of colonial rule, they lost their previous traditional positions of authority. Democracy, good governance and fundamental human rights were not included in the vocabulary of colonial overrule.

The colonial administrations deliberately refused to provide enabling environments for Africans. Africans were forced to provide sundry services to the state while they were denied the basic necessities of life like shelters, jobs, health care, and education and in extreme cases food (Kieh, 2009:8). Thus apart from the recruited and often forced labour needed to build infrastructural systems that would facilitate transporting agricultural and mineral resources to the coast, there was also need for assistant workers for the colonial bureaucracy. First, the locals had to undergo some training, hence the introduction of the mission and colonial schools. The result of this was the creation of a new class of individuals exposed to aspects of European culture that were super-imposed on the local ethnic cultures (Diop, 2012:224).

European powers controlled every aspect of the colonial economy in order to maintain power and domination and to realize the economic objectives of colonization. Africans were forced to produce cash crops by the use of physical and economic coercion, and by the expropriation of land for large scale plantations for growing crops for European market (Lappe and Collins, 1994:37). Colonial administrations redistributed land and determined who should produce what and how. Laws and policies reflected interests and values of European imperial powers such as as military uses, economic advantages, Christianization, European settlement, and so on (Ibid). These imperial policies exacerbated ethnic rivalry by favouring one group above the others, distributed resources in an unequal manner, disallowed democratic governments, and prohibited local participation in governmental decisions and actions. Strike action and trade unionism were either banned or restricted, political parties were limited and in extreme cases disallowed.

Local press outlets were closed down and criticism was suppressed while emergent nationalists were either arrested, ostracized, jailed or banished (Woddis, 1967:15).

Colonial rule in most African counties lasted less than a century but its negative impact on the human security of Africans was enormous and far-reaching. Between the 1880s and the beginning of the World War I., during the New Imperial period, Africa experienced transition from the 'informal' imperialism of military control and economic dominance to the direct rule of European powers. By the end of World War I. Western powers such as Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Portugal and Spain, had divided Africa into spheres of their influence in order to acquire new lands and resources. However, their knowledge about Africa was inadequate. Africa was known more as a coast- line than as a continent and the maps utilized to carve up Africa were mostly inaccurate. When European powers were marking out the boundaries of their new territories, they simply drew straight lines on the map without taking into consideration the numerous traditional monarchies, chiefdoms, and other forms of African polities (Meredith, 2005:8). "Whenever and wherever colonial rule was established, it was essentially a paternalistic, bureaucratic dictatorship" (O' Toole, 2001:48). Land and people became no more than 'pieces on the chess board' as Britain's Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury verified: "We have been giving away mountains and rivers and lakes to each other, only hindered by the small impediment that we never knew exactly where they were" (quoted in Meredith, 2005:2).

Zezeza (2012:2) notes that the wars of conquest exacted a heavy demographic price, which, when combined with the predations of primitive colonial accumulation, most graphically and grimly illustrated in King Leopold's genocidal 'red rubber' tyranny in the Congo that slaughtered 10 million people (Hochschild 1998), led to the deaths of many millions of people and spawned such vast dislocations that some medical historians have called the years between 1890 and 1930 'the unhealthiest period in all African history' (Patterson and Hartwig 1978: 4). The character of the colonial state was multidimensional. As earlier stated, some of the dimensions of colonial Africa were repression, violence, negligence, exploitation and exclusion. Edie (2003:48) posits that:

All colonial states in Africa had certain characteristics; they were conceived in violence and issued from conquest; they established imperial sovereignty on the conquered territories; they were all centralized and coercive; they all created bureaucratic elite; they dominated economic activities; they employed racist ideologies; they all sought to integrate the economy of the colony into the imperial economy.

The oppressive policies of the colonial state reflected its total disregard for the cultural, economic, political and social rights of Africans. As a violent construct, the colonial state relied primarily on the use of brute force as the dominant mode of state-society relations. The colonial state constituted the greatest threat to individual and community wellbeing. Crowder (1987:11) notes that the colonial state engaged in burning of villages, destruction of crops, killing of women and children, and execution of leaders. By these means the colonial power conquered and subjugated Africans through their state control of state power and resources. The typical colonial regime was autocratic, authoritarian, undemocratic and despotic. Despite its authoritarian nature, the colonial state was weak, and its involvement with African society was very limited, since it had little concern for the improvement of the masses' conditions of life. During the era of colonialism, the rural masses were alienated from the state. Thus, the colonial period saw the development of a state based on domination rather than legitimacy and an authoritarian political culture that considered violence, patronage and corruption as normal tools of maintaining control over a population (Chazan et al, 1999).

The constitutional powers of the territories were tenaciously held by the colonial officials without recourse to the natives. Decrees were issued without debates, consultation or participation. Laws were enacted with impunity to enhance the maximum exploitation of the colonized people and their natural resources. African people were rigidly tied by these draconian decrees and legal enactments so as not to disrupt their exploitation. Decrees were promulgated to set the lowest minimum wage, to impose a poll tax, to introduce system of forced labour, to refuse people the right to grow the crops of their choice. With the stratification of African society into classes, ethnicities and races for the colonial braggadocio, coupled with the transfer of Africa's resources to the metropolis through plunder and pillage, the colonial state

created a volatile human security situation which bedevilled the post-colonial security architecture of the continent. In most parts of Africa, the state was so intertwined with concessionary companies that the distinction between the public administration and business came to be blurred (Bayard, 1993). The state nearly exclusively focused on its extractive duties. An impressive industrial infrastructure and an extended network of roads were built, but sectors, such as healthcare and education, were completely ignored and left to the church, which had been operating 99.6% of schools (Young 1994). No good quality education was provided until the 1950s. Additionally, the colonial governments cemented North-South dichotomies in Africa. There were separate administrations in many parts of Africa. For example: northern and southern Sudan, British Somalia and Italian Somaliland, northern and southern protectorates in Nigeria, Eritrea (Italian) and Ethiopia (not colonized), as well as regional or ethnic favoritism in Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda and Burundi escalating political disputes directly after the departure of the colonial administrations.

Some analysts argue that the current security challenges in Africa resulted from colonialism and "incomplete nation-building." During colonization, heterogeneous populations were united into single parties and movements against the common enemy. Some states still experience conflict between those who won and those who lost out at independence.

Colonial borders are a further source of human insecurity. During the Cold War many conflicts in the continent were not easily distinguishable as internal or inter-state wars. The end of the Cold War has weakened ideological models and internal security mechanisms, resulting in new demands for self-determination. In a balanced system of reciprocity, traditional warfare had a political function: to establish ascendancy to ensure control of resources and a symbolic means of delineating the political and cultural boundaries of ethnic identity. The collapse of that system began with colonial penetration and is linked to the introduction of new forms of exchange relations, a shrinking resource base, decay of governance, and the spread of automatic weapons. Localized battles for resource control have in effect been replaced by state-sponsored asset transfer that benefits narrow elite bands whose interests do not fit with historical notions of balance and reciprocity.

These conditions were particularly evident in Belgian Congo and British colonial territories like Sudan where the British favoured the Arab speaking north and its trading elites, while they ignored, completely, a South Sudan that had been deemed to be just a reservoir of resources (Woodward, 2003). The British administration limited itself to taxing the production of resources, such as cotton, and exploiting the thriving trade conducted by an emerging class of North Sudanese traders. Except for the maintenance and the expansion of communications, the colonial administration had not taken any significant measure to modify the living conditions of the Sudanese (ibid).

Both colonial possessions were ruled with authoritarian methods, both retained their coercive institutions intact after the independence and in both, the limits between private business and public administration were blurred because of the exclusively extractive nature of the state. In this respect, for example, the Belgian colonial state was very similar to the Congo of Mobutu, under which the central government relinquished any function aside from the extraction of revenue for a restricted group of privileged individuals. Another important aspect is that both used divide and rule tactics, purposely neglecting the improvement of the local workforce through education. Instead, they privileged an ethnic or social group over the others, increasing inequality and the creation of small, westernized local elite (Gordon, 2007).

Kieh (2009:7) stratifies the colonial mission into two broad categories. First, colonialism created conditions that were favourable to the accumulation of capital by the members of the imperial capitalist classes either resident in the metropolis or the colonies. This factor clearly demonstrated the centrality of economics as the motivating force that gave impetus to colonialism and imperialism. Through this framework, wealth is transferred from Africa to countries overseas (Davidson, 1994:19). Second and related, in order to create conditions that were propitious for the profit-making agenda of the dominant classes, the colonial state developed a full battery of repressive tools that sought to cow colonized Africans into submission. Amin (2006:93) hinges the motive of western colonization of Africa on economic imperatives of the colonizers as they systematically created conditions that bred violence and insecurity. Africans for centuries were culturally adulterated through

religious and mental indoctrination against their heritage. In short, colonization has left Africans weakened culturally, economically and politically and in a crisis of leadership.

These negative cultural effects cannot be overemphasized. Adigun Agbaje contends that colonialism's attempt to replace indigenous values with Western ones produced a cultural dualism, leading to a "moral disorientation among the African people between the old and the new, a dualism neither well-aligned nor properly digested." Communalism and traditional religious leadership were discouraged, and replaced with "the gospel of individualism and a monastic and abstract view of a universal, remote God, not directly concerned with issues of governance, who could be approached only through practices and observances infused with Western cultural precepts" (Agbaje, 2003:41).

At the end of the 1960s, six African colonies remained. Of the six, five were settler colonies, that is, colonies in which the European settler community's monopoly of power kept the majority African populations from gaining their political freedom. Of these six countries, five were in Southern Africa: Angola (Portugal/settler), Mozambique (Portugal/settler), Namibia (South Africa/settler), South Africa (British/Dutch settler) and Zimbabwe (British/settler). The small Portuguese colony of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde in West Africa was the sixth colony. Just as in other African colonies, African nationalist movements had formed in each of these countries in the 1940s and 1950s. These political parties sought peaceful, constitutional change. That is, the primary aim of the nationalist parties was to change the constitutions of the settler colonies to recognize the rights of the majority African population. One of the popular slogans of these parties was the demand for One Man, One Vote.

For many years, the white settlers in settler colonies had the right to vote. They used this vote to elect representatives who passed laws that protected the power of the European settlers and discriminated against Africans. African nationalist leaders believed that if franchise was the right of all citizens, the majority population would use their vote to bring in majority, independent African rule. The settler colonial governments responded to the non-violent constitutional demands of African

nationalist parties with laws that banned all political protests and with violence. Repressive legislation allowed the settler governments to arrest and imprisoned the leaders of the banned African political parties. The most famous of the imprisoned political leaders is Nelson Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress of South Africa, who spent twenty-seven years in jail before being released in 1989. In 1994, he became the first president of an independent South Africa. However, Mandela was just one of many African leaders who spent years in jail as a result of their demands for freedom, majority rule, and independence for their countries

One of the most important legacies of the colonial era was the formalization of expansionism. The British pushed their boundaries in southern Sudan and Kenya until they met with resistance from Ethiopia, France and Italy, all of whom were widening their rule concurrently. The trend continued after independence with Somali irredentism, Ethiopia's annexation of Eritrea, claims on French-protected Djibouti, and various border skirmishes. Internal expansion of state power within state boundaries often met with violence, such as in the Ogaden, Bale, and Sidamo provinces of Ethiopia during Emperor Selassie's reign.

3.4 Neo-colonialism in Africa

The anti-colonial wars were protracted and brutal;⁶ in some cases hardly a generation passed before wars against colonization turned into wars against colonialism. These were defensive, unavoidable wars⁷, waged at enormous cost to African lives and livelihoods, driven by the desire to maintain or regain political autonomy, the precondition for establishing the social contract of democracy, the political culture of human rights, and the economic possibilities of development (Zezeza, 2007:5).

Nkrumah (1965:ix) defines neo-colonialism as the process whereby the state has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty but in reality, its economic system and political policy are directed from outside. The term neo-colonialism was

⁶ Algerian war of independence against France (1954-62), Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde wars against Portugal (1975), Mau Mau revolt in British-ruled Kenya (1951-4), second Chimurenga (Rhodesian Bush war) in Zimbabwe against Britain (1964-79), Western Sahara liberation war against Spain and France (1956-75), Namibia liberation war against apartheid South Africa (1966-90) and South Africa war against apartheid regime (1960-94).

⁷ Asiwaju (1985) identifies 177 partitioned ethnic groups that span all African borders. Moreover, Englebert et al (2002) estimates that the population of partitioned ethnic groups is on average more than 40% of the total population. Likewise, Alesina et al (2011) argue that many post-colonial wars are attributable to these arbitrary partitions.

popularised in the wake of decolonisation, largely through the activities of scholars and leaders from the newly independent states of Africa and the Pan-Africanist movement. Many of these leaders came together with those of other postcolonial states at the Bandung Conference of 1955, leading to the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement. The All-African Peoples' Conference (AAPC) meetings of the late 1950s and early 1960s spread this critique of neo-colonialism. Their Tunis conference of 1960 and Cairo conference of 1961 specified their opposition to what they labelled neo-colonialism, singling out the French Community of independent states organised by the former colonial power. "Resolution on Neo-colonialism" is cited as a landmark for having presented a collectively arrived- at definition of neo-colonialism and a description of its main features. Throughout the Cold War, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America defined neo-colonialism as a primary collective enemy of these independent states.

Denunciations of neo-colonialism also became popular with some national independence movements while they were still waging anti-colonial armed struggle. During the 1970s, in the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola for example, the rhetoric espoused by the Marxist movements FRELIMO and MPLA, which were to eventually assume power upon those nations' independence, rejected both traditional colonialism and neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism is divided into two categories namely paternalistic and modern neo-colonialism. The term paternalistic neo-colonialism involves the belief held by a neo-colonial power that their colonial subjects benefit from their occupation⁸. Critics of neo-colonialism, arguing that this is both exploitive and racist, contend this is merely a justification for continued political hegemony and economic exploitation of past colonies, and that such justifications are the modern reformulation of the civilizing mission concepts of the 19th century (Chikendu, 2004:71).

Foreign mercenaries, like the United States and British veterans training anti-insurgency troops in Sierra Leone, are often accused of being instruments of neo-

⁸ In one of his poems, Rudyard Kipling called on the white race to take up the white man's burden and govern and civilize the Asiatics and Africans whom he classified as "sullen people, half-devils and half-children" (Quoted in Awogu,1975).

colonial powers. French government minister, Jacques Foccart, was alleged to have used mercenaries like Bob Denard to maintain friendly governments or overthrow unfriendly governments in France's former colonies.⁹

Modern neo-colonialism also known as Françafrique refers to the continuing close relationship between France and some leaders of its former African colonies. It was first used by president of the Côte d'Ivoire, Félix Houphouët-Boigny, who appears to have used it in a positive sense, to refer to good relations between France and Africa, but it was subsequently borrowed by critics of this close and unbalanced relationship. Jacques Foccart, who from 1960 was chief of staff for African matters for President Charles de Gaulle (1958–69) and then Georges Pompidou (1969-1974), is claimed to be the leading exponent of Françafrique. In 1972, Mongo Beti, a writer in exile from Cameroon, published *Main basse sur le Cameroun, autopsie d'une décolonisation ('Cruel hand on Cameroon, autopsy of a decolonization')*, a critical history of recent Cameroon, which asserted that Cameroon and other colonies remained under French control in all but name, and that the post-independence political elites had actively fostered this continued dependence.

Verschave, Beti and others point to a forty year post independence relationship with nations of the former African colonies, whereby French troops maintain forces on the ground (often used by friendly African leaders to quell revolts) and French corporations maintain monopolies on foreign investment (usually in the form of extraction of natural resources). French troops in Africa were (and it is argued, still are) often involved in coups d'état resulting in a regime acting in the interests of France but against its country's own interests.

Those leaders closest to France (particularly during the Cold War), are presented in this critique as agents of continued French control in Africa. Those most often mentioned are Omar Bongo, President of Gabon, Félix Houphouët-Boigny, former President of Côte d'Ivoire, Gnassingbé Eyadéma, former President of Togo, Denis Sassou-Nguesso of the Republic of the Congo, Idriss Déby, President of Chad, and Hamani Diori, former President of Niger. The French Community and the later Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie are defined by critics as agents of

⁹ The Guardian October 16, 2007. Also see The Independent, October 16, 2007.

French neo-colonial influence, especially in Africa. While the main thrust of this claim is that the Francophonie organisation is a front for French dominance of post-colonial nations, the relation with the French language is often more complex. Algerian intellectual Kateb Yacine wrote in 1966 that "Francophony is a neo-colonial political machine, which only perpetuates our alienation, but the usage of French language does not mean that one is an agent of a foreign power, and I write in French to tell the French that I am not French."

After a hastened decolonization process of the Belgian Congo, Belgium continued to control, through "The Société Générale de Belgique", roughly 70% of the Congolese economy following the decolonization process. The most contested part was in the province of Katanga where the Union Minière du Haut Katanga, part of the Société, had control over the mineral and resource rich province. After a failed attempt to nationalize the mining industry in the 1960s, it was reopened to foreign investment.

Critics of British relations with its former African colonies point out that the United Kingdom viewed itself as a 'civilizing force' bringing 'progress' and modernization to its colonies. This mindset, they argue, has enabled continued military and economic dominance in some of its former colonies, and has been seen again following British intervention in Sierra Leone.

3.4.1 Neo-colonialism as economic dominance

In broader usage, the charge of neo-colonialism has been leveled at powerful countries and transnational economic institutions who involve themselves in the affairs of less powerful countries. In this sense, 'Neo-colonialism' implies a form of contemporary, economic imperialism that powerful nations behave like colonial powers, and that this behaviour is likened to colonialism in a post-colonial world. In lieu of direct military -political control, neo-colonialist powers are said to employ economic, financial, and trade policies to dominate less powerful countries. Those who subscribe to the concept maintain these amounts to de facto control over less powerful nations (see Immanuel Wallerstein's World Systems Theory cited in Sorinel, 2010:220-224).

Both previous metropolitan powers and other economically powerful states maintain a continuing presence in the economies of former colonies, especially where it

concerns raw materials. Stronger nations are thus charged with interfering in the governance and economics of weaker nations to maintain the flow of raw materials overseas, at prices and under conditions which unduly benefit developed nations and trans-national corporations. Those who argue that neo-colonialism historically supplemented (and later supplanted) colonialism, point to the fact that Africa today pays more money every year in debt service payments to the IMF and World Bank than it receives in loans from them, thereby often depriving the inhabitants of these countries of actual necessities. This dependence, they maintain, allows the IMF and World Bank to impose Structural Adjustment Plans upon these nations. Adjustments largely consisting of privatization programs which they say result in deteriorating health, education, an inability to develop infrastructure, and in general, lower living standards.

They also point to recent statements made by United Nations Secretary-General's Special Economic Adviser, Dr. Jeffrey Sachs, who heatedly demanded that the entire African debt (approximately \$200 billion) be forgiven outright and recommended that African nations simply stop paying if the World Bank and IMF do not reciprocate:

The time has come to end this charade. The debts are unaffordable. If they won't cancel the debts I would suggest obstruction; you do it yourselves. Africa should say: 'thank you very much but we need this money to meet the needs of children who are dying right now so we will put the debt servicing payments into urgent social investment in health, education, drinking water, control of AIDS and other needs.' (Professor Jeffrey Sachs, Director of The Earth Institute at Columbia University and Special Economic Advisor to UN Secretary General Kofi Annan).

Critics of the IMF have conducted studies of the effects of its policy which demands currency devaluation. They pose the argument that the IMF requires these devaluations as a condition for refinancing loans, while simultaneously insisting that the loan be repaid in dollars or other First World currencies against which the underdeveloped country's currency had been devalued. This, they say, increases the respective debt by the same percentage of the currency being devalued, therefore

amounting to a scheme for keeping Third World nations in perpetual indebtedness, impoverishment and neo-colonial dependence (Ake,1981:33).

One variant of neo-colonialism theory suggests the existence of cultural colonialism: the alleged desire of wealthy nations to control other nations' values and perceptions through cultural means, such as media, language, education and religion, purportedly ultimately for economic reasons (Watson cited in Chikendu, 2004:40). One element of this is a critique of 'Colonial Mentality' which writers have traced well beyond the legacy of 19th century colonial empires. Critics argue that people, once subject to colonial or imperial rule, latch onto physical and cultural differences between the foreigners and themselves, leading some to associate power and success with the foreigners' ways. This eventually leads to the foreigners' ways being regarded as the better way and being held in a higher esteem than previous indigenous ways (Nwankwo, 1995:28). In much the same fashion, and with the same reasoning of better-ness, the colonized may over time equate the colonizers' race or ethnicity itself as being responsible for their superiority. Cultural rejections of colonialism, such as the Negritude movement, or simply the embracing of seemingly authentic local culture are then seen in a post-colonial world as a necessary part of the struggle against domination. By the same reasoning, importation or continuation of cultural mores or elements from former colonial powers may be regarded as a form of neo-colonialism.

Through the process of neo-colonialism, Africa's post-independence leaders were provided with means to perpetuate their regimes as long as they aligned their policies with their various Cold-War partners, thereby relieving leaders from any semblance of accountability to local populations. The USSR was seeking to ally itself with African liberation movements, especially the more radical ones. The Western powers responded by supporting, almost unconditionally, the most corrupt regimes imaginable as long as they adhered to their ideological proclivity. While the independent struggles liberated Africans societies from formal colonialism, in many cases they left a lasting legacy of conflict which, coupled with Cold War intrusion, sooner or later erupted into vicious post- colonial conflicts, as happened in Algeria in the 1990s (Martinez 2000; Volpi 2003) and in postcolonial Angola and Mozambique where UNITA and RENAMO served as 'apartheid's kontras', as William Minter

(1994) calls them (also see Ciment 1997, Dinerman 2006). The Cold War served to exacerbate the fragile human security situation in Africa. Cilliers (2004:23) noted that France in particular carried out an average of one military intervention in Africa per year from 1960-1994. The post-colonial order was founded on the same lop-sided socio-economic and political structures which were already in existence. Zeleza (2008:1-2) posits that many postcolonial conflicts are rooted in colonial conflicts. Similarly, Kastfelt (2005:2) opines that there is hardly any zone of conflict in contemporary Africa that cannot trace its sordid violence to colonial history.

Indeed, the unfinished business of liberation is at the heart of the current crisis and conflict in Zimbabwe (Hammar et al. 2003; Carmody 2001; Campbell 2003), not to mention other countries in the region, including post-apartheid South Africa where high levels of violence persist (Melber 2003; Gumede 2005; Gordon 2006). It is also important to remember that Africa's anti-colonial wars, which helped to bring to an end the 'age of empire', transformed European and world history. For example, the crisis engendered by the Algerian war ushered in the Fifth Republic in France and decolonization in Mozambique and Angola liberated Portugal itself from four decades of fascism (Zelezi, 2007:4). Thus, by dismantling the colonial empires and undermining the architecture of imperial racism, Africa's liberation wars encouraged Europe to "re-humanize itself", in Ali Mazrui's (2003: 21) memorable phrase.

Unfortunately, independence brought little respite from the ravages of war for people in many countries. The instabilities and insecurities of postcolonial Africa are rooted in the political and cultural economies of both colonialism and the post-independence order itself. These are latched on to the shifting configurations and conjunctures of the international division of labour, especially the legacies and challenges of state-making and nation-building, on the one hand, and the struggles over underdevelopment, dependency, and sustainable development, on the other; how to establish modern societies that are politically, economically and technologically viable in a highly competitive, unequal and exploitative world.

3.5 The role of African elites in the contemporary human security situation in Africa

The movement for independence was spearheaded by a small group of educated Africans. These groups of individuals were united in their struggle against colonialism. However, later developments suggest that they united merely because they had common enemies. As soon as the European left, this unity collapsed. Each leading nationalist wanted to achieve power using the people of his tribe as the base. This shows that what was taken as unity of purpose by African nationalist's elites was only an illusion. Fundamentally, all government has elites at the head. Everywhere elites are viewed as essential elements of the political and social life of the country and in every country, the stability of the nation and its regime seem to depend in a large measure on the way in which the elite is organized and fits with the other sectors. There are qualities which constitute the hallmark of competent groups, and which are necessary for national development. Essentially, the formation of elites is legitimated by their identification with the most pervasive goals in society. That is, elites are an embodiment of national consensus. Elite therefore is a nexus of need fulfillment that binds situational demands and group membership. Thus, the failure and success of national development depends on any given elite's effectiveness in knitting together political influence so that it responds to functional demand on the system.

By personalizing national values and giving a relentless drive to development, the elites energize the productive capacity of the society. Indeed, the quality of a nation's elites and the image which they project upon the world constitutes an important source of power. In the former colonies, indigenous elites were nurtured by the political culture of the colonial state and were accustomed to identifying the state as the only purveyor of financial resources and favours.¹⁰ Instead of changing colonial institutions, laws and values for the better, African ruling elites entrenched these deeply compromised governance systems. The newly independent governments were often highly centralized and strongly dominated by one political leader and his

¹⁰ See Chinue Achebe "The trouble with Nigeria" Achebe correctly argued, "We have stood too long on the side-lines, and too many of us (the elites of Africa) have adopted the cynical attitude that since you cannot beat them, you must join them", to eat some crumbs and left-overs from the table of the hunters of the animal. It is a tragedy of major proportions."

political, ethnic or regional faction¹¹. These post-independence governments reposed enormous powers in the hands of their ‘founding fathers. The dominant structural make-up of these governments has meant that they can seamlessly fit into a similar centralized political culture very much like the colonial administration. These new African leaders saw state power as an instrument of domination that did not require the consent of those subject to it (Bandoura, 1995). Upon independence, these elite groups adopted the maximalist state structure where the state is expected to play a fundamental role in the political and economic life of their countries. Hence, many post-colonial states in Africa assumed leading and wide ranging interventionist roles with large public sectors. Pitcher (2002:17) notes that “States were expected to be the mechanism that would hasten economic and social development; they would be responsible for making their countries modern. They would bankroll large, technologically sophisticated industrial projects and mechanize agriculture.”

As the political center was broadened, it generated increased agitation and demands by various ethnic nationalities for self-rule¹². Ethnic elites rejected indirect rule as an insufficient form of political representation and demanded privileged access to the highest echelons of the central government to credibly guarantee their security and a fair share of state spoils (Roessler, 2011:304). These ruling classes found themselves in a sociological and economic situation not of their own historical making. They had been placed in the positions they held as a result of the departure of the metropolitan servants of colonial empire who were merely Europeans working within the matrix of colonial empire, all sharing the same culture and traditions with their homologues in the European headquarters. The bureaucratic class that was nurtured during the colonial era was naturally promoted as the new instrument of exploitation as the era of neo-colonialism took hold. This was the genesis of Africa’s comprador bourgeoisie. The unskilled indigenous communities that were impoverished by colonial policies had no significant holdings in the private sector. Very few grassroots cadres which formed part of the liberation movements had professional careers outside the struggle. At independence, many were simply appointed to posts

¹¹ See Donald L. Gordon. 2007. “African Politics” in April A Gordon and Donald L. Gordon (eds). *Understanding Contemporary Africa*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, pg 62-63.

¹² The Igbos in the South-eastern Nigeria attempted to secede from Nigeria leading to the Nigerian civil war from 1967-70. Also see Ethiopian/Eritrea war, Sudanese civil war etc.

for which they had little aptitude, experience or skills, Such a situation fuelled corruption as newly acquired state bureaucracy, military, judiciary, nationalized private industries were often seen as the ‘spoils’ of victory and the reward for the struggle of independence. The whole process became opaque and unaccountable with ‘struggle aristocracies’ dishing out patronage – jobs, government tenders, and newly nationalized private companies - to their political allies, ethnic group(s) or regional interests.

Giving jobs to members of the same faction, ethnic group or region meant the idea of merit-based appointments was all too often thrown out of the window. This also meant that even if the newly empowered independence movement launched economic development programs to transform the colonial economy, such reforms were hardly ever going to have any impact, given the fact that unqualified cronies were managing key public institutions, and that scarce resources were being diverted to allies, family and friends. Appointments to the key institutions that scrutinize as well as hold rulers to account - the judiciary, the police, and the media - became increasingly occupied by liberation aristocracy loyalists. These institutions already corrupt under colonialism, continued to be perverted by a new set of management cadres who were unlikely to hold the rulers, through whose patronage they served, to account. In many countries, this continues to be the case today. Those who held junior ranks in the colonial hierarchy but had little skills and education found it difficult to make a decent living in the post-colonial society. They too were forced to seek out, by corrupt means, the patronage of leaders that had control over the distribution of the ‘spoils’. Almost the only jobs available in the newly independent country were in government or, the newly nationalized media, banks, schools, universities etc. Remunerated employment depended on ‘clearance’ from the liberation movement leaders or the ruling group. In most cases, those critical of the incumbent regimes or their policies were likely to be excluded from work in the public and private sectors.

African post-colonial governing elites were confronted with the challenge of how, under conditions of low economic development, to establish and maintain control of diverse and geographically dispersed societies, in the absence of strong political institutions or a unifying national ideology. In order to mitigate this colonial legacy,

governing elites initially built ethnically inclusive governments in which appointees from rival ethnic groups played a role similar to that played by tribal chiefs during colonialism, acting as intermediaries between regime and society, to facilitate the transfer of local information and mobilize support for the regime (Rothchild and Foley cited in Roessler, 2011:303).

The ethnic power-sharing formula and the elite accommodation boosted the legitimacy of leaders of independent countries as national figures and strengthened their societal control through the institution of ethnic brokerage. The ethnic power holders were compensated with influence at the highest levels of government and access to state resources, which they amassed with impunity and subsequently, employed and financed their own patronage networks and mobilized societal support for the regime (Van de Walle, 2009:6). Thus, many post-colonial African states relied on the promise of development and their ability to work towards meeting the important needs of all citizens. The legitimacy of their governments was incumbent on ameliorating these needs. Unable to fulfil their pre-independence promises, post-independence regimes became increasingly authoritarian to sustain their positions and legitimacy.

However, as development initiatives failed, it quickened recourse to repression as regime maintenance became the overriding preoccupation of African post-colonial governments. ¹³They put increasing pressure on post-independence elites to live up to their promises of improved conditions of life and equitable of resources and power (Chazan et al, 1999). Given the inability of many African governments to meet the social and economic needs of their people, the citizens became disillusioned with governments that could not provide basic social and economic services, such as jobs, education, and adequate health-care. These rulers created “atmosphere[s] of

¹³ Ake (1996) notes that democracy is not a significant item on Africa’s post-independence governance agenda, rather, political practice became entrenched in accordance to which the access to state resources and personal enrichment went hand-in-hand. Due to their weak material resource base, the post-colonial governing elites used state power for their personal aggrandizement and wealth accumulation in order to wield influence over followers and competitors, thereby placing high premium on power which consequently made politics a violent zero-sum game resulting in discord amongst the component parts of the states by politicising ethnicity and religion. Politics thus degenerated to a life-and-death struggle over private access to limited public resources. Moreover, the traditional leaders who had been left aside during the process of independence, along with marginalized ethnic nationalities of the newly independent states felt disadvantaged and disenchanting by lopsided power distribution.

perpetual musical chairs” by their frequent reshuffling of ministers in and out of the government. Though costly in terms of government efficiency and productivity, “revolving door” appointments can be an effective political tool, as it prevents clients from amassing too much power within their respective ministries. Moreover, it expands the size of the ruling coalition while minimizing disaffection if the ruler can credibly convince clients that the revolving door to power always remains open, providing those who have been replaced with an incentive to stay in the ruler’s favour in hopes of a possible future appointment, rather than defecting and joining the opposition (Ibid).

Roessler (2012:309) notes that this is one of the most prevalent tactics rulers employ “to prevent threatening centres of power from coalescing” within their regimes, especially in the army, the security services, and the police, by the frequent replacement of cabinet ministers, commanders of armed forces, party leaders, and top bureaucrats as exemplified by the two of Africa’s longest-serving leaders, Mobutu Sese Seko, the President of Zaire between 1965 and 1997, and Hastings Banda, the President of Malawi from 1964 to 1994. Subsequently, the strains eventually lead to political violence which more often than not provides an environment for military take-over of governments by unconstitutional means. These situations occurred as professed allies, especially those with footholds in the army, police, or security services, exploited their regimes access and coercive capacities to seize power on their own.¹⁴ Thus, in time, political leaders appeared to be more concerned with staying in power, and building an economic base for themselves, than in the economic and social development of the citizens. In the process, leaders were virtually deified for their commitment to the struggle for independence, and spent their later years embroiled in an undignified fight for political power at the expense of their countries. This trend is epitomized by President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, whose policies have caused his country’s GDP to shrink by roughly 40 per cent during 1999 to 2003. Inflation rose by 526 per cent by October 2003, and

¹⁴ Cilliers (2004:34) notes that Africa’s post-independence leaders, unlike East Asian state élites of the same period (where independence had followed a different trajectory), appear to have been overly concerned with their own uniqueness as liberators. Having often fought for or otherwise brought their countries to independence from colonial rule, many have assumed a self-gratifying and imperial right to rule their newly independent countries – as if their contribution to liberation implied that the country owed them an exclusive right to monopolize power.

left two-thirds of the population in need of food aid in 2002/3. Often, African leaders appeared distracted by the benefits of office since “power also brought with it many opportunities for attaining wealth in an African context of extreme scarcity and poverty as well as limited private accumulation.” Since most other avenues to wealth were restricted, with the larger private enterprises being in non-African hands, political power and the benefits associated with state control became the focus of intense struggle. Thus, “Patronage politics has been integral to post-colonial efforts to maintain political control in poor, ethnically diverse peasant societies. Yet, although valuable in helping to consolidate ruling coalitions, the dynamics of patronage relations have in many proved economically highly damaging” (Beeker and Gool, 2012:11). In many post-colonial states, the result of patronage politics is a minority of economically well-off individuals, but an overwhelming majority of the people are increasingly impoverished in a continent rich in natural resources and development potential. The inability of post-colonial governments to meet the legitimate needs of their citizens degenerates into violence and exacerbate deep-seated ethnic animosities. The governing elites respond to this threat by adopting the strategy of ethnic exclusion so as to safeguard their grips on power, even at the cost of forfeiting societal control and risking civil war (Horowitz, 1985:471). This condition creates room for military intervention in African politics (although nowadays there are far fewer military coups in postcolonial Africa than was the case in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.)

3.6 The impact of the military on Africa’s human security situation

Almost all African countries that gained their independence in the 1960s started out with multi-party systems. However by the end of the 1980s, only few African countries maintained multiparty systems¹⁵. Indeed by 1970, half of the independent countries in Africa had military governments. That is, the military took over control of the government by unconstitutional means, usually through coups d’etat, and forcefully overthrew the elected civilian governments. Some coups d’etat were quite violent. In the process of taking control, the military ousted members of the civilian

¹⁵ See Sola Akinrinade. 2005. Single or Multi-party System: What Option for Africa? (Accessed 6th July, 2013). <http://www.AfricaEconomicAnalysis.org>. Also see: Salih and Nordlund. 2007. Political Parties in Africa: The Challenges for Sustained Multi-party Democracy. Africa Regional Report Based on Research and Dialogue with Political Parties.

government, including, at times, the president. However, surprisingly, sometimes coups d'état were non-violent. In these cases, the military simply surrounded the presidential palace and the civilian government surrendered peacefully.

Military intervention in African politics dates back to 1952 when Colonel Gamel Abdel Nasser overthrew King Farouk on July 23, 1952. In 1958 the second military coup took place in Africa. This time it was in Sudan when General Ibrahim Abboud overthrew the civilian government. The wave of military intervention washed over the West African coast when in 1963, a military coup was staged against the government of Silvanus Olympio of Togo and he lost his life in the process. Togo which attained independence on 27th April, 1960, became the first country in West Africa to experience a military coup. That same year, Colonel Christopher Soglo overthrew the government of Herbert Maga the Premier of Dahomey (now the Republic of Benin) on October 28, 1963 for endless political bickering. And in Nigeria, the first military intervention took place on January 15, 1966. Today, only a few African states have not experienced military intervention in their politics¹⁶. The frequency of coups d'état in this region reached the point where in Benin, for instance, in just one decade (1963 – 73), there were six successful coups.

This averages to about one coup in every twenty months. Nigeria, Ghana and Burkina Faso are not very far behind on this table. Of the 16 countries in West Africa, only the Archipelagos of Cape Verde and Senegal have been spared the whips of men on horseback. There was an attempted coup in Senegal in 1962, however. This was engineered by Mamadou Dia, the then Prime Minister, under President Léopold Sédar Senghor (Wiking, 1983:53). The 'positive image' of military hierarchies and military governments was the first to be espoused, anchored solidly in formal organization theory. Briefly stated, the military was seen by many Africans as the most national, unified, disciplined, modern, and efficient structure in society, and the repository of western and managerial skills. Army officers were viewed as puritanical, nationalist, dedicated to rapid socio-economic change, a-political and impatient with, the sterile infighting, corruption, and mismanagement of resources by political elites (Decalo, 1973:111). As a result of these alleged attributes, the army

¹⁶ Botswana, Cape Verde, Namibia, Mauritius and Senegal are the countries that have not experienced military intervention in Africa.

was viewed as “the most efficient type of organization for combining maximum rates of modernization with maximum levels of stability and control”, (Levy, 1966:603). However, many scholars have pointed out that these very same professional attributes limit its effectiveness in office. Specifically, the army's lack of ideology and developmental strategies, its hierarchical conception of authority and civic rule, were viewed as obstacles in the way of stable and constructive military administration (Mazrui, 1969:24).

The initial declarations and actions of the military juntas were illustrative of systemic disequilibrium. They all claimed that the old regime was despotic, authoritarian and corrupt. They all promised to honour the country’s international obligations and respect human rights. Irrespective of these claims, various factors precipitated military take-overs in African states. These factors include the incipient developmental tensions consequent to mobilization policies, corruption, governmental inefficiency, and intensive inter-elite strife or to a general swing of the legitimacy pendulum from incompetent civilian regimes to allegedly efficient, honest, national, and apolitical military forces (Decalo,1973:113). Other claims responsible for military incursion in the continent’s politics were political tampering with military professional integrity, its hierarchy of command, budget, personal amenities, fringe benefits and pay scales.¹⁷

However, Austin (1969) succinctly notes that the explanation of military interventions in Africa by pinpointing areas of systemic stress is not placing sufficient weight on the personal and idiosyncratic element in the military hierarchies, which have much greater freedom and scope of action within the context of fragmented and unstructured political systems. These praetorian assaults from various segments of the military regimes, engenders acute ethnic, inter-elite, and social-economic cleavages that further insecurity challenges in Africa.

¹⁷ Throughout the continent, there have been striking similarities between military coups. Most of the coups that are described as bloodless have taken place while the head of state is away (e.g. Ghana’s Kwame Nkrumah in February 1966; Nigeria’s Yakubu Gowon in July 1975; Seychelles’ James Mancham in June 1977; and Central Africa Republic’s Jean-Bedel Bokassa in September 1979; etc.), and are usually the handiwork of people either currently or formerly close to the deposed regime (Roessler, 2011:6).

Once in power, most African militaries embarked on an internal settling of accounts within the army, military budgets increased while the coup plotters received accelerated promotions. Army salaries were increased. Contrary to the academic literature about austerity and Spartan tastes, the officer corps does not differ in its bourgeois tastes from the other elites, traditional cultural values not usually placing a high value on asceticism. Thus, for example, the austerity budgets of the N.L.C. in Ghana included a 5 per cent raise in military salaries, and 41 per cent increase in military expenditure between 1966-7 and 1968-9, while allocations for agriculture, industries, communications, and trade were cut between 28.3 and 78.2 per cent (Price, 1971:425). And the blurring of civil-military boundaries brought about increased corruption and the politicization of army personnel, as well as the possibility of military fragmentation and counter-coups.

Since the early 1980s the pendulum has slowly shifted away from a focus on the achievements of African armies, though some contemporary works still implicitly start with these assumptions. The body of evidence weighs heavily in the direction of African armies which are neither 'complex structures', nor national, westernized, or modern. In most instances, hierarchical structural charts camouflage deep malaise and cleavages reflecting the wider societal chasms superimposed upon lines of division based on age, class, education, and rank (Howe, 2001:46). And whatever organizational unity African armies may possess has frequently been dramatically eroded through the politicization of their cleavages and personal ambitions once in power.

The African military juntas safeguarded their regimes by concentrating power in the hands of a small ruling clique who were in most cases, family members or co-ethnics. These individuals were seen as more loyal due to trust developed over years of repeated interactions. They were embedded within the same social networks that facilitate information exchange and makes plotting more difficult; and stronger in-group norms of reciprocity (Fearon and Laitin, 1996; Habyarimana et al.2007).

Most of the military regimes reneged on redressing the enormous human security pathologies created by long years of misrule; rather, they cynically exploited their country's ethnic and religious fault lines for personal advantage. These military

regimes exerted dictatorial control over their societies and spread dissatisfaction among their citizens which has manifested overtime in popular rebellions and generated crises of human security.¹⁸

While such counter-maneuvering is designed to strengthen one's position, the downside of such tactics is that they reinforce the incumbent's fears of a possible coup d'état. Overall, then, elite accommodation in the shadow of the coup d'état can give rise to an internal security dilemma, as power holders, fearful that the other side is going to violate its commitment to sharing power, maneuver to defend their privileged positions. But such action merely increases uncertainty; intrigue and suspicion that factions in the regime are plotting to seize or consolidate power at the expense of other stakeholders. Rising mutual fears lead allies-turned-rivals to adopt more extreme measures to defend themselves until eventually a point of no return is reached and both sides become convinced that they will be eliminated in the future. At this stage, eliminating one's rival from power is the only viable strategy to guarantee political and personal survival as articulated by Zimbabwe's president, Robert Mugabe, in 1982. Referring to his coalition partner in the midst of an escalating power struggle, Mugabe claimed that "ZAPU and its leader, Dr. Joshua Nkomo, are like a cobra in a house. The only way to deal effectively with a snake is to strike and destroy its head" (quoted in Cilliers, 2004:59).

The sit-tight mentality of military dictatorships in Africa and their inability to open up democratic space created a pathology of counter coups which has had far-reaching effects on political rule in postcolonial Africa. What makes the coup so dangerous compared with other anti-regime techniques, such as mass demonstrations

¹⁸ As the juntas applied the strategies of ethnic stacking and discretionary appointments to monopolize wealth and power at the expenses of the masses, it increased anxiety and engendered tension as fellow military officers began to question the "conspiratorial and undemocratic character" of this clique and its control of states resources. In the absence of any credible guarantees that the regime and the shadow clique will not turn on them, "power holders" maneuver to protect their privileged positions and strengthen alliances in anticipation of the eventuality that the ruler will strike. Thus elites seek to build up their own secret networks and parallel security forces. This is exemplified in the late 1960s when Uganda's chief of staff of the army, Idi Amin, fearing that President Milton Obote was going to replace him, began to recruit individuals from his home area in the West Nile District, especially from the Lugbara, Madi, Kakwa, and Nubian tribes who were mainly Sudanic speakers, to outnumber the predominance of soldiers ethnically closer to Obote, namely, those from the Acholi and Langi tribes. By one estimate, between 1968 and 1969 there was about 74 per cent increase in Sudanic speakers in the Ugandan army (Chabal and Daloz cited in Cilliers, 2004:58). Moreover, in late January 1970 Amin's deputy and potential successor, Brigadier Pierino Okoya, was found murdered

or insurgencies, is connoted by its French meaning, “stroke of state.” In contrast to a rebellion, which requires a sustained military operation before it presents a credible challenge to the ruler’s grip on power, the counter coup, as a swift, surprise strike, poses a much more immediate and unpredictable threat, coming not from those based in society but from those inside the government who have the capability to use the state apparatus, especially the military or the police, to depose the incumbent.

The imminence, proximity, and secrecy of the threat, coupled with its incredibly high costs, have forced rulers to be on the defensive at all times and adopt a set of “coup proofing” techniques, contributing to what Migdal describes as the “politics of survival.” (Migdal quoted in Roessler, 2011:7; see also Goldsmith, 2001; Horowitz, 1985) Decalo (1973:121) argues that with few exceptions it is difficult to find evidence, in the army interventions in tropical Africa, of any wish to bring about fundamental social changes in the structure of power within the state. “The coup as a method of change that changes little has become endemic to Africa's politics”. A change in political style, a redistribution of political and economic power among the elites, and the expansion of military interests is more often than not the most significant outcome of army rule. The change in political style includes a return to a political rule most characteristic of the colonial administration, linkages with the civil service, and the promotion of technocrats to the cabinet. Mobilization policies are de-emphasised, eroded traditional authority is retrenched, and a loose monolithic consensus is pursued with greater or lesser zeal. If corruption was rife during the civilian era, the army may set up commissions of inquiry, but will avoid criminally implicating the bulk of the civil service or, for that matter, itself or its allies in the coup.

As the African military class becomes enmeshed in politics, their organizational unities are dramatically eroded through the politicization of their cleavages and personal ambitions. In a societal context of acute scarcity where other elites are competing for the same rewards and benefits, civilian and military grievances coincide, coupled with the existence of the corporate ¹⁹and personal ambitions of

¹⁹ NRA was formed in 1981 when Yoweri Museveni's Popular Resistance Army (PRA) merged with ex-president Yusuf Lule's group, the Uganda Freedom Fighters (UFF). Museveni, then leader of the Uganda Patriotic Movement party, alleged electoral fraud and declared an armed rebellion, following

officers, creating contradictions which escalated into violent conflicts in many African states. These wars of regime change are often engineered by self-described revolutionary movements that seek to overthrow the existing government and establish a new socio-economic dispensation, including conditions and content of citizenship. An important example is the National Resistance Movement-Army (NRM-A) of Yoweri Museveni, which captured power in Uganda in 1986, the second guerrilla organization in an African country after Chad to succeed in doing so (Amaza 1998; Kasozi 1994; Mamdani 1995; Kabwegyere 2000). Since then, wars of regime change have been waged in various countries from Liberia to Sierra Leone to Ivory Coast (Adebajo 2002; Moran, 2006; Marshall-Fratani, 2006), and from Somalia to Ethiopia to the two Congos, often with disastrous results that have led, not to state reconstruction as in Uganda and Ethiopia²⁰, but rather to state retrenchment or even collapse, as in Somalia (Kusow 2004; Lyons and Samatar 1995). Some of the movements waging these wars are best considered, like RENAMO, as ‘terrorist’ in their unwillingness to distinguish between military and civilian targets; indeed, they thrive on perpetrating systematic violence against civilians to demonstrate the incapacity of the state to protect them²¹.

Many post-colonial rulers, whether civilian or military, succumbed to the temptations and blandishments of neo-liberal capitalism irrespective of the communitarian

the victory of Uganda Peoples Congress in the bitterly disputed 1980 general elections. Museveni, who had guerrilla war experience with the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) in Mozambique, and his own Front for National Salvation (FRONASA) formed in Tanzania to fight Idi Amin, led the NRA to victory against Ugandan government troops (UNLA) in 1986. By the time that the victorious NRA entered Kampala in 1986, about a quarter of its 16,000 combatants were Banyarwanda.

²⁰ See Collette, N. and I. Wiederhofer. 1996. “Case Studies in War-to-Peace Transition: The Demobilization and Reintegration of Ex-combatants in Ethiopia, Namibia and Uganda”, World Bank Discussion Paper no 331. Washington DC: The World Bank.

²¹ Postcolonial African history is replete with examples of the breakdown and violent rupture of elite accommodation, often involving very personal fallouts between friends and comrades-in-arms, such as between Jean-Bédél Bokassa and Alexander Banza in Central African Republic in the late 1960s; Mathieu Kérékou and Michel Aikpe and Javier Assogba in Benin in of the early 1970s; Lansana Conté and Diarra Traoré in Guinea in the mid-1980s; Samuel Doe and Thomas Quiwonkpa in Liberia in the early 1980s; Hissène Habré and Hassan Djamous and Idriss Déby in Chad in the late 1980s; João Bernardo Vieira and his chief of staff of the army, Ansumane Mané, in Guinea-Bissau in 1998; and Robert Guéi and Ibrahim Coulibaly in Côte d’Ivoire in 2000. In each of these examples the elites cooperated to seize the state, only to experience a violent divorce over their inability to commit to sharing power. Viewed thus, all the inadequacies of civilian rule usually cited as reasons for military take-overs become the ‘backdrop’ against which inter-elite conflicts (intra-civil, intra-military, and civil-military) arise, and the arena within which personal ambitions manifest themselves

principles of Africa's cultures²². These elite's indulgences created cultural antinomy as such privileges were not extended beyond their neo-class boundaries. Excessively lavish and wasteful 'bling' lifestyles enjoyed by a small elite provided fertile ground for corruption, particularly with a background of high levels of poverty, inequality and unemployment. This scenario is depicted by Diop (2012:223-224): "the socialist communitarian-minded intellectuals or academics who on being appointed to offices of important ministerial positions in governments are transformed from living lives of mind to living the superficial lives of exaggerated material wealth, openly on display with its expected posturing and pomposity".

For their part, the superpowers and former colonial masters remained undaunted in their support for whoever came to power irrespective of the means as long as their interests were adequately projected and rigorously pursued. However, the end of the Cold War engendered increasing demands for African rulers to implement economic and political reforms. The sudden withdrawal of superpower support not only laid bare the ephemeral nature of the state but also precipitated a process of failure and collapse in most African states. By the 1980s, pressure from the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and Western powers impelled African governments to adopt neo-liberal structural adjustment programmes. Most public enterprises and state-owned companies were privatized as governments were asked to shrink, downsize and to limit their activities towards ensuring the provision of business-friendly environments. Weak-state politics and internal conflicts are linked in two primary aspects. In the first and most extreme case, rulers (and their rivals) see great benefits in the creation and maintenance of 'war economies' or 'complex emergencies' (see Bardal and Keen 1997; Reno 1995, 1998a, 1998b; Duffield 1998; Kaldor 1999; Keen 1998; Jung and Schlichte 1999). Far from being a breakdown in normally peaceful politics, or an irrational outburst of ethnic hatred, many of Africa's current internal conflicts are the direct result of deliberate, rationally calculated strategies aimed at accumulation by state (and non-state) elites. In the environment created by intrusive globalization, with increased external demands and decreasing internal resources, conflict and instability may be associated with

²² See Beckman, B. 1993. The Liberation of Civil Society: neo-liberal Ideology and Political Theory. *Review of African Political Economy*. Volume 20, issue 58. Pp 22-33

innovative and expanding forms of political economy (Duffield 1998). Some internal conflicts are, in fact, a new form of politics, what many are calling “warlord politics” (Reno 1998a).

Globalization processes are the key external variable in the so-called ‘explosion’ of internal conflict in Africa since the fall of the Berlin wall. A large number of Africa’s states were sustained by the patronage they attracted from Cold War protagonists who allowed them to buy off political rivals, suppress local strongmen through superior arms, or quell internal opposition in the name of anticommunism or anti-imperialism²³. Mobutu’s regime in Uganda, Mengistu’s regime in Ethiopia and Siad Barre’s regime in Somalia were classic examples of this process. The loss of this support following the decline of superpower rivalry, and subsequent international pressure towards economic and political liberalism undercut the ability of African leaders to maintain their regimes without resorting to war or reinventing patrimonialism in new and innovative forms. In a related process, the political space for African elites has been narrowed by the imposition of the political and economic conditionalities of the Washington consensus. That is, “by emptying the political arena of ideas, competition for power was reduced to its bare essentials, personality and local/ethnic considerations became paramount, and the remnants of the state were likely to fall prey to the untrammelled competition for power” (Cornwell, 1999:71).

Globalization processes have also widened the gap between the developed and developing regions of the world and exacerbated the economic crisis that lies at the heart of many weak states. Declining revenues for both patronage and coercion have forced weak-state leaders to adapt, often towards the direct military control of resources and populations. More traditional internal conflicts, or civil wars, which

²³ Data from U.S. Agency for International Development (2009) shows a decrease in total U.S. military assistance to third countries since the early 1980s. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute estimates that world military expenditures dropped from \$1.1 trillion in the late 1980s to \$740 billion in 1997. There was also a drastic reduction in international arms sales: from 1986 to 1995, they plummeted 55% (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 2008). The Soviet Union became actively involved in sub-Saharan Africa, which came second after the Middle East in the volume of Soviet assistance received; during the 1956–88 period, it received \$23 billion (Mott 2001, 52). In 1974, there were approximately 3,600 Soviet advisers in Somalia alone (Andrew and Mitrokhin 2005, 449). Such aid may have been militarily effective in the short term but did not strengthen weak states in the long term. In fact, Clapham (1996) argues the opposite in the case of African states.

have been on-going since the Cold War period in Sudan, Somalia, Angola, are now showing similar adaptations, particularly the formation of entrenched war economies (Ibrahim, 2013:87-88).

At the less extreme end of the scale, internal conflict is the inadvertent result of nonetheless risky strategies by African elites to hold onto power (particularly in times of crisis), establish hegemony, or manage political demands. Pursuing exclusionary politics, the indiscriminate use of state coercion on civilian populations, unleashing ethnic chauvinism, or manipulating multiparty elections are all high-risk strategies that can lead directly to war. Similarly, the failure to deal appropriately with spill-over or contagion effects, internal or external shocks, or eroding state autonomy (state collapse), can also result in internal conflict. It is the structural features of weak states which are the context or underlying causes of internal conflicts, and the strategies of elites which are the proximate cause or trigger. The key variables in explaining internal conflict, therefore, are weak-state structures and weak-state processes (Arriola, 2009:1342-7).

3.7 Neo-liberal policies as the source of Africa's human security challenges

David Harvey, in his book *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, defines neoliberalism as a theory of political and economic practices which proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. The state has to guarantee, for example, the quality and integrity of money. It must also set up those military, defence, police and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets. Furthermore, if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state action if necessary. But beyond these tasks the state should not venture. State interventions in markets (once created) must be kept to a bare minimum because, according to the theory, the "state cannot possibly possess enough information to second-guess market signals (prices) and because powerful interest groups will inevitably distort

and bias state interventions (particularly in democracies) for their own benefit” (Harvey, 2005:2).

Economic reform programs such as austerity measures, structural adjustment programs which are introduced in the context of economic stabilization often intensify poverty and income inequality, at least in the short run, and therefore can exacerbate human insecurity²⁴. The introduction of user fees for previously free services in many African countries has heightened social tensions, as has the removal of certain producer and consumer subsidies. Austerity measures have caused food riots and other forms of instability in some countries. This in turn has led to the expansion of security systems designed to repress public expressions of discontent, undermining what are often parallel processes of democratization. The Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) and Austerity Measures were sets of neo-liberal policies introduced by the Bretton Woods institutions, notably the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, in the early 1980s. SAPs were born as a result of a debt crisis that hit most African countries after the demise of the Cold-War. This debt crisis has its origin in the early 1970s when the newly independent African countries were encouraged by the West to borrow money from the International Financial Institutions to finance their developmental projects. Even the World Bank “preached the doctrine of debt as the path towards accelerated development”. As a result, huge amounts were borrowed by the political elites, often wasted on luxuries, ‘white elephant’ projects or stolen by corrupt officials (Usually stooges, selected by the exiting colonial powers to lead these failed African states). Very little was invested productively with a view to achieving sustainable economic growth (George, 1995: 21).

The IMF and World Bank which in principle were supposed to facilitate trade and make short-term loans available to countries with temporary balance of payment problems (George 1995: 19), in practice exercise strong influence over the economic policies of most African countries. Far from being democratic, these Bretton Woods institutions entrenched the policies of the rich industrialized countries of the West

²⁴ Ross P. Buckley, “The Rich Borrow and the Poor Repay: The Fatal Flaw in International Finance”, *World Policy Journal*, Volume XIX, No 4, Winter 2002/03 (Emphasis Added). Also see: Carol Welch, “Structural Adjustment Programs & Poverty Reduction Strategy, *Foreign Policy in Focus*”, name of journal? Vol 5, Number 14, April 2000.

who virtually control its apparatus irrespective of its over 170 member countries.²⁵ The inability of many African countries to repay their debt has made them dependent on new loans. The IMF has the power to declare countries credit worthy or not. To get the seal of approval countries have to accept the conditions of structural adjustment programs advocated by the Bretton Woods institutions. They have to restructure their economies according to IMF/World Bank guidelines – otherwise they will have virtually no chance to get loans from private or public creditors anywhere (George,1995:19-21).

These measures forced countries on a path of deregulated free market economies through liberalization, opening national markets to international competition, privatization of public services and companies, deregulation of labour relations and cutting social safety nets and reduction of government deficit through cuts in public spending. The IMF and World Bank basically determine countries' macro-economic policies; they take control over central bank policies and over public expenditure through the so-called 'Public Expenditure Review' (Toissant and Comanne 1995:14). Structural Adjustment Programmes engendered the gradual withdrawal of the state from basic health and educational services. Under its 'Public Investment Programme' the IMF even decides what type of infrastructure should be built, while an imposed system of international tender ensures that public-works projects are carried out by international construction and engineering firms (Chossudovsky, 1995: 59).

SAPs were built on the fundamental condition that debtor countries have to repay their debt in hard currency thereby converting the productive patterns of African states from what local people eat, wear or use towards goods that can be sold in the industrialized countries so as to obtain such currencies for loan repayment. The

²⁵The United States and Western European countries suddenly increased these interest rates outrageously, making it virtually impossible for African countries to service their debts. Indebted African countries were forced to take up new loans to pay the interest so as to avoid bankruptcy. For instance, in 1980 the total debt of developing countries stood at US\$ 567 billion. Between 1980 and 1992 these countries paid back US\$ 1662 billion. However, because of the high interest rates, the debt increased to US\$ 1419 billion in 1992 – despite the repayments. Debt repayments drain about US\$ 160 billion each year from 'developing' countries. This is about 2.5 times the total development aid that these countries receive. Since the 1980s, debt repayments are a major mechanism of transferring wealth from the South to the North (Quoted in Touissaint and Comanne, 1995:9). The former French President Francois Mitterand admitted this when he said in 1994: 'Despite the considerable sums spent on bilateral and multilateral aid, the flow of capital from Africa toward the industrial countries is greater than the flow of capital from the industrial countries to the developing countries' (Touissaint and Comanne 1995: 10-12).

truncation of African productive patterns led to escalation of violent conflicts in many parts of the continent. Between 1980 and 1992, African countries lost 52% of their export income due to deteriorating prices (Touissant and Comanne, 1995: 12; George, 1995:22; Bournay, 1995: 51). The structural adjustment programmes became an integral part of the dynamic of crisis in Africa and increasingly complicated the economic problems of the continent (Laasko and Olukoshi, 1996: 19; Ake, 1996), sharp drops in living standards and mass hunger followed. The unbridled reliance on market forces orchestrated by privatization and removal of safety nets invariably compounded the concentration of wealth in a few hands, expanding at a heightened pace the number of the marginalized and excluded. As Ojo (1999: 6) perceptively observes, “nothing can be a greater threat to security than being excluded from life supporting economic activities”. The Commission on Human Security (CHS) supports this view by noting that “the exclusion and deprivation of whole communities of people from the benefits of development naturally contribute to the tensions, violence and conflict within countries” (Commission on Human Security, 2003: 5).

The neo-liberal agenda has placed much stress on the necessity to shrink the state while enlarging the purview of the market. Indeed, the market is to be allowed to do its work unhindered. This has in practice meant the systematic effort to reverse those elements of the welfare state that in post-colonial Africa marked fundamental aspects of the nation-building project. Across Africa, policies such as the removal of state subsidies from various social and productive sectors (education, health and agriculture), privatization, denationalization, public sector down-sizing, etc., all of which the standard structural adjustment programme insists upon, have combined to unleash human security threats that may not be war-related, but undermine every conceivable idea of a meaningful life (Abutudu,2005:34).

Chossudovsky (1997:57) argues that the environment of scarcity created in the wake of adjustment programmes in Africa precipitates the exacerbation of people’s insecurity by massively visiting state repression on those who protest their increasing misery. Yet, this environment of deprivation has the potential to directly heighten competition among dominant elites for dwindling state resources, a situation that has often sparked violence among groups, whether communal, ethnic or religious, who

are easily mobilized behind their 'leaders'. Situations like this suggest a link between the 'economic genocide' unleashed by structural adjustment programmes and globalization accentuating communal and ethnic violence in Africa²⁶. In focusing on the issue of security, it is necessary to pay attention to certain elements in the conceptual makeup of human security as possible sources of ambiguity in its operationalization. For example, terms such as 'freedom' or 'enabling environment' may be suggestive of efforts to sustain and provide a rationale for neo-liberal economism. It is clear, for example, that as put forward by the Human Security Commission, this framework is taken as given. It does not critique policies which generate 'deprivations and oppression', since such policies only become threats or 'menaces' when they generate long term deprivation and oppression.

Chossudovsky (1997, 1999), notes the linkage between IMF and World Bank sponsored reforms, the economic crisis, and the varying degrees of political violence that has bedeviled Africa. He argues that the Rwandan (ethnic) genocide of 1994 was fuelled by the imposition of the IMF/World bank reforms which consequently inflamed ethnic tensions and accelerated the process of economic collapse after the economic deterioration that followed in the wake of the collapse of the international coffee market in 1987²⁷ (Chossudovsky quoted in Prunier, 1995:160).

In Somalia, an economic system based on exchanges between pastoralists and small agriculturalists, and virtually self-sufficient in food production up to the late 1970s, was disrupted when the Bretton Woods reform programme was introduced in the early 1980s. The periodic devaluation of the Somali shilling which came as part of this package in 1981 led to price hikes in the cost of farm inputs, even as the purchasing power of urban dwellers plunged. The livestock economy itself became a

²⁶The result has been worsening economic conditions in most countries, particularly in Africa. This provoked what has been dubbed 'IMF-Riots' – the gut protests that occurred frequently in most African capitals once

IMF/World Bank conditionalities were implemented by national governments. Such riots have been responsible for fall of more than a dozen African governments in the late 1980s and early 1990s, including Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia in 1991 (Bond and Dor, 2003).

²⁷Wood (2001, p.64) argues that especially in poorer states ethnicity plays a significant role in economic and social differentiation. Poverty, overpopulation, land scarcity, possible famine and competition for power offer fertile ground for the ideology of *Lebensraum*. This ideology is advanced by extremist forces in order to accumulate resources which are currently not available to their people. This ideology was implemented in Rwanda to describe Tutsis as invaders who are responsible for the socio-economic imbalance.

victim of the privatization of animal health, the commercialization of water and the neglect of water and rangeland conservation. Cattle exports, and therefore foreign exchange earnings, fell drastically. The basis of exchange between pastoral and smallholder agriculture was undermined, and the foreign exchange earning capability was negatively affected. Simultaneously, the efforts to roll back the state were to unfold through the retrenchment of 40% of the public-sector work force (Chossudovsky, 2011:np).

The IMF and World Bank advocate for political liberalization as one of their fundamental conditions and as an integral aspect of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs).²⁸ This condition has witnessed a multiplication of political parties throughout the sub-continent. Moreover, the combination of liberal democracy and SAPs has undermined democratic dividends. The absence of substantive democracy has become a major source of mass disillusionment in many African countries. It is a collective discontent that threatens to undermine the idea of democracy itself. As earlier noted, the democracy as crafted in many African countries had the strong input of the IMF/World Bank group and other donors through the conditionality attached to structural adjustment programmes. Thus, in spite of the consensus that emerged, democratic regimes were constrained from the outset in economic and social policy. Any give democratic regime's mandate in these respects generally discounted the needs of the voters in favour of implementing harsh adjustment policies, or at best, economic growth. Secondly, democracy has come to typify, in Africa, a ritual of plural political parties and periodic elections. But the liberal democracy that supposedly arose from this has reduced democracy to multi-party elections, which are no longer threatening to African despots. It provides them with international respectability without constraining their absolutism, authoritarianism, corruption and ineffectiveness²⁹. It does not prioritize the

²⁸The debt crisis in Africa is a case in point. Nigeria borrowed US\$ 3 billion between 1978 and 1983. That debt had become a US\$ 32 billion albatross by 2000, even after about US\$ 10 billion has been used in servicing it in the intervening period. Servicing this debt annually in current terms required about the principal sum originally borrowed. Replicated among most African countries in varying degrees, this situation is an obvious 'menace' to the ability of African states to deploy resources to tackle ravaging diseases such as malaria and HIV/AIDS on the continent or make meaningful progress in eradicating illiteracy (Chossudovsky cited in Abutudu, 2005:43).

²⁹See: Yusuf Kianda and Mathias Kamp (eds). *The State of Multiparty Democracy in Uganda*. 2010.

problems of the poor such as poverty, ignorance and disease, which keep them from effective participation in multiparty elections (Nnoli, 2003: 17-18).

As the state's ability to address issues of poverty, illiteracy and disease declines, the resulting mass disillusionment creates problems of legitimacy for regimes, which try to maintain themselves in power through repression and election rigging³⁰. Over the past four decades, various forms of communal and religious violence have been the hallmark of many African countries. Civil wars, ethno-religious violence, ethnic cleansing, insurgency, terrorism, etc., have been the more extreme expression of a process that has seen economic crisis and IMF/World Bank reforms pitching the state against its citizens, and community against community, in shooting wars. In response to the crises raging in Africa, the World Bank and the IMF subsequently launched the HIPC Initiative, with the aim of ensuring that no poor country faces a debt burden it cannot manage. Since then, the international financial community, including multilateral organizations and governments have worked together to reduce to sustainable levels the external debt burdens of the most heavily indebted poor countries. In 1999, a comprehensive review of the Initiative allowed the Fund to provide faster, deeper, and broader debt relief and strengthened the links between debt relief, poverty reduction, and social policies. In 2005, to help accelerate progress toward the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the HIPC Initiative was supplemented by the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI). The MDRI allows for 100 percent relief on eligible debts by three multilateral institutions—the IMF, the World Bank, and the African Development Fund (AfDB) for countries completing the HIPC Initiative process. In 2007, the Inter-American Development Bank (IaDB) also decided to provide additional “beyond HIPC” debt relief to the five HIPCs in the Western Hemisphere³¹.

3.8 Poverty as a source of human insecurity in Africa

One of the major causes of insecurity and instability in Africa is poverty. In 2010, the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) estimated that 239 million people in

³⁰ For instance, Gnassingbe Eyedema of Togo: 1967-2005, Omar Bongo of Gabon: 1967-2009, Francois Bozize of CAR: 2003-2013, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe: 1980-present, Yahya Jammeh of Gambia: 1994-present etc.

³¹ See: International Monetary Fund Fact Sheet: Debt Relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative.

sub-Saharan Africa constituting about 30 percent of the overall population were hungry and undernourished. In its most recent estimates, Africa was reputed to be the continent with the second largest number of hungry people, as Asia and the Pacific had 578 million, principally due to the much larger population of Asia when compared to sub-Saharan Africa. Sub-Saharan Africa actually had the largest proportion of its population undernourished (FAO 2010). Thus, almost one in three people who live in sub-Saharan Africa are hungry, far more than any other region of the world, with the exception of South Asia.

Poverty can be defined as a static or dynamic concept. The definition of poverty as a cycle projects its dynamic nature and its linkage to marginalization and social exclusion. Marxist theory projects a perspective of poverty that relates to images of social processes and social structures within a society. This view reveals a linkage of poverty to conflict. For example, the peasantry in Marxist ideology provides a fertile ground for social revolution (Castells 1996). Webster English dictionary defines poverty as “The state or condition of having little or no money, goods, or means of support”. This is an extremely vague definition and covers poverty as a whole. The World Bank definition (2006:4) summarizes the various conceptions of poverty described above. Using a basic needs approach the World Bank provides a simple definition of poverty which views the phenomenon as multidimensional and a situation in which people are unable to fulfil their basic human needs as well as lack of control over resources, lack education and skills, poor health, malnutrition, lack of shelter, poor access to water and sanitation, vulnerability to shocks, violence and crime and the lack of political freedom and voice. For ease of comparison, the Bank uses “reference lines set at \$1 and \$2 per day in 1993 Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) terms where PPPs measure the relative purchasing power of currencies across countries”. The United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (2001,para:13) defines poverty as a ‘sustained or chronic deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyment of an adequate standard of living and other civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights’. This definition crystallises more than a century of research on poverty and shows how far our understanding of poverty has come. From the early FGT generation measures when poverty was mostly about money measures, this UN

definition showcases the multi-dimensional understanding that has emerged in this paradigm shift. Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi (2009:7) give a concise assessment of this on-going shift which identifies some of the missing dimensions of poverty. In the early 1990s the UNDP, inspired by some of the earlier works of Amartya Sen, introduced human development index (HDI), thus, demonstrating that wellbeing is more than just about money. There is now general consensus that we can only understand and deal with poverty if we understand all its dimensions. A new generation of multi-dimensional poverty indexes has also begun to emerge.

Poverty is a multi-faceted problem that goes beyond economics to include, for instance, social, political, and cultural issues. Some notable scholars have argued that poverty engenders deprivation, insecurity, and aggression which invariably lead to violent conflicts and instability (Gurr, 1970; Sandbrook, 1982; Nathan, 2003). Burton (1997:43) argues that the escalation of conflict and instability in developing countries is precipitated by gross denial and marginalization of people's biological and psychological needs that relate to growth and development. The overriding importance of this argument is that people's basic needs (such as food, water, shelter and health) cannot be traded, suppressed, or bargained for. Thus any attempt to do this leads to conflict. According to Aristotle, social strife and revolutions are not brought out by the conspiratorial or malignant natures of man; rather revolutions are derived from poverty and distributive injustice. Therefore, when the poor are in the majority and have no prospect of ameliorating their condition, they are bound to be restless and seek restitution through violence. No government can build stability and peace when it is awash on a sea of poverty (cited in Okanya, 1996:3).

Hettne (2002:2) developed five categorizations of poverty. These are absolute poverty, relative poverty, administrative poverty, consensual poverty and contextual poverty. First, absolute poverty occurs when human beings live in a state of deprivation due to meager income or lack of access to basic human needs which include food, potable water, sanitation, health, shelter, education, and information. Second, relative poverty defines poverty from a comparative point of view. Here, poverty is not absolute but relative. Imagine a hypothetical world with three countries, A, B, and C with an estimated wealth of 70 per cent, 25 per cent, and 5 per cent respectively. Assume further that poverty is pegged at 30 per cent and below.

Under these assumptions, both B and C are poverty-stricken but C is poorer relative to B. Third, administrative poverty includes all those who are eligible for state welfare because they are either temporarily unemployed and/or unable to earn an income. Fourth, consensual poverty depends on the perceptions of what the public deems to be below basic sustenance. Finally, contextual poverty is based on a comparison of poverty with the socio-cultural and economic levels of a particular society.

The categories are helpful in contrasting the poor and non-poor in a particular society. A common thread runs through all these distinctions between types of poverty. They highlight the fact that poverty is a general condition of deprivation and want that consigns its victims to the periphery of their societies. In short, poverty is linked to economics. But this approach is not very helpful to policy planners. There is therefore the need for a more comprehensive and holistic approach to move definitions of poverty beyond economics (Lipton et al, 1992). According to the Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC) Report (2005), there are two dimensions of poverty. These dimensions can be differentiated by those living in long term (durable) or chronic poverty, and those who occasionally or are sometimes poor (transitory poor) (CPRC 2005:19-20). The length of time that qualifies an individual as living in chronic poverty is variable. The emerging consensus is that it is data availability that ultimately can tell us which households have remained in poverty between the measurements periods, and therefore fit the dimension of chronic poverty. After more than a decade of work on chronic poverty, we now know that the upper limit for chronic poverty is often a lifetime. In general chronic poverty will include those that have always been poor (have never been above the poverty threshold) and those that are usually poor (may occasionally be above the line but on balance are below the poverty threshold most of the time). The reason for this distinction is largely to do with the nature of policy responses to the different levels of poverty.. The term 'extreme poverty' is often used as a proxy for chronic poverty since it is often easier to calculate the extremely poor based on single data bases (CPRC, 2005:21). Those living in transitory poverty include those whose fortunes fluctuate around a given poverty threshold. In most African agrarian societies, this might include households that emerge out of poverty during a good agricultural

season but fall below the line with any adverse event to their livelihoods. Also included in the category of the transitorily poor are households that have experienced poverty before but on balance have living standards above the poverty threshold. For example, a household whose breadwinner loses a job due to the financial crisis may decline into poverty till the means of livelihood are restored at which point the household may move again above the poverty threshold (CPRC, 2005:22-26).

In Africa, absolute poverty is most prevalent while other categorizations are overtly present. Most people do not have sufficient income to purchase the basic necessities of life. According to United Nations Report (2008: np), about 75 per cent of the world's poorest countries are located in Africa. This statistic includes historically poor regions like Zimbabwe, Liberia, and Ethiopia. For the past two years, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Africa's second largest country, has also been ranked the poorest in the world. In 2010, 414 million people were living in extreme poverty in sub-Saharan Africa accounting for 48.5 percent of the population in that region. Approximately 1 in 3 people living in sub-Saharan Africa are undernourished. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations (UN) estimated that 239 million people (around 30 percent of the population) in sub-Saharan Africa were hungry in 2010. This is the highest percentage of any region in the world. In addition, the UN Millennium Project reported that over 40 percent of all Africans are unable to regularly obtain sufficient food and about 547 million people live without electricity in sub-Saharan Africa. As a result, a staggering 80 percent of the population relies on biomass products, such as wood, charcoal, and dung, in order to cook. Over 500 million Africans suffer from waterborne diseases. According to the UN Millennium Project (2010:47-59) more than 50 percent of Africans have a water-related illness like cholera. Every year, sub-Saharan Africa loses \$28.4 billion to water and sanitation problems. This amount accounts for approximately 5 percent of the region's gross domestic product (GDP) exceeding the total amount of foreign aid sent to sub-Saharan Africa in 2003.

About 38 percent of the world's refugees are located in Africa. Many of these 13.5 million refugees and displaced persons have lost their homes due to widespread violence and conflict. Fewer than 20 percent of African women have access to education. Uneducated African women are twice as likely to contract AIDS and 50

percent less likely to immunize their children. Meanwhile, the children of African women with at least five years of schooling have a 40 percent higher chance of survival. Women in sub-Saharan Africa are over 230 times more likely to die during childbirth or pregnancy than women in North America. Approximately 1 in 16 women living in sub-Saharan Africa will die during childbirth or pregnancy compared with 1 in 3,700 women in North America. More than 1 million African children die every year from malaria. Malarial deaths in Africa alone account for 90 percent of all malaria deaths worldwide. 80 percent of these victims are African children. The UN Millennium Project (2010:47-49) has calculated that a child in Africa dies from malaria every 30 seconds.

These vulnerabilities create dissatisfaction and disillusionment among the masses, particularly when the government is corrupt. Conflicts are therefore often caused by an attempt to acquire these basic needs by violent means. As deprivation increases, it engenders frustration which escalates and erupts into violence. Poverty in Africa is caused by a number of factors. The principal causes of poverty are harmful economic systems, corruption, environmental factors such as drought and climate change, population growth, poor governance, inadequate employment opportunities, poor infrastructural development, resource underutilization, unending conflicts, wars, poor IMF/World bank policies, among others (WHES 2012). Irrespective of the continent's human and material resources, 47 per cent of African population lives on \$1.25 a day or less, a principal factor in causing widespread hunger (United Nation, 2012:207). The World Bank (2005: np) notes "Sub-Saharan Africa is the world's poorest continent, with nearly half of its 719 million people subsisting on less than a dollar (US\$1) per day". The statistics from the MDGs Assessment (2007:4) record that poverty has declined in a number of African countries. Notwithstanding, Africa remains the world's most poverty stricken continent (UN, 2007).

According to "The Economist" (cited in Wrong, 2004:52), about 40 per cent of the region's wealth is privately held and stashed in foreign bank accounts outside the region. Green and Seidman (1968) argue that there have been structural imbalances in African economies, compared to other regions. It may be contended that this view has been overtaken by time. However, It is Africa's predicament that caused Ali Mazrui (in Fapohunda, 2002), one of the most celebrated African writers, to assert

that Africa is the first home of mankind, yet the last to be made truly inhabitable in contemporary world as a result of poverty and underdevelopment. In fact the common problem of poverty in Africa is a clear case of 'resiptsa loquito' (meaning 'the matter speaks for itself'), particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, a body of empirical work has emerged which identifies poverty as one of the causal factors behind violent conflict, although again, this does not differentiate between chronic and transient poverty. Broadly, it is argued that uneven development processes lead to inequality, exclusion and poverty. This contributes to growing grievances particularly when poverty coincides with ethnic, religious, language or regional boundaries.

These underlying grievances may explode into open conflict when triggered by external shocks (such as a sudden change in terms of trade) or mobilized by conflict entrepreneurs. Although few argue that poverty per se causes conflict, research points to the importance of extreme horizontal inequalities as a source of grievance which is used by leaders to mobilize followers and to legitimize violent actions (Stewart and FitzGerald, 2000). On the other hand, according to Hunger Notes (2013:3), the operation of the global economic and political system are chiefly responsible for the excruciating poverty and hunger in Africa and elsewhere. Essentially, control over resources and income is based on military, political and economic power that typically ends up in the hands of a minority, who live well, while those at the bottom barely survive. The implication is that gross inequality exists as the budgetary axe tends to descend on programmes for the poor. For example, the trade deregulation introduced by SAPs had a crippling effect on certain groups, thus accentuating inter-group tension. Historically, marginalized sections of the population often turn to organized crime and banditry. Similar processes can be identified in many of today's conflicts. As Keen notes: "in Sierra Leone, a chronic shortage of employment opportunities has been matched by a contraction in educational opportunities and in these circumstances many youths have turned to rebellion as a kind of 'short cut' to wealth as well as status" (Keen, 1998:7). Another example can be found in Nigeria where a major contributory factor to the Boko Haram insurgency in the Northern part of the country was the sense of marginalization of the rural youth popularly known as 'Almajeris'. Although

liberalization has brought benefits to Nigeria (it recently became the fastest growing economy in Africa), it has also produced a fragile and brittle rural economy and growing economic disparities (Esidene and Yatu, 2012:11).

Though poverty may not be the underlying cause of violent conflict, it is an important factor in its sustainance. In situations where there are few sources of livelihood, joining militant or terrorist groups may represent an essential survival strategy, as evidenced in Nigeria's Niger-Delta region where gross marginalization of the oil-producing communities from resource extraction and distribution created negative local environmental impacts leading to growing tensions. Extractive development policies lead to resource scarcity and environmental stress. This may manifest itself in tensions between pastoralists and farmers, or between the landless and landowners, as for example, the crisis in Western Darfur clearly demonstrated. It may also lead to stress-induced migration. Thus, environmental degradation and resource scarcity may become a significant aggravator or trigger of violence. Therefore, poverty and insecurity are commonly understood to be closely related. Both evoke images of destitution, destruction and human suffering. To sum up: human insecurity in Africa has led to high numbers of deaths and displaced people, material destruction and even state collapse. In this way, years of development efforts and investments are destroyed. Arguably, under certain circumstance poverty is a cause of conflict. When poverty-induced grievances are not met, poor people will riot, question government altogether and join rebel groups. Economic decline and extreme poverty may then reinforce tendencies to resort to violent means.

3.9 Ethnicity as a source of human insecurity in Africa

Ethnic conflict is a major political problem that continues to undermine the human security of many African countries. Ethnic rivalry over scarce resources and political power to control resources has led to violent conflicts and occasionally to full scale wars. Kelman (2007:64-65) defines an ethnic group as a group of people whose members identify with each other through a common heritage, often consisting of a common language, culture, religion, ideology or geographical area. Ethnicity is an identity. As a result, it inevitably occupies sizeable space within the political arena and also it is the easiest and most natural way for people to mobilize around basic human needs such as security, food, shelter, economic well-being, inequality, land

distribution, autonomy, and recognition. This is why ethnicity can be a powerful catalyst for violence. Ethnicity and ethnic rivalry are not new developments in Africa. Ethnic politics in Africa have their roots in the contradictions inherent in the exercise of state power by colonial authorities seeking to establish hegemony (Boon, 1994:111). Ethnic identity formation facilitated indirect rule, which in turn retarded emergent class consciousness.

According to Shillington (1989: 356), the colonial masters emphasized the distinctions between the different ethnic groups, thereby strengthening tribal differences and rivalries between these groups and preventing them from forming a united opposition against the colonizers. Shillington further argues that these groups had always lived in the past as a people despite some customary differences that might have existed between them like their dressing, housing and religious practices. Furthermore, even when these groups experienced competition and conflicts, it was for political power or economic advantage and not “because they were of different ‘tribes’”. Hence, Shillington (1989: 356) contends that the “colonial authorities invented ‘tribalism’”. As if the “creation of and insistence on the differences between the African peoples (separatist feelings) by the colonizers was not enough, successive colonial constitutions in Africa entrenched political power along regional lines (Ogunbadejo, 1979: 86).

One of the worst examples of colonialism- founded ethnic rivalry and resultant conflicts is the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda which was characterized by the attempted extermination of the Tutsi and moderate Hutu in the country (Scherrer, 2001). The death toll of this genocide is estimated at 937,000 people (Asiimwe, 2004: np)³². However, Nnoli (cited in Fonchingon, 2010:14) argues that colonialism cannot be completely blamed for “creating” multi-ethnic states in Africa, but instead, for encouraging hatred based upon ethnic differences and for forging differences amongst African peoples and nations in order to facilitate its rule, thereby destroying the foundation for potential state building in Africa. Following independence, post-

³² According to a BBC report of April 2004 titled “Rwanda: How the Genocide happened”, the Belgians created differences between Tutsis and Hutus which did not exist before their arrival. These differences went as far as creating identity cards for Tutsi minorities illustrating their superiority over Hutus and giving them the leadership positions in the country. The result was hatred and the nurturing of feelings of revenge by the Hutu, which culminated in the 1994 genocide which saw the slaughtering of over 800,000 Rwandans within a period of four months (BBC News, 18/12/2008)

colonial governments continued with the manipulation and disintegration of ethnic identities and groups. Weakstate elites also used the appeal to ethnicity in their own attempt to establish hegemony, “institutionalizing the divisions which exist by making ethnic identity the basis for political and (to a lesser extent) economic participation, and by striving to improve the competitive strength of the ethnic groups of the top leaders of the ruling faction” (Ake, 1976:9). For example, after coming to power in a coup in 1981, General Andre Kolingba established what has been termed an ‘ethnocracy’ in the Central African Republic (CAR) (Havermans, 1999a:222-3). Every important political, military, and judicial position was filled by his or affiliated ethnic groups. Later, when Ange- Felix Patasse came to power in 1993, he took revenge by excluding Kolingba’s group (the Yakoma) in favour of his own group, the Sara-Kaba. These practices helped to consolidate ethnic rivalries that have become a common part of politics in post-colonial Africa (Amoo, 1997; Rodney, 1972; Dumont, 1966; Nugent, 2004; Meredith, 2005). Ethnic divisions thus contributed to the formation of parties along ethnic lines, which later contributed to the marginalization of parties which refused to be co-opted into the ruling party. Consequently, ethnic division and rivalry can be seen as a major trigger and cause of human insecurity on the continent.

Ake (cited in Diop, 2012:228) argues that politicization changed to political ethnicity when the nationalist movement, which was united mainly by common grievances, started to disintegrate on the verge of independence as its leaders maneuvered to inherit power. In a situation in which class consciousness was rudimentary, those leaders who came from numerically large ethnic groups could not resist the temptation of using an ethnic ideology to consolidate a substantial political base³³.

³³ In some colonial territories, for instance Nigeria, the strategy of decolonization gave impetus to political ethnicity. In the spirit of indirect rule, the major administrative and political units of Nigeria were made to coincide with the spatial locations of the three major ethnic groups. Then, under pressure from nationalist forces, the British devolved power to these regions. The Constitution of 1954, sometimes described as the 'regionalist constitution', gave residual powers to the regional governments and also granted them self-government under regional premiers who would be the leaders of majority parties in the regional legislature. The three leading nationalist leaders, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello in the north, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe in the east, and Chief Obafemi Awolowo in the west opted for power in the region instead of remaining in the central government which was still controlled by the British. As they all won their regional premiership and consolidated their power base in the regions, Nigeria came to be dominated by three regional, ethnic parties.

Thus, no account of political ethnicity can be complete without consideration of the character of the state in Africa.

During the post-colonial period, the Sub Saharan region witnessed a substantial number of violent conflicts, mostly within states between contending ethno-political entities manipulated by rival elite groups. Regardless of the ideological facade of a given regime, the principles of co-optation and exclusion formed the basis of the prevailing political system. Political leaders in Sub Saharan Africa have held on to power, time and again, by mobilizing client groups through the distribution of goods and services in order defend their interests in the face of resistance from contending elite groups or against incursions of outsiders.

Ethnic groups who feel marginalized often develop feelings of revenge and hatred against those who enjoy socio-economic well-being from the resources of their states because of their affiliation to the ruler (the 'owner' or 'controller' of the national cake) based on clientele politicking. Since there are rarely any state guided structure and political arrangements or functional governance procedures for rational and appropriate distribution of state resources and power, there is usually a resort to conflict (Harris and Reilly 1998: 9). The environment of sustained marginalization or fears of assimilation can accentuate ethnic cleavages, and appeals to ethnic sentiments can prove to be a potent tool in conflict. Lake and Rothchild (1998:43) note that as critical as ethnicity is to conflict, empirical evidence shows that ethnicity, itself, is not a source of violent conflict but can used as an instrument of conflict. This is not to suggest that there are no purely ethnic-based conflicts. African societies are replete with ethnic conflicts between ethnic and cultural groups, pastoralists and agricultural groups, but these are hardly the arenas of the systemic breakdowns and cataclysmic violence that engulf entire countries and regions; and even these are exacerbated by failure of governance mechanisms of conflict resolution. Studies have shown that a mix of political and military factors having to do with overly-centralized governance structures, the use of military resources in support of arbitrary and autocratic governance and the implementation of policies and practices that sustain rent-seeking and predation, are fundamental elements in most situations of institutional failure and violent conflicts (Gurr, 2000; Nwokedi, 1998).

More specifically, the struggle for hegemony or the application of severe repression can spiral into armed conflict when excluded or targeted groups attempt to protect themselves or take control of the state. In Liberia, the brutal and erratic regime of Samuel Doe eventually led to his downfall. When Charles Taylor invaded from neighboring Cote d'Ivoire in December 1990 with a group of only 150 fighters, Doe responded by slaughtering hundreds of people in Nimba County for supposedly collaborating with the rebels. In response, thousands rallied to join Taylor's National Patriotic Forces of Liberia (NPLF) and within a few months Taylor was threatening the capital Monrovia. Siad Barre's brutal repression of the Isaq clan in Somalia in 1988 can be seen in the same light and, interestingly, had the same effect. Ethnic loyalties can claim primacy over other forms of group loyalty and protagonists in conflict can more easily take recourse in ethnic solidarity (Englebert, 2009:32).

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter captured how the colonial legacy, neo-colonialism, elitism, military interregnum, neo-liberal policies, and ethnicity have coalesced to impoverish Africans, creating a protracted culture of human security pathology that periodically erupts into open conflict and warfare. At the heart of all these conflicts and wars are struggles over power and resources: power cohered around the state and its governance structures, developmental capacities, delegated practices and distributional propensities, and resources in terms of their availability, control and access. The era of colonial intervention in Africa integrated the traditional social hierarchies and relations of production and social, political and cultural traditions into western modernity in an uneasy symbiosis under the powerful influence of neo-liberal political economy, leaving behind ingrained legacies, changing the structure of economy, the nature of state institutions, system of class stratification, and patterns of state and society. As a result, most African governments were bequeathed with various contradictions which pervaded the colonial state. Hence, post-colonial Africa inherited weak states and dysfunctional economies that were aggravated by poor leadership, corruption and bad governance in many countries.

In the next chapter, the study will narrow its focus to selected countries in the continent where human insecurities are more prevalent. The chapter will discuss the

human security challenges in the Sahel countries and Horn of Africa and how these insecurity quagmires cohere to create a regional security complex.

CHAPTER FOUR

HUMAN SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE SAHEL REGION, THE HORN OF AFRICA AND CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the study will examine the human security challenges in selected countries within the Sahel region, the Horn of Africa and Central African Republic. These countries were selected based on the contemporary human insecurity challenges that they are currently facing. In order to comprehend the human security situation in the countries of the Sahel, it is pertinent to reflect briefly on her geography and historical evolution of development. The Sahel region covers the expanse stretching from the Atlantic to the Red Sea and encompasses parts of Senegal, Mauritania, Burkina Faso, Algeria, Niger, Nigeria, Chad, Sudan, and Somalia. Its land mass comprises more than 80 per cent desert lands (Batterbury, 1998:4). To speak of desert means to speak of areas without fixed community life and thus areas not, in fact, subject to jurisdiction of states, which prefer to expend their often limited means of control in inhabited regions. Today, the population density of the Sahel remains in the vicinity of one inhabitant per square kilometer (Salah, 2012:1). There is a strong correlation between the economies of the countries in this region as a result of their geographical peculiarities and the variations in rainfall. These countries also experienced acute problems food security as a consequence of years of drought. Estimates from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO, 2013) record that more than 16 million people in the Sahel are directly threatened by malnutrition in the wake of the 2011 drought. In this context, no country in the region can do without international emergency aid; but delivery of aid to the people presupposes that the states are able to guarantee the security of its passage.

The colonial histories of the countries within the Sahel region, as elsewhere on the African continent, are the histories of territorial boundaries that were drawn with the

interests of the colonizing countries in mind, not according to the national cohesion of the peoples concerned (Ikome, 2012:1)³⁴. Since the early 1960s, these boundaries have been the basis for international recognition of sovereign states in the region. To avoid undermining the young state formations, which could lead to a cascade effect, the African Union, like the Organization of African Unity (OAU) before it, established the inviolability of the borders inherited from colonization as a founding doctrine. Reinforced by the validation of respect for the territorial integrity of states in Article 2(4) of the UN Charter, the new doctrine has partially fulfilled the task it was assigned, namely, avoiding or at least slowing thoughts of secession that might have resulted from an unpredictable recasting of the map of the continent. It was not, however, able to settle the question of the cohesion of diverse communities in a manner that would, in each state, make these communities into a nation (Salah, 2012:2).

The post-colonial states in the Sahel region were perceived by certain parts of the national communities as the states of the dominant ethnic groups. This perception has been nourished by political practices, such as patronage and nepotism, which have succeeded in reinforcing the feeling of exclusion among certain parties. The perception has led to various demands that range from the simple sharing of political power to the recognition of self-rule, and even to secession and the creation of an independent state (Salah, 2012:3). The absence of true national integration among various ethnic nationalities within the Sahelian countries constitutes favourable grounds for identity-based demands that, depending on the circumstances and the evolution of the balance of power between the state and the groups contesting the state, can be minimal or extreme. The countries in the Sahel region are mostly populated by Muslim and are fundamentally faced with two types of threats namely, rebellions of identity and rebellions of autonomy or secession. These identity-oriented demands were further exacerbated by reaction against the processes of economic and cultural standardization that accompany globalization (Olivier, 2004:34). Among the Sahel countries that are faced with human insecurity pathologies, Libya, Mali and Nigeria have emerged as the three most affected

³⁴ See Africa's International Borders as Potential Sources of Conflict and Future Threats to Peace and Security. ISS paper May 2012, No 233

countries where the insecurity of individuals are at crisis stage, as they tend to become the points of interactions, even convergences, of all the destabilizing dynamics in the sub-Saharan region (Ould Bah, 2013). However, it is in Mali that one finds in full effect the instability factor consequent on the absence of cohesion in the population of the state.

4.2 Human security challenges in Mali

The Malian population is characterized by a largely black majority, of which the rather urbanized Bambaras are the dominant group, and a Tuareg component, a nomadic people of Berber origins, that is present in most of the neighboring countries such as Niger, Burkina Faso, Algeria, Mauritania, and Libya. The Tuareg people are marked, despite their dispersion and the stratification of their social organization (structured around tribes and castes) by a strong sentiment of identity that is symbolized, beyond a shared way of life, by the usage of a common language known as Tamasheq (Salah, 2012:4). In Mali, although they are not the only inhabitants in the north, the Tuaregs are localized there, particularly in the cities of Kidal, Gao, and Timbuktu, situated on the Niger River. During colonization, this region was judged to be of little utility and did not truly interest France, which left there neither schools nor infrastructure of note. A consequence was that the Tuaregs, already little inclined toward urban life given their nomadic ancestry, remained, on the margins of the modernization processes that had started to emerge with colonization. They were marginalized from the benefits of the western education that the school of the Republic brought, even if it was colonial (Francis, 2013:38).

During the wave of emancipatory ideas that started in Mali in the 1950s, the Tuaregs were forced to the margins as a result of lack of active and educated elite. Furthermore, when Mali achieved sovereignty in 1960, the Tuaregs were virtually absent from the political and administrative structures and organs of the new state³⁵.

³⁵ The drought of the 1970s and 1980s increased frustrations significantly and contributed to the launch of the great rebellion of the 1990s (Hershkowitz, 2005). This rebellion had its share of dead and displaced persons, but its crowning achievement was the conclusion of a national pact in 1996, under the terms of which the rebel movements would accept their integration into the armed forces, the police, and the administration (Seely, 2001:10). In exchange, even if they did not acquire the

Although this was a direct consequence of their situation during colonization, the Tuaregs could only experience it as a frustration (Krings, 1995:59). To this were added the resentments that fed the Modibo Keita government's excessive reaction to the first rebellion (known as Afellaga rebellion) at the start of the 1960s, despite the rebellion's limited number of participants and the situation of quasi-abandonment by the Malian state of its already especially deprived north (Devon, 2013:2).

The National Pact was not, however, truly implemented. Rebellion began to be spoken of again in the 2000s. On July 4, 2006, an accord for the restoration of peace and security and for the development of the northern Kidal region was signed in Algiers. It recalled the achievements of the National Pact of 1992 that had recognized the specific characteristics of northern Mali and at the same time reaffirmed the commitment of the parties to the territorial integrity and national unity of the Republic of Mali³⁶. Measures were planned to secure better participation of the local peoples in the decision-making processes and a regional provisional coordination and monitoring council was also created³⁷. In order to stimulate and accelerate the economic, social, and cultural development of Kidal, the accord envisaged a special investment fund intended for financing development activities such as livestock breeding, hydraulic energy, transportation, communication, health, education, and culture. Other initiatives were also anticipated: a program targeted at ending the isolation of the region via the paving of principal roads, the construction of an airfield in Kidal, the electrification of the primary towns of districts and communes, telephone coverage, and the establishment of regional radio and a national television relay network. A reading of the main clauses of the Algerian accord confirms the extreme impoverishment of this broader northern area known as

status of "autonomous region" for the north, the rebels did receive promises for its development and obtained its decentralization.

³⁶ It must be noted that since the accord was signed the factors hostile to a durable peace have multiplied. First, there was the arrival of al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and its branches who found sanctuary in this virtual no-man's-land deserted by the regular army. At the same time came the return of illicit trafficking, particularly the trafficking of drugs, which provides income to both the rebellion and AQIM simultaneously and has found its place in the strategic realignment of the region. The brazenness of the trafficking is best illustrated by the Boeing aircraft loaded with cocaine that landed in the Malian desert in 2009 at an airfield specially prepared for this purpose and which, after having been unloaded, was burned to the ground. The major event, though, was the Libyan crisis

³⁷ See Benjaminsen (2008:819-831).

Azawad³⁸. However, the Algerian accord of 2006 was not implemented any more than its 1992 predecessor had been (Freedom House, 2009).

Many Tuaregs, having fled Mali in the 1990s, were conscripted into the Libyan army and fought on the side of the militias of the former Libyan leader. After the fall of Gaddafi, they returned with arms of another kind; these were no longer the Kalashnikovs used in the guerrilla tactics of the rebellion in the 1990s but were heavy weapons that could be used to invade the cities with the goal of expelling the regular army (BBC News 17th October, 2011). The Tuaregs were not the only ones to benefit from the proliferation of heavy weapons resulting from the Libyan crisis. AQIM and its branches clearly did not miss this opportunity (Lee and Momtaz, 2011). Incontestably, this new situation explains the change in the nature of the armed rebellion, which since April 2012 has succeeded in pushing the regular Malian army out of the entire the region of the north, sealing the division of the country into two zones. Indeed, the rebellions of the 1990s and 2000s were not demanding the independence of Azawad, only the greater administrative and cultural autonomy of the region and a program of investment to accelerate economic and social development. Today, the principal player in this change from rebellion to secession is the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (Morgan, 2012). Created on October 16, 2011, this movement is a product of the fusion of the Tuareg Movement of Northern Mali (MTNM), which directed the rebellions of 2006–2009, and the National Movement of Azawad (MNA), a purely political organization which began in November 2010 with the purpose of peacefully recovering the specific rights confiscated from the people of Azawad. The MNLA has subscribed, since its creation, to a politics of liberation and independence that is reinforced by its recent military successes. On the side of this important actor, but far from representing the entirety of the Tuareg peoples today, are those who align themselves with jihadist Salafism. Truly amorphous and loosely bound, this entity clearly has its roots in the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC) that has officially taken the name al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).

³⁸See Emerson, S. A. 2011. "Desert insurgency: lessons from the third Tuareg rebellion." *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, 22(4), 669-687.

While this movement is directed by former combatants of the Armed Islamic Group of Algeria, it recruits to a large extent among the Mauritians and the Malians. Its establishment in the Malian north and within the confines of Algeria, Mauritania, and Niger has strengthened since 2003 and constitutes a threat to all of these countries. Indeed, AQIM does not limit itself to a simple military presence.³⁹ More and more, the movement transforms itself via relationships with the people, to whom it renders services, using revenue derived from different types of trafficking activities. Some members have also intermarried with tribes in the region. However, as detailed above, the jihadist movement does not indicate a single group but several movements that are not all aligned, to the same degree, with the Azawad cause. Among these forces, there is first of all Ansar Dine, which is led by Iyad Ag Ghali, a former Tuareg militant who converted to Salafism in the mosques of Mauritania in the 2000s. Founder of the Azawad People's Movement (MPA), he played a decisive part in the conquest of the northern cities. While the Ansar Dine movement formed an affiliation with the MNLA during the subjugation of Kidal, it is with other Salafist groups that it captured Timbuktu. Relations between the MNLA and Ansar Dine remain unsettled.

The MNLA identifies itself as a secular movement defending the cause of the Azawad peoples, which knows that it can have the recognition of the international community only if it is not classified as "Salafist." On the ground, however, the balance of military force is largely in favor of the Salafist groups that must, consequently, be handled carefully; the contradictory positions expressed by the MNLA towards those groups originate in this context. Indeed, two days after having concluded an accord with Ansar Dine in which the two movements agreed to join together to form the Transitional Council of the Islamic State of Azawad, the MNLA announced that the final communiqué diverged from the agreement that had been reached and that they had serious differences with the Salafist organization on the topic of the application of Sharia⁴⁰. In addition to Ansar Dine, it is necessary to take into account another Salafist organization, the Movement for Unity and Jihad in

³⁹ See Tawil, C. (2010) "New Strategies in al-Qaeda's Battle for Algeria." *Terrorism Monitor*, 7(5).

⁴⁰See Marchal, R. 2012. NOREF Report.

West Africa (MUJAO). A breakaway from AQIM, this group is led by Sultan Ould Badi, an Arab from Mali's Gao region, assisted by the Mauritanian Mohamed Khya, alias Qoulqoum. Furthermore, it must be emphasized that all of the Salafist movements meet together for consultation, which reinforces their influence as compared to the secular movements. To add to the confusion, the announcement on May 28, 2012, of the creation of a new armed group, the Northern Mali Liberation Front (FLNM), must be highlighted. The FLNM seeks to combat the efforts of Islamist movements to implement Islamic law.

It is difficult to say, at this time, what or whom is really concealed behind this group and what the importance of its creation is. One thing is clear: at this point in the evaluation of the balance of power on the ground, the tilt is in favour of the loosely affiliated jihadist grouping that has used the space left vacant by the central Malian government as the point from which it spreads out toward the other countries in the region. In this context, these movements' exploitation of activities characteristic of transnational criminality (trafficking of drugs and arms, abduction and holding of Western hostages not only in Mali but also in Niger and Mauritania) appear only as a consequence of this anomaly: these non-state groups' control of certain important portions of the territory of a state. The contagious effect of these groups, which today operate from northern Mali, varies according to their nature and objectives. While the MNLA claims to serve as a sort of secular voice for the demands of the Azawad peoples who have always felt marginalized if not completely excluded from the development process in Mali⁴¹, the shock wave created by its recent radicalization symbolized by the proclamation of Azawad independence appears manageable (Rogers, 2012).

Indeed, the mixed, even hostile, reactions that it provoked among the Tuaregs in Niger, who, as a result of their historically turbulent relationship with the central government, were supposed to be the most favourably inclined towards this declaration, show that the Tuareg question can still be addressed by means of negotiation and within the framework of the existing state. Niger, it is true, has made

⁴¹See Lindell, M. T., & Mattsson, K. 2014. Transnational Threats to Peace and Security in the Sahel. Swedish Defense Research Agency

efforts to integrate a part of the Tuareg political elite into its political and administrative structures. The sitting prime minister of Niger, Brigi Rafini, is a Tuareg. Similarly, one of the advisors to the president is none other than Rhissa Ag Boula, an emblematic figure in the two Tuareg rebellions that shook Niger from 1991 to 1995 and again from 2007 to 2009. Ag Boula has clearly counselled the Tuaregs in Niger against any attempts to imitate the MNLA.⁴² Does this mean that the demand for independence, for the moment confined to Mali, is doomed to fade? It would be imprudent to respond categorically to this question. In reality, everything depends on the evolution of all the other destabilizing dynamics. They have only to lead to a weakening of the Nigerian state in order for demands for independence to be foreseeable there as well. At the vanguard of these dynamics is the veritable industry of abducting and holding hostages emerging in Mali, which is connected to the growing influence of AQIM. Indeed, the presence of the Salafist groups is by far more destabilizing than the identity-related demands of the Tuaregs. To those demands, placed in their true context, political solutions can still be found. The jihadist groupings establish themselves by developing a discourse and a practice of non-coexistence with “impious” governments.⁴³

4.3 Human security challenges in Nigeria

Likewise, the Nigerian state which to some extent is integrated in the Sahel region has been characterized by some inherent contradictions which have drastically impinged on the security of its teeming population. Nigeria became an independent nation on the 1st. October, 1960 (Shillington, 2004:29), followed by the civil war which erupted in 1967 and ended in 1970 (Madiebo, 1980, Achuzie, 1986). Given the heterogeneous nature of Nigerian society⁴⁴, the religious sensitivity of Nigerians, and the prolonged military rule that ended with the advent of civil rule in 1999, critical national issues more often than not are given ethno-religious colouration. The

⁴²See Shaw, S. 2013. Fallout in the Sahel: the geographic spread of conflict from Libya to Mali. *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 19(2), 199-210.

⁴³See Mubarik, Mohammed Why have you spelt his name as if it is a series of initials? 2013. The Challenge of Islamic Radicalism to Security in West Africa: The Case of Mali (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Ghana).

⁴⁴ Nigeria is a conglomeration of more than 300 ethnic groups. See Imobighe, A. T. 2003. Ethnicity and ethnic conflicts in Nigeria: an Overview. Civil society and ethnic conflict management in Nigeria. Ibadan: Spectrum.

various attempts by Islamic fundamentalists to forcefully establish Sharia law on a constitutionally recognized secular society are obviously the manifestation of ingrained animosities that have characterized Nigerian society (Adesoji, 2010:16).

The on-going Boko Haram insurgency in the north-eastern part of Nigeria is not the first of its kind; nevertheless, it is the first terrorist group that has challenged the legitimacy of the Nigerian state, whose seeming ineptitude is becoming apparent with regular outbreaks of violence of many kinds despite the state's continuous promises to mitigate them (Falayi, 2014). The Maitatsine uprising of 1980 in Kano, 1982 in Kaduna and Bulumkutu, 1984 in Yola and 1985 in Bauchi, obviously the first attempts at imposing a religious ideology on a secular, independent Nigeria, marked the beginning of ferocious conflict and crises in Nigeria (Isichei, 1987: 194-208; Ibrahim, 1997: 511-512). Following the Maitatsine crises, or interspersing them, were several other crises (Adesoji, 2010:17). These include the Kano metropolitan riot of October 1982, the Ilorin riot of March 1986, the University of Ibadan crisis of May 1986, the nationwide crisis over Nigeria's membership in the Organization of the Islamic Conference in January/February 1986, the Kafanchan/Kaduna/Zaria/Funtua religious riots of March 1987, the Kaduna Polytechnic riot of March 1988, the acrimonious nationwide debate on Sharia (Islamic law) at the Constituent Assembly in October/November 1988, the Bayero University crisis of 1989, the Bauchi/Katsina riots of March/April 1991, the Kano riot of October 1991, the Zangon-Kataf riot of May 1992, the Kano civil disturbance of December 1991 and the Jos crisis of April 1994⁴⁵ (Imo 1995: 21-23; Ibrahim 1997: 512-516; Enwerem 1999 cited in Adesoji, 2010:23).

⁴⁵ Between 1999 and 2008, 28 conflicts were reported, the most prominent being the Shagamu conflict of July 1999 and the recurrent Jos crises of 2001, 2002, 2004, and 2008 (Omipidan, 2009: 5-6; Akaeze, 2009). The crisis recurred in January 2010, 2012 and 2013. Virtually all these crises, took a violent form with serious consequences for human security. Where the crisis was not borne out of the need to curb the excesses of some groups, prevent them from being a security threat, or contain their spread as was the case with the Maitatsine uprisings (Albert, 1999a: 285-286; Ladan 1999: 101), it arose out of the conversion driven by one religious group and the resistance by another religious group of its perceived stronghold. This was the case with the Kano riot of 1991 during which Muslims complained of preferential treatment in the approval of conduct of a religious crusade by Christians and the use of Kano Race Course earlier not approved for Muslims to hold a similar programme (Albert, 1999a: 291-292; Williams, 1997: 33-49). In some other cases, it was the seemingly unresolved indigene-settler problem that was at its root. The Zangon-Kataf riots and the recurrent Jos

Although almost all the crises have been subsumed under religion and explained by even some authors as religious factors, it is apparent that other extraneous and underlying factors like economic disequilibrium/inequality, envy, corruption among leaders and poverty among the youth (who easily became willing tools in the hand of patrons), and the unhealthy contest for political office have all played parts (Ibrahim, 1997: 521-524; Human Rights Watch 2005: 48; Sulaiman, 2008: 20-26). The assertion of Ibrahim, corroborated by Ladan, that all ethno-religious crises have behind them a perceived domination by supposedly external or illegitimate groups, is quite accurate in this case (Ibrahim, 1998: 51; Ladan, 1999: 105). According to Mamodu (2011), the public outrage at the monumental corruption within the government circle and the negative Western influence, especially in government, triggered the emergence of the Boko Haram sect. Boko Haram was created in 2002 by Mohammad Yusuf (1970-2009), a radical Islamist cleric, in Maiduguri, Borno state, in North eastern Nigeria. The group's official name, according to its manifesto, is Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awata Wal-Jihad which translates as "Association of Sunnis for the Propagation of Islam and Jihad." The name "Boko Haram" is derived from a combination of the Hausa word boko meaning "book" and the Arabic word haram which is something forbidden, ungodly or sinful. Literally, it means "book is sinful", but its deeper meaning is that Western education is sinful, sacrilegious or ungodly and should therefore be forbidden. Characteristically, the sect opposes and outrightly rejects western education, western culture and modern science. Alternatively, it embraces and advocates the propagation of and strict adherence to Islam by all and sundry regardless of anyone's personal wishes. In line with this objective, the sect sought to impose Sharia across all Nigerian states (Bumah and Adalakun, 2009: 40; National Life 2009). Yusuf set up a religious complex, called Markaz, following his expulsion from two mosques in Maiduguri by Muslim clerics for propagating his radical views. The complex included a mosque and an Islamic school. Many poor Muslim families in Nigeria, and neighbouring countries, sent their children to the school to get a proper education which the government of

crises fall into this category (Nwosu, 1996: 141-152; Williams, 1999; Ibrahim, 1998: 39-66; Uchendu, 2004: 132-144; Human Rights Watch, 2005: 7-10).

Nigeria has failed to provide⁴⁶. The center had ulterior political goals to create an Islamic state and impose Sharia laws, and it soon became a recruiting ground for future jihadists to fight the state.

For the first seven years of its existence, Boko Haram's operations were relatively peaceful, and they typically only criticized northern Muslims for participating in what the group considered to be an illegitimate, non-Islamic state, but in 2009 the government began investigating reports that Boko Haram members were arming themselves, and when Boko Haram members defied a ban on riding motorcycles without helmets, this led to deadly clashes with Nigeria security forces. The incident was suppressed by the army and about 700 people are estimated to have been killed. The group's founder, Mohammad Yusuf, was also arrested and was later killed while still in police custody. His father-in-law and other sect members were also killed in circumstances which human rights groups have called extra-judicial killings. Mohammad Yusuf's lifeless body was shown on television and the security forces declared that Boko Haram had been eradicated⁴⁷.

However, after Mohammad Yusuf's death, Boko Haram carried out its first terrorist attack in Borno state in January 2010 and four people were killed. Since then, Boko Haram has increased the frequency and intensity of its attacks with increased suicide bombings and assassinations spreading from Maiduguri to Abuja. Some experts say the group is leading an armed protest against corruption, abusive security forces, and economic disparity in northern Nigeria and that it is feeding off tensions that long have existed between the Muslim north and Christian south (Crisis Group Africa Report, 2013). The sect's membership cuts across the broad spectrum of society, but a preponderant number of members comes from its poorest groups. Thus, beyond former university lecturers, students, bankers, a former commissioner and other officers of Borno State, membership extends to drug addicts, vagabonds, and generally lawless people although the common denominator among all members is

⁴⁶ See Moja, T. 2000. Nigeria education sector analysis: An analytical synthesis of performance and main issues. World Bank Report.

⁴⁷ See Waldek, L., and Jayasekara, S. 2011. Boko Haram: the evolution of Islamist extremism in Nigeria. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*,6(2), 168-178.

their desire to overthrow the secular government and to propagate Islamic law (Chiedozie, 2009:2).

The wide gap in time notwithstanding, the socio-economic conditions that are prevalent in the Nigerian society sustains the existence of Boko Haram. In some cases, the situation has got worse: There is mass poverty; inequality in educational, political and employment opportunities; ignorance due to limited educational opportunities; growing unemployment; and governmental corruption, including the misuse of resources, by which the people are repulsed (Usman, 1987: 21; Enwerem, 1999: 125; Ale, 2009: 8). These problems swell the army of vulnerable people whose disillusionment and impoverishment made them easy prey. In particular, with the notorious corruption among the political elite, the country's vast wealth has failed to improve the lives of citizens. This, coupled with stolen election mandates, has led to a growing disenchantment with the Western system of governance, particularly among jobless young men (McConnell, 2009). A contributor to the London Times saw the uprising as a symptom of the social breakdown that has made Nigeria so prone to violence (Anonymous 2009).

In understanding the Boko Haram phenomenon, it should be clarified that extremists Islamists have at various times in Nigeria's post-civil war past, unleashed bouts of sporadic violence against non-Muslims over specific issues. A few examples are the occasions when extremists were opposed to the hosting of the "Miss World Beauty Pageant" in Abuja and when extremists went on a rampage over what they perceived to be the desecration of the Islamic holy book by non-believers. The present sustained attacks aimed at the exorcising an Islamist enclave from the Nigeria federation where the Shari'a legal system would be the order of the state, championed by Boko Haram, primarily originated in response to the perceived loss of political power by some elements in northern Nigeria who were opposed to the emergence of a non-northern Muslim as President of Nigeria following the demise of a former President⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ See Bagaji, Y., Etila, S., and Ogbadu, E. E. 2012. "Boko Haram and the recurring bomb attacks in Nigeria: Attempt to impose religious ideology through terrorism?" *Cross-Cultural Communication*, 8(1), 33-41.

After the election of Goodluck Jonathan, a Christian Southerner, as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in 2010, there was an increase in violent activities by the Boko Haram sect, which began to wage war on the new government led by President Jonathan. Violence linked to Boko Haram's activities is reported to have resulted in an estimated 10,000 deaths between 2001 and 2012⁴⁹ (Ekanem, Dada and Ejue, 2012). The tenure of President Goodluck Jonathan has also been dogged by threats from elements who felt that President Jonathan's emergence 'scuttled' a fragile power balance in Nigeria. Some leading politicians had pointblank threatened to render Nigeria ungovernable for President Jonathan, a threat that coincided with a dramatic rise in Boko Haram terror activities (Aribisala, 2014).

By virtue of Boko Haram's increasing links with international extremist Islamic terror groups such as Al Shabab and AQIM, the group has exacerbated the fragile human security situation in Nigeria. The large expanse of ungoverned space has given them unhindered access to carry out their nefarious activities. Recently, the group attacked the border town of Chibok in the northeastern Nigeria, killing innocent civilians and abducting about 270 female students from their school hostels. Indeed, the leader of the group acknowledged responsibility for the abductions and threatened to sell the girls into slavery (BBC News 5th May, 2014). As news of the abduction of the students from the Government Girls secondary School, Chibok filtered through, there was palpable shock and angst, initially across the Nigerian federation, and as the information became widespread, across the globe. The initial sense of disbelief of the news was doused and replaced with the reality that indeed a horrendous act had occurred when pictures of the burnt out school premises were made available and the School's Principal and the Bornu State Government confirmed the incident⁵⁰.

⁴⁹ Since 2012 alone, according to an Amnesty International report that details Boko Haram's activities in Nigeria, "at least 70 teachers and over 100 schoolchildren and students have been killed or wounded. At least 50 schools have either been burned or seriously damaged and more than 60 others have been forced to close. Thousands of children have been forced out of schools across communities in Yobe, Kaduna, Adamawa and Borno states (Daily Sun, 2012:8).

⁵⁰ Over 200 of the kidnapped Nigerian schoolgirls are still missing. These kidnappings have led to an increased focus on the threat posed by the perpetrators: Boko Haram. This group has been conducting a vicious insurgency in Nigeria since 2009 in the hope of creating an Islamic state, with increased fears over their ties to al-Qaeda and the extent they pose a threat outside Nigeria. Nigerian President

4.4 Human security challenges in Libya

The United Kingdom of Libya which gained independence on 24 December 1951 as a constitutional and hereditary monarchy under King Idris is made up of Tripolitania, Fezzan, and Cyrenaica. The Libyan population is split up between an estimated 140 different tribes or clans, of which there are 30 powerful tribes (Fearon, 2003:213).

The Libyan Constitution which contained many of the entrenched rights common to European and North American nation states was enacted in 1951. Article 5 of the constitution proclaimed Islam as the official religion of the State, while Article 11 of the constitution formally set out rights such as equality before the law as well as equal civil and political rights, equal opportunities, and an equal responsibility for public duties and obligations, without distinction of religion, belief, race, language, wealth, kinship or political or social opinions. The discovery of oil reserves in 1959 and the subsequent income from crude exports transformed Libya from one of the world's poorest nations to an extremely wealthy state. However, the oil wealth created resentment and dissatisfaction among different ethnic groups and factions over the concentration of the nation's wealth in the hands of King Idris. This discontent coupled with the rise and consolidation of Arab nationalism and Nasserism throughout North Africa and the Middle East subsequently led to the over-throw of King Idris on September 1969, by a small group of military officers led by 27-year-old army officer Muammar Gaddafi (U.S.Dept. of State, 2005).

Goodluck Jonathan claimed in May that Boko Haram was "an al-Qaeda operation". The extent to which this is technically true depends on how broadly we define the al-Qaeda network - and it should be noted that Ayman al-Zawahiri has never even publicly referred to Boko Haram - but their ties to al-Qaeda and its affiliates are now so numerous that they are impossible to ignore.

For example in 2002, Osama bin Laden dispatched one of his aides to Nigeria to distribute \$3m to Salafi groups. Boko Haram's founder, Mohammed Yusuf, is thought to be a recipient of this money. Bin Laden's interest in Nigeria seemingly did not end with Yusuf's 2009 death at the hands of Nigerian security forces. Documents discovered in bin Laden's Abbottabad compound in Pakistan are thought to show an ongoing dialogue between Boko Haram and the top levels of al-Qaeda, potentially even with bin Laden himself. By 2006, Boko Haram members were training in the Sahel alongside al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), whose emir Abdulmalek Droukdel admits assisting Boko Haram in a variety of other ways. Co-operation continued until at least 2013, when a large contingent of Boko Haram fighters attended an AQIM training centre in Timbuktu, Mali. <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/06/boko-haram-al-qaeda-201463115816142554.html>

In 1973, Gaddafi announced the suspension of all existing laws and the implementation of Sharia law. He said that the country would be purged of the "politically sick". A "people's militia" would "protect the revolution". There would be an administrative revolution, and a cultural revolution. The country's human security records deteriorated as Gaddafi executed dissidents publicly and the executions were often rebroadcast on state television channels (Eljahmi, 2006:3). According to Amnesty International, Gaddafi employed his network of diplomats and recruits to assassinate dozens of people inside Libya as well as political refugees around the world who were openly critical of his regime. Between 1980 and 1987, Amnesty International recorded at least 25 assassinations in Libya (The Los Angeles Times 26th February 2011). However, in other respects, Gaddafi's government made tremendous progress in enhancing his citizens' well-being. Human development reports reveal that Libya was one of the Arab countries that made progress according to the human development index (HDI), which measures health, education, income, etc. For example, from the rank of 64 in 2000, and 61 in 2001, Libya jumped to the rank of 13 in the world, and first in Africa in 2010. Compared to its neighbors, Libya enjoyed a low level of both absolute and relative poverty. Meanwhile, its abundant oil revenues and small population (5.5 million people) resulted in one of the highest GDPs per capita in Africa (Yoichi, 2011). Life expectancy at birth for males increased from 46 years in 1970 to 77 years in 2010 and from 48 years to 80 years for females for the same period. Equal opportunities in education were offered by the state, while basic education was free to all and compulsory up to secondary level⁵¹.

However, frequent criticisms were raised by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) and several human rights defence organizations against the

⁵¹ The literacy rate was the highest in North Africa in 2010, as nearly 88 per cent of the population can read. Since the 1970s, the number of university students has increased gradually to more than 200 000, in addition to 70 000 students enrolled in the higher technical and vocational sector in 2010. The rapid increase in the number of students in the higher education sector has been mirrored by an increase in the number of institutions of higher education. By the end of 2010, there were 15 universities across the country (Ashour, 2011:12). While criminal activities have been increasing in the last two decades, some have attributed this to the inflow of 'African' migrants. In a report published in 2007, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) praised Libya for its achievements in the field of economic diversification, pointing to the rapid growth in non-oil activities (7.5 per cent) as well as in oil production (4.7 per cent) in 2006 (BTI, 2009).

repressive practices of the Gaddafi regime. For example, Amnesty International expressed concerns about the large number of alleged cases of enforced disappearances and extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary killings (Amnesty International Report, 2010). Moreover, the Internal Security Agency that was involved in such violations continued to be immune from accountability and punishment. This situation was compounded by the absence of genuine civil society institutions independent of the system. Freedom of expression and freedom of assembly and association were subject to severe restriction; the authorities did not show any tolerance towards opposition. Critics of the government's record on human rights were punished; former detainees at Guantánamo Bay whom the US authorities have returned to Libya re-detained, so arrested and jailed some members of the victims' families, who were seeking to know the truth of their relatives. It was unclear the fate of hundreds of forced disappearances and other gross violations of human rights committed in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s (Human Rights Watch January, 2009).

Moreover, since 1999, Gaddafi regime embarked on neo-liberal reforms as part of a broader campaign to reintegrate the country into the global capitalist economy after the lifting of U.N. embargo (Hochman, 2009:14). Many Libyans were suspicious of this project in light of the corruption and tyranny they had endured since 1969 and the era of the international embargo. These suspicions increased as the basic anti-corruption policy set up by Gaddafi failed to achieve its purpose and was selective in performing its functions in a manner that made it another tool for imposing trusteeship and control over economic and financial entities that dealt with foreign companies, through subjecting them to the supervision of the regime's loyalists (Fuhr, 2013:38). Thus, despite the economic reform programmes, tensions escalated and an opposition to the regime grew stronger. But the opposition was not able to get rid of the regime by itself. Meanwhile, foreign powers were not confident that the opposition inside and outside Libya could undertake this role due to its fragmentation and the ambiguity of its goals and objectives (Etzioni, 2012:49).

However, the examples of popular protest movements which overturned the rulers of Tunisia and Egypt, its immediate neighbors to the west and east, in late 2010 led

to a popular protest in Libya's eastern province of Benghazi. This marked the first serious effort to organize a broad-based opposition against Gaddafi regime. After violent attempts by the Libyan government to quell the protests, armed opposition fighters took the stage, battling government forces and wrestling for control of the capital, Tripoli (Beaumont, 2011). The opposition quickly transformed to rebellion and subsequently formed the National Transitional Council under the leadership of Mustafa Abdul Jalil, Gaddafi's former justice minister (Ross, 2011). Despite international diplomatic initiatives, the crisis escalated leading to the passage a UN Security Council resolution 1973 (2011) in March 2011, sanctioning the establishment of a no-fly zone and authorizing NATO to use "all means necessary" to protect civilians with Libya⁵². This represents the invocation of (R2P) doctrine, which is a fundamental aspect of human security (UN SCOR, Doc S/RES/1973 ('Resolution 1973') 17 March 2011).

While the Arab Spring reverberated across northern Africa, the Libyan crisis forced neighboring countries such as Mauritania, Mali, Chad, and Niger to weather most of its fallouts. The crisis in Libya unleashed unforeseen consequences on the West African Sahel states of Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Mauritania. Following an inflow of weapons, ammunition, and armed fighters from Libya's 'Islamic Legion into northern Mali, a dormant Tuareg rebellion was revived, leading Malian government forces to launch an offensive. The succeeding months witnessed a military coup and the takeover of northern Mali by armed and Islamist groups in a battle for autonomy (Fessy, 2012). Nigeria faced increasing violence by the armed group Boko Haram. Although Niger and Mauritania have not witnessed internal rebellion, they have been forced to open their borders for refugees fleeing the crises in Mali and Cote d'Ivoire and exacerbating the longstanding political, economic and humanitarian vulnerabilities (George, 2012:1).

⁵² The Allied Forces launched attacks on over 20 "integrated air defense systems" using more than 110 Tomahawk cruise missiles during operation Odyssey Dawn. The International Criminal Court subsequently issued an arrest warrant for Gaddafi, alleging that Gaddafi had been personally involved in planning and implementing "a policy of widespread and systematic attacks against civilians and demonstrators and dissidents" (Black and Smith, 2011). On 16 September 2011, the U.N. General Assembly approved a request from the National Transitional Council to accredit envoys of the country's interim controlling body as Tripoli's sole representatives at the UN, effectively recognizing the National Transitional Council as the legitimate holder of that country's UN seat. The 42-year reign of Gaddafi's government met a violent end with his death in October 2011.

The collapse of Libyan security institutions created human security challenges in the Sahel region, exacerbating the humanitarian crisis brought on by drought and poor harvests in a region already burdened by chronic poverty and food insecurity. Terrorist and extremist groups, including al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), exploited the resulting political vacuum and seized control of the northern two-thirds of Mali. Exercising greater freedom of movement, terrorists had access to a larger pool of potential recruits and the ungoverned space provided training opportunities. At the same time, transnational criminal networks used well-established smuggling routes to increase their trafficking in weapons, drugs and people. Chad has been a steady route for illicit weapons trafficking out of Libya (Yamamoto, 2013).

The UN-NATO intervention in Libya created regional security complexes. While the French and West African-led intervention has successfully wrestled control of the majority of Malian territory from terrorists and weaken AQIM, continued asymmetric attacks against international and Malian forces in and around northern population centers illustrate that Mali, Nigeria and the entire Sahel region remain vulnerable to violent extremism.

4.4.1 The impacts of the Libyan crisis on the Sahel states

The influx of refugees from Libya to the neighboring counties created humanitarian challenges to the Sahel states. The Libyan economy under Gaddafi's regime was very strong and therefore, supported some the Sahel states such as Chad, Mali and Niger that were threatened by drought, poor harvest and state fragility. In addition to Libya's considerable investments in these counties which provided gainful employment for their citizens and ameliorated human security challenges, (George, 2012:5), the strong Libyan economy had also attracted workers from these countries. Following the demise of the Gaddafi government and the escalation of instability, the number of returnees from Libya crossed 209,030, with 95,760 in Niger, 82,433 in Chad, 11,230 in Mali and 780 in Mauritania (UNDP, 2011). The labour migration to Libya acted as a key source of income for the development of neighboring communities. The loss of remittances has had an especially adverse effect on these countries, particularly in light of looming food crises. The influx of traumatized and impoverished returnees has not only disturbed social structures in receiving

countries, but has also impacted the humanitarian situation in countries that already face food and nutrition crises, poverty, unemployment, limited access to social services, weak state institutions, diseases and effects of natural disasters such as drought (George, 2012:4).

In addition to returnees, large quantities of weapons and ammunition smuggled out of Libya are being used to create instabilities and insecurities in neighboring countries as expressed in the preceding paragraphs. Algeria, Mali, Mauritania and Niger are the frontline countries affected by this outflow. Unsecured weapons storage facilities that were previously guarded by the Libyan government are the main source of the outflow. The unhindered movement of these weapons across state borders by former fighters who were either members of the Libyan army or mercenaries participating in the Libyan conflict, has led to the proliferation of arms, to the benefit of arms traffickers and terrorist and other armed groups operating in the region (Stohl, 2012:4).

The deplorable economic and socio-political environment coupled with monumental corruption, gross inequality and deprivation in the Sahel make it a fertile breeding ground for the penetration and development of terrorist groups and other armed or criminal groups that seek to profit from the increasingly chaotic conditions in the region. Since its formation in 2007, the Algerian-run Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) has been a key factor in the Sahel-Saharan region. Following Algeria's fight to contain it, AQIM developed networks in the Sahara, cooperating with smuggling rings in the region (Filiu, 2010:4). The AQIM has so far been weakened by deep internal rivalries, and has in the past largely partnered with criminal groups in the Sahel rather than with ideologically ambitious local Salafi movements⁵³ (ibid). With increasing instability in the Sahel, particularly in Mali and Niger and Nigeria, the threat of expansion and increased consolidation of the group in the Sahel-Sahara is an issue of concern.

⁵³ Emerging reports suggest that the AQIM which has consolidated its hold in northern Mali through control of existing drug trafficking networks, kidnapping ransoms, inflow of arms from Libya along with armed fighters, and armed and extremist groups seeking to expand their activities in the region have affiliated with other terrorists groups in the region. For instance, there is evidence of ties between AQIM and newly formed armed groups such as the Ansar Dine in northern Mali, as well as with the Nigeria-based radical Islamist group, Boko Haram (UNSC, 2012).

The role that other groups are playing in this complex network of actors seems to be galvanized by this affiliation, making AQIM a sort of franchise. The presence of AQIM also seems to have led to an intensification of extremist activities in the name of Islam (as most recently seen in northern Mali). Al-Qaeda's history indicates that it is strongest when it has attached itself to deep-rooted local conflicts (such as in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq and Somalia) and "rides" with them (Jenkins, 2010:1). The situation in Mali and Nigeria and potentially in Niger could provide the right ingredients for AQIM and its allies to take root and create humanitarian catastrophes.

4.5 Human security challenges in the Horn of Africa

The Horn of Africa region includes Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan, while the greater Horn incorporates Tanzania and Uganda. These countries share similar geographic endowments, and besides that, the countries of this region are, for the most part, linguistically and ethnically linked together (Joireman, 1997:1), evincing a complex pattern of interrelationships among the various populations (Fukui and Markakis, 1994:4). The political climate in the Horn of Africa today is influenced by local political and social conflicts not only in terms of specific histories and effects, but also their interaction with forces operating at a global level. The history of the countries of the Horn since the end of colonialism in the region has largely been one of violent repression and insurgency (Wasara, 2002:1). The Horn of Africa has been known for decades as one of the hottest geographical spaces of internal dissidence and interstate conflicts. Africa's longest civil wars occur in this region (Assefa, 1999). This was the case of the Eritrean war of liberation against Ethiopian regimes. The civil war in Sudan is another civil war that is associated in one way or the other with the region. No matter how governments in the region came to power, in practically every case, force has been the means of dislodging them. Succession by peaceful election has been the exception (Maxted and Zegeye, 2001:3). The situation is critical with more than 13.3 million people affected, 4 million in acute need of humanitarian assistance, and 250,000 who are thought to be in dire need of food and at risk of starvation (CRS

report, 2012). Conditions in this region have created an escalating refugee crisis, primarily in Kenya and Ethiopia (Astatke Bayou, 2002)⁵⁴.

There are three major reasons why the Horn of Africa has attracted international attention for many centuries (Schulz, 2011:41). First, its strategic location: four countries in the Horn of Africa, namely Djibouti, Eritrea, Somalia and Sudan, border two crucial sea routes, the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. These waterways are currently regaining importance in international naval trade now that a number of Middle Eastern countries, Asian countries and Russia are trying to open new markets in Africa in the wake of the end of the Cold War. With the discovery of large quantities of oil in Africa especially in the gulf of Guinea, Africa is emerging as a lucrative market for Asian technology. Second, the region has the most diverse religious and ethnic groupings. In view of a tendency for ethnic and tribal wars to erupt throughout the region, this situation requires careful management. Most of the residents of the Horn of Africa espouse Sunni Islam as their religion and most of them can trace their historic origins to the Middle East. With its radical religious politics, it is likely that the Horn of Africa will witness, as has already been the case in Sudan and some parts of Somalia, the rise of Islamic radicals trying to impose their version of Islam on others and thereby fuelling global insecurity.

Finally, the Horn of Africa has significant agricultural potential. The source of over 80% of the waters of the Nile River and its tributaries is in the area. With such agricultural potential, the Horn of Africa could achieve economic prosperity should its leaders assign top priority to peace in the region. The Horn of Africa has the capacity to identify trade interests in East Africa and neighboring Middle Eastern and Asian countries.

However, the states of the Horn of Africa are weakened by acute environmental degradation. A fragile ecological inheritance of cyclical drought has been aggravated by armed conflicts. Pastoralists and other hinterland populations have been among the primary victims. Desertification, droughts, and a scarcity of resources have displaced large numbers of people, driving them across national borders as migrants

⁵⁴ See “Conflict in the Horn: prevention and resolution”: report of the National Workshop, 8-9 June 2001, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. OSSREA, 2002.

or as environmental refugees⁵⁵. Aside from putting pressure on state boundaries, their arrival sometimes results in feelings of insecurity and intolerance among the local population, who have to compete with refugees for the same limited resources (Maxted and Zegeye, 2001:5).

People who live in this region of Africa have faced pervasive crises for a very long time. The dynamics of the crisis originate at the local and at the global level. The people suffer from the impact of colonialism and authoritarianism, and the rule of those who try to manipulate and control the role of the state for their own narrow interests. The crisis is manifested in many different forms: civil wars, violation of human rights, the suppression of civil liberties, abject poverty, famine, epidemics, debt problems, population displacement, ecological disasters and disenfranchisement. The crisis in the Horn appears to be without end creating one of the worst humanitarian catastrophes in modern era (Refugees International, 2011). The inequitable distribution of resources generates intense armed conflicts among different social groups. These conflicts result in further depletion of resources, violence, disruption of economic production and increased demographic displacement. Eventually, the crisis destroys the social fabric by promoting militarization, tyranny and mutual animosity and together these over time produce a “culture of warfare” (Wasara, 2002:57-62).

The region’s asymmetric integration into the global capital markets escalated the security crisis leading to the disruption of regional economies by unequal exchange and exploitative relations with the West and the formation of an alliance between global capital and the region’s economically privileged and ruling political elites (Weintstein, 2008). The myriad of human security pathologies in this region are engendered by the violent struggles for state power among the various ethnic groups that have cross-cutting cleavages. The overlapping ethnic identities between the states in this region create regional security complexes as instability and insecurity in one country gravitates to insecurity in neighboring countries. States have been the central conduit to power and resources and the ruling groups are clientelists and sectarians, leaving no political space for disenfranchised and marginalized social

⁵⁵ See und Frieden, S., and London Institute for African Alternatives. (1999). *Ecology, politics and violent conflict*. M. Suliman (Ed.). London and New York: Zed Books.

groups who often have no choice but to resort to resistance to obtain freedom and emancipation through the application of ethnic and religious solidarity (Attilio, 2006:1).

Consequently, Horn of Africa states themselves have become central elements of the crisis, largely through their incessant quest to centralize and concentrate power. These states then produce and reproduce hegemonic facades, seemingly so inextricably caught up in their own political practices that they cannot extricate themselves from it. Centralizing power in this region was often a response to or excuse for ethnic strife and political competition, and served to exacerbate underlying problems even while temporarily overwhelming symptoms. The main investment in governance in the Horn was the multi-faceted instrument of internal security, subverting broader development of governance and civil society (ibid).

Besides colonial legacy (with the exclusion of Ethiopia) which has been explained in chapter three, Cold War rivalries contributed significantly to the deplorable human security condition in the Horn of Africa. The strategic proximity of this region to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea with its oil traffic made it a strategic hub which excited the interests of the superpowers. The Cold War imperatives influenced the policies of external actors toward the region. Although states and their associated social welfare systems received enormous resources, aid was accompanied by hundreds of millions of dollars in military assistance which reinforced repressive security apparatus and legitimized divide-and-rule governing policies (Agyeman-Duah, 1996). The northeast corner of the Greater Horn was particularly targeted because it is close to the Persian Gulf. The Soviet Union poured hundreds of millions of dollars into Somalia before and billions into Ethiopia after 1977. The United States did the reverse, although on a lesser scale. The US also supported governments beyond Ethiopia and Somalia, including Kenya and Sudan under Numeiry (Ball, 1991:199).

As Cold War priorities subsided and military aid dwindled, authoritarian states met violent ends or mutated to attempt to address donor states' post-colonial interests, particularly democratization. Nevertheless, the legacy of overdeveloped internal security systems and bloated military budgets remain fixtures in most Horn states,

even in countries where governments are attempting to make clean breaks with the past (Patman, 2009:38).

4.6 Human security challenges in Somalia

Having lacked a functioning state for over 20 years, Somalia has faced protracted insecurity and human suffering. Various manifestations of armed conflict are occurring in Somalia: civil war, foreign interventions, regional proxy wars, and communal clashes, clashes between paramilitaries, piracy, Islamist movements and armed criminality (APFO, 2012:4). The colonial contradiction of arbitrary state boundaries accompanied Somalia's independence in 1969. Hence, the attempt to reunite with three large Somali groups trapped in other states, such as French Somaliland in Djibouti, the annexed Ogaden and Haud regions in Ethiopia and northern Kenya, was resisted by the Western support for Ethiopia and Kenya, which causes Somalia to look to the Soviet Union for military aid. Nevertheless the Somali government managed to maintain a fairly neutral stance in international affairs during the 1960s, a position which changes dramatically after 1969 (Hassan, 2010:3).

The 1969 elections which ushered in President Muhammad Egal under the Somali Youth League were truncated by his assassination in the same year. The ensuing political upheaval provided an opportunity for the commander of the army, Mohamed Siad Barre to seize power. Barre introduced a brutal Marxist dictatorship, insisting upon the supremacy of party and nation as opposed to the local clan loyalties which are a strong feature of Somali culture⁵⁶. In 1977, with Ethiopia in chaos after the fall of Haile Selassie, Somalia attacked Ethiopian garrisons in the Ogaden. Soon a Somali army was besieging the city of Harar. But President Siad was betrayed by his chosen superpower. The Soviet Union saw a more important potential client in the new Ethiopia. Early in 1978 the Ethiopian army, using Soviet equipment and reinforced by troops from Cuba, recaptured the Ogaden. The result was the mass exodus of hundreds of thousands of Somali refugees over the borders into Somalia (Lockyer, 2006:13-15).

⁵⁶ See Ssereo, F. 2003. Clanpolitics, clan-democracy and conflict regulation in Africa: The experience of Somalia. *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics*, 2(3-4), 25-40.

In the aftermath of this disaster guerrilla groups, clan-based and regional, were formed in and around Somalia with the intention of toppling Barre's repressive and centralizing regime. By 1988 the result was full-scale civil war, resulting in the overthrow of Barre in 1991. He withdrew to the safety of his own clan, becoming one warlord among many in this increasingly chaotic nation⁵⁷. In 1991 the faction controlling the former British Somaliland confused matters by declaring its independence as the republic of Somaliland⁵⁸. The conflict destroyed Somalia's crops during 1992 and brought widespread famine. Food flown in by international agencies was looted by the warring militias. By December 1992 the situation was such that the UN actively intervened, sending a force of 35,000 troops in Operation Restore Hope. The UN briefly calmed the situation, persuading fifteen warring groups to convene in Addis Ababa in January 1993 for peace and disarmament talks⁵⁹. These seemed at first to make progress, but the situation on the ground continued to deteriorate. In March 1994 American and European units in the UN force withdrew, finding the level of casualties unacceptable. Troops from African countries and the Indian subcontinent remained in Situ.

During the rest of the decade the situation got worse rather than better. From late 1994 the capital, Mogadishu, was divided between the two most powerful of the warring factions. In each a leader declared himself the president of the nation and organized a supposedly national government. In March 1995 the remaining UN forces were evacuated from the coast under the protection of an international flotilla. At the end of the decade the only remotely stable region was the breakaway republic of Somaliland, in the northwest. An interim constitution was introduced here in 1997 and a president was elected. But the would-be republic failed to win any international recognition (Le Sage, 2005:3). In 2000, Abdiqasim Salad Hassan was selected as the President of the nation's new Transitional National Government (TNG), an interim administration formed to guide Somalia to its third permanent republican government. Subsequently, former Puntland President Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed was

⁵⁷See Omar, M. O. 1996. *Somalia, a Nation Driven to Despair: A Case of Leadership Failure*. Haan Publishing.

⁵⁸ See Adam, H. 1994. "Formation and recognition of new states: Somaliland in contrast to Eritrea." *Review of African Political Economy*, 21(59), 21-38.

⁵⁹ See Weiss, T. G. 1997. "A Research Note about Military-Civilian Humanitarianism: More Questions than Answers." *Disasters*, 21(2), 95-117.

elected as President of the succeeding Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in October 10, 2004 (Rulers, 2004).

In 2006, the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), an Islamist organization, assumed control of much of the southern part of the country and promptly imposed Sharia law. The Ethiopian intervention into the crisis in 2006 toppled the ICU and accentuated the disintegration of the Somali state as competing clan groups and warlords struggled for control of local productive resources. In addition to facilitating an administrative and security vacuum, the intervention proved transformative. The authority of the TFG was reestablished with assistance of Ethiopian troops and the African Union peacekeepers (O’Kasick, 2007).

Following this defeat, the Islamic Courts Union splintered into several different factions. Some of the more radical elements, including Al-Shabaab, regrouped to continue their insurgency against the TFG and oppose the Ethiopian military's presence in Somalia. Throughout 2007 and 2008, Al-Shabaab scored military victories, seizing control of key towns and ports in both central and southern Somalia. At the end of 2008, the group had captured Baidoa but not Mogadishu. By January 2009, Al-Shabaab and other militias had managed to force the Ethiopian troops to retreat, leaving behind an under-equipped African Union peacekeeping force to assist the Transitional Federal Government's troops (USCIRF, 2009). On 29 December 2008, Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed announced before a united parliament in Baidoa his resignation as President of Somalia. In his speech, which was broadcast on national radio, Yusuf expressed regret at failing to end the country's seventeen-year conflict as his government had mandated to do (BBC News, 29 December, 2008).

He also blamed the international community for its failure to support the government⁶⁰, and said that the speaker of parliament would succeed him in office as the Chairman of the Transitional Federal Government. Taking advantage of the advanced collapse of the state in Somalia and the inability of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) to make headway against it or any of the other challenges

⁶⁰See Menkhaus, K. 2007. "The crisis in Somalia: Tragedy in five acts." *African Affairs*, 106(424), 357-390.

confronting its rule, Al Shabaab took control of large areas of central Somalia, giving it control over the entire south and central Somalia. In 2007, it claimed an affiliation with al-Qaeda, and took responsibility for its first major attack outside of Somalia in July 2010, when twin bombings in Kampala killed more than 70 people watching TV coverage of the World Cup soccer final (Uganda Media Centre, 2010). In February 2010, it issued a declaratory statement of practical support for AQAP that prompted Western policy makers to worry about the prospect of enhanced cooperation among al-Qaeda affiliates in the region, although to date this remains more rhetorical than actual (Joscelyn and Roggio, 2012:1). The increasing level of threat from Al-Shabaab was merely one of multiple insecurities afflicting Somalia and the wider Horn of Africa.

Meanwhile, economic motivations constituted potent drivers of conflict elsewhere, crossing national boundaries and contributing to the appearance of generalized zones of instability and border conflicts. These included damage to pastoralist livelihoods arising from infrastructural neglect and disruption to trade routes, uneven access to seaports, energy-related issues, the impact of drought and the pernicious effects of localized conflicts on the intraregional economy (OCHA, 2012). Thriving shadow networks constituted a parallel economic structure that facilitated regional trade in arms and the smuggling of people and fuel. This created an enabling environment for individuals and groups that sought to utilize these illicit networks for more sinister exchanges. Finally, the regionalization of localized conflicts enabled the ICU to receive transfers of arms and advisers.

Factional fighting between Al Shabaab and TFG-allied forces continued to undermine human security situation in the country and has in fact, spiral into neighboring countries. Piracy, terrorism, human trafficking and famine are symptoms of the wider instability that has plagued Somalia. According to US Embassy in Nairobi, in 2011/2012, Al Shabaab carried out at least 17 attacks involving grenades or explosive devices in Kenya⁶¹. At least 48 people died in these attacks, and around 200 people were injured. Nine of these attacks occurred in North Eastern Province,

⁶¹ See Odhiambo, E., Onkware, K., Kassilly, J., Maito, L., Oboka, W., Wakhungu, J., and Ntabo, O. (2012). "Kenya's Pre-Emptive And Preventive Incursion Against Al-Shabaab In The Light Of International Law." *Journal of Defense Resources Management Online (JoDRM) Volume, 3*.

including locations in Dadaab, Wajir, and Garissa. Four attacks occurred in Nairobi, and four in Mombasa. Targets included police stations and police vehicles, nightclubs and bars, churches, a religious gathering, a downtown building of small shops, and a bus station. Other attacks include two simultaneous assaults on churches in Garissa on 1 July 2012. In this attack, 17 people were killed and about 50 people were injured (US Embassy, 2012). The terrorist group claimed responsibility for the 21 September 2013 attack, when unidentified gunmen attacked the upmarket Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi, Kenya. The attack, which lasted until 24 September, resulted in at least 67 deaths, including four attackers. Over 175 people were reportedly wounded in the mass shooting, with all of the gunmen reported killed⁶². The Islamist group al-Shabaab characterized the attack as retribution for the Kenyan military's deployment in Somalia.

4.7 Human security challenges in Sudan and South Sudan

Sudan which gained her independence in 1956 from Egyptian-British colonial rule has faced succession of human security crises which eventually led to the secession of Southern Sudan as a sovereign state in 2011. It was clear from the beginning that peace could not last as incipient animosities between North and South were not resolved before and immediately after independence. Sudan has been characterized by internal conflict and tensions. Ethnic, cultural and religious divisions have coincided with unequal political and economic relations between North and South. The divisions and imbalances led to the first North-South Sudan civil war (1955-1972), followed by the second civil war (1983-2005) and the Darfur conflict which began in 2003, continuing to this day. The human cost of the latter two wars was particularly heavy with around 2.5 million people, mostly civilians, left dead from the fighting (US Committee for Refugees, Sudan: 2001). The Second Sudanese Civil War, fought between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) of the South and the Northern government based in the capital Khartoum, was brought to a conclusion by the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) see <http://www.aec-sudan.org/docs/cpa/cpa-en.pdf>. The CPA addressed many issues, but an important

⁶²See Onuoha, F. 2013. "Westgate Attack: Al-Shabab's Renewed Transnational Jihadism." *Al-Jazeera Center for Studies*, November, 10.

stipulation of the treaty was the referendum which decided South Sudan attainment of self-determination from the North in 2011 (McKay, 2012:4).

In spite of such proclamations, however, the inception of the Republic of South Sudan has been marred by violent clashes which have been spreading like wildfire in areas around the North-South border and elsewhere. Abyei, an oil-rich region along the North-South border, has seen violent conflict devastate its landscape and inhabitants since January 2011, and this has become worse as time has progressed. Abyei was due to hold a separate referendum at the same time as the South's, when its inhabitants would also decide whether to become part of the North or South. Unfortunately, progress on that vote still remains deadlocked. The settled population of the area, the southern-oriented Ngok Dinka, asserts that they alone should have that right to vote. But the nomadic Misseriya people, who migrate to Abyei from the North, are equally adamant that they should also have the right to vote. In the past, there have been major tensions between the two groups and thousands have died on account of feuds over water and land (McKay, 2012:7).

The Abyei dispute assumed broader political dimensions due to the oil reserves and its geostrategic importance and had been used as a bargaining chip between North and South. In May 2011, Sudan Armed Forces from the North and their allied civil militias stormed Abyei, set homes on fire, looted stores and forced anybody healthy enough to flee for their lives. More than 100,000 people have been displaced (UN News Centre, Sudan: 2012). The dispute over Abyei has become one of the most intractable in Sudan. Elsewhere along the border, hostilities have surfaced in South Kordofan and Blue Nile. Instead of having their own referendum, both areas were granted more vague 'popular consultations' to decide whether or not the CPA had met the aspirations of the people, but the findings placed little or no obligation on the central government in Khartoum to fulfill those expectations. The two regions were heavily contested during the Second Sudanese Civil War, and these regions have become areas of continued instability and insecurity.

Human security challenges in South Kordofan escalated ahead of the gubernatorial and state assembly elections, held on May 2, 2011 when the National Congress Party candidate Abdul Aziz al-Hilu narrowly beat the SPLM candidate, but the SPLM

alleged the voting was rigged. The tensions exacerbated, and fighting commenced in early June 2011 when SAF moved into South Kordofan's capital Kadugli and initiated aerial attacks, triggering clashes with SPLA units in the region and causing mass displacement. Some 50,000 people fled from South Kordofan and Blue Nile state to Ethiopia (UNOHA, 2011). Violence reached a particularly intense pitch in Jonglei, the largest state in the South which is bordered by Ethiopia. The incidence of fighting between the Luo-Nuer and Murle tribes rapidly increased since December 2011 when 8,000 armed men from the Luo-Nuer attacked the Murle's home of Pibor County. Over 1,000 people were killed in fighting between the Luo- Nuer and Murle tribes between June and December 2011 (IRIN, AllAfrica, 18 March, 2012).

The ethno-religious cleavages between the North and South Sudan are the major sources of conflict in what was formerly the largest and perhaps most diverse country in Africa. The northern Sudan, which is presently known as Sudan, is a model vision of a unified Arab/Muslim culture and constitutes about 70% of the previous Sudanese population. Meanwhile, South Sudan is populated mostly by non-Muslim Nilotes, speaking languages of one section of the Nilotic sub-branch of the Eastern Sudanic branch of Nilo-Saharan⁶³. They are characterised by physical similarity and many common cultural features, constituting about 30% of the former Sudanese population (UNWPP, 2010).

The condominium government instituted "closed door" ordinances which restricted movements between the two regions and prohibited the Muslim North from proselytizing in the south. There was also separate curriculum in southern schools. The amalgamation of the two regions without due consultation with southerners created tension in the south, who feared being subsumed by the political power of the larger north. The relations between the two regions heightened after the February 1953 agreement by Britain and Egypt to grant independence to Sudan without commitments to create a federal system that would give the south regional autonomy

⁶³ Nilotes share a cattle culture, one that nurtures qualities of "courage, love of fighting, and contempt of hunger and hardship" that distinguishes them from peasants (Evans-Pritchard, 1940: 26). The North/South question started in the colonial era when the two provinces were separately administered under the British-Egyptian condominium. Reflecting this division, British administrators argued that the south should be incorporated into Kenya or Uganda, as the people were considered to have affinity with 'Black Africa. Because of the distinct administrative structures, south Sudanese under British rule had few if any channels to Khartoum (Sarkesian, 1973:2-5).

coupled with imposition of Arabic as the official language of administration, which deprived most of the few educated English-speaking southerners of the opportunity to enter public service (Iyob and Khadiagala, 2006:14). The south also felt threatened by their gross marginalization and the replacement of trusted British district commissioners with unsympathetic northerners. Out of 800 civil service jobs vacated by the British official, only 6 positions of junior officers were given to the south (Jok, 2007:41). Before independence in 1956, the first civil war had erupted and extended from 1955 to 1972 when the British-administered southern army units (Equatorial Corps) mutinied in Totit, in August 1955, in protest against their transfer to garrisons under northern officers. The rebellious troops killed several hundred northerners. The government ruthlessly suppressed the revolt by executing seventy southerners for sedition (Hizkias, 1987:34). However, the reaction failed to pacify the south as some of the mutineers escaped to remote areas and organized resistance to the Arab-dominated government of Sudan which gradually crystalized into the Anyanya guerrilla army. The immediate causes of the mutiny were a trial of a southern member of the national assembly and an allegedly telegram urging northern administrators in the south to oppress Southerners (O'balance, 1977:62).

However, there are ingrained animosities that have exacerbated this division. For instance, the south resented Prime Minister Abbud's southern policy after the military take-over of 1958. Abbud's government openly tried to "Arabize" the South, and to suppress cultural freedom. In February 1964, Abbud expelled foreign missionaries from the south. He then shut down parliament to cut off a last outlet for southern complaints. These policies impelled southern leaders to support the incipient rebel group Anya Nya that had begun sporadic attacks on the Sudanese forces since 1955 (Metz, 1991). The human security consequence of the first Sudanese war was estimated to about half a million deaths while many hundreds of thousands were internally displaced or forced to live as refugees (Wells and Dilla, 1993:5). The Addis Ababa Agreement ended this war in March 1972 by granting the Southerners a single administrative region with various defined powers, but it turned out to be only a temporary pause in the unrest because, within a decade, another tragic war started. The second Sudanese civil war was a continuation of the first war. It originated in southern Sudan in 1983 and ended with the signing of the Comparative Peace

Agreement (CPA) between the Government of Sudan (GoS) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM/A) in Nairobi in 2005 (Taha, 2011:20).

The war resulted in the death of about two million people and the displacements of about four million, causing widespread poverty and disease. The civilian death toll is one of the highest of any war since World War two and was marked by a large number of human rights violations particularly the atrocities perpetrated by the GoS against the people of south Sudan (Seymour, 2003:7). Besides the ethno-religious contrast between Islam and emerging Christianity in north and south Sudan, there is a related linguistic element to the North/South cleavage. Choice of language also played a political role in the ethnic and religious cleavage between the northern and southern Sudanese. English has been associated with being non-Muslim, as Arabic was associated with Islam. Thus language was a political instrument and a symbol of identity. In early 1991, with about 90 percent of the southern third of the country controlled by the SPLA, the use of Arabic as a medium of instruction in southern schools remained a political issue, with many southerners regarding Arabic as an element in northern cultural domination. Juba (or pidgin) Arabic, developed and learned informally, had been used in southern towns, particularly in Al Istiwai, for some time and had spread slowly but steadily throughout the south, but not always at the expense of English. "The Juba Arabic used in the marketplace and even by political figures addressing ethnically mixed urban audiences could not be understood by northern Sudanese" (Metz, 1991). Historical patterns of interaction and rule, religion, race (Arab vs. African), and language have worked to deepen the North/South cleavage in Sudan.

In the South, the Nilotic peoples are themselves divided. The Dinka, Nuer, and Shilluk are the three largest Nilotic groups. They entered southern Sudan before the tenth century, and constituted about sixty percent of the South's population in 1990 (about ten percent of Sudan's population overall). The Dinka live in a wide swathe over the northern portion of the southern region. The Nuer, the next largest group, was only about one-fourth to one-third the size of the Dinka. The Shilluk, the third largest group, had only about one-fourth as many people as the Nuer. Tribal migrations going back to the fifteenth century led to distinct cultural settlements with

a wide range of political institutions, going from acephalous anarchy among the Nuer to centralized monarchy among the Shilluk (Gwen, 2009).

Any suggestion of a culturally united Nilotic south needs to take into account the separate institutions and histories of the Nilotic groups. It also needs to contend with the reality of an ugly Dinka/Nuer war in 1991. With the collapse of the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia in May 1991, the SPLA lost a key supply line and military bases in Southwest Ethiopia and this brought 350,000 southern Sudanese refugees back to Sudan, exacerbating the security situation. In response to this new difficulty, John Garang, the leader of the SPLA and a Dinka, summoned a meeting of the SPLA high command, in which those summoned feared that they would be arrested. But Riek Machar, a Nuer, took this moment to break away from the SPLA to form the SPLA-Nasir faction, in part due to an agreement with Khartoum. Head-on intra-Nilote warfare followed in which many civilians were killed. The Nasir faction controlled much of the Upper Nile while Garang's Torit faction controlled most of Equatoria and Bahr-el-Ghazal. Indeed, the South-on-South death toll, in Jok and Hutchinson's (1999, 126-27) reckoning "exceeds those lost to atrocities committed by the Sudanese army."

It was northern oppression rather than cultural unity that brought the Dinka and the Nuer to cultivate a common identity as "southerners" (Reed 1972, 20). This is a quite different claim than one that portrays a culturally unified South as a coherent side in a social cleavage. Intra-Nilotic conflict is not the only complexity in the South. The South also has several groups of non-Nilotes. The Azande people, who entered southern Sudan in the sixteenth century, established the region's largest state. In the 1950s, the Zande were seeking independence for their own state, which they called the Sué River Republic (Reed 1972, 20). The Avungara are another non-Nilotic population in the South. In the eighteenth century, the Avungara conquered the Azande, who were de facto vassals to Avungara power until the British recognized their autonomy (Metz, 1991).

Further confusing the territorial divide between "North" and "South" are the Ngok Dinka, living on the borderlands in Kordofan between North and South. Many Machar signed a separate "Peace Charter" with Khartoum in April 1996. The North

too is culturally divided. “The two largest of the supratribal categories are the Juhayna and the Jaali (or Jaalayin). The Juhayna category consisted of tribes considered nomadic, although many had become fully settled. The Jaali encompassed the riverine, sedentary peoples from Dunqulah to just north of Khartoum and members of this group who had moved elsewhere. Some of its groups had become sedentary only in the twentieth century. Sudanese saw the Jaali as primarily indigenous peoples who were gradually arabized. “Sudanese thought the Juhayna were less mixed, although some Juhayna groups had become more diverse by absorbing indigenous peoples” (Metz, 1991:31).

There are further complexities among northerners. The Baqqara tribe, for example, moved south and west in earlier centuries, and mixed with the indigenous populations there. Today, they are scarcely to be distinguished from them, and are popularly thought to be the descendants of southern slaves. Yet they are considered in ethnic reckonings to be unquestionable northerners. And so, in 1951, proposals to give special status and protection to the south were defeated, and received the greatest calumny from these Baqqara. Deng (1995, 130-131) quotes Mansour Khalid: “Abd al- Tam...can be deemed, like so many other Sudanese of markedly Negroid origin, to have been compelled to take positions like that in order to out-Herod Herod.” This is true, Deng asserts, for the Baqqara, who have no traditional links to Arabs -- these are the greatest Arab chauvinists, and most strongly anti-Dinka⁶⁴.

In Darfur, still in the North, the Fur (who were ruled until 1916 by an independent sultanate and oriented politically and culturally to peoples in Chad) is a sedentary, cultivating group long settled on the western frontier. They are non-Arabized Muslims, and referred to invidiously by other northerners as “Zurga” or blacks. Living on a plateau north of the Fur (and many in Chad) are the seminomadic people calling themselves Beri whom the Arabs call Zaghawa. They are Muslims who have retained many pre-Islamic rites. Herders, the Zaghawa also gained a substantial part of their livelihood by gathering wild grains. The Masalit, a Nilo-Saharan-speaking agriculturalist tribe, also Muslim, over the past century encroached through small scale war on traditional Fur land (HRW April 2004, 6). HRW (May 2004, 5) refers to

⁶⁴ See Deng, F. M. 2011. *War of visions: Conflict of identities in the Sudan*. Brookings Institution Press.

the Zaghawa, Fur and Masalit as “Africans”, and these became the principal victims of the military campaign against a rebel insurgency beginning in 2003. “Arabs” are the principal recruits into the Janjaweed militia⁶⁵.

The Nubians, living in the Nile River valley in far northern Sudan and southern Egypt, are the second largest Muslim group in Sudan. Nile Nubians speak Arabic (usually as a second language), but don’t consider themselves Arab. In the early 1970s, an organization uniting the Fur and the Nuba, amongst others, into a United Sudan was formed. African Liberation Front spoke for the interests of “Africans” (as opposed to Arabs) who were residents of the North (Reed 1972, 9). The organized presence of non-Arabs in the North further undermines the notion that there is a sharp difference between the Arab/Muslim North and the African/Christian South. All of this ethnographic description is complicated still by migration. One estimate has it that in 1973 alone more than ten percent of the Sudanese population moved away from their ethnic homelands for economic reasons. Most of the migrants were of employment age and moved to cities, particularly in the Khartoum metropolitan area, which attracted a third of all internal migrants. Migrant flows escalated in the latter 1980s because of drought and famine, civil war in the South, and bandits’ crossing over from Chad (Metz, 1991).

The Darfur debacle constitutes an addition to the catalogues of human security pathology in Sudan. Darfur is the Fur homeland, and has been Muslim since its first sultan, Sulayman Solong, decreed in the 16th century that Islam was to be the sultanate’s official religion (Metz, 1991). However, large-scale religious conversions did not occur until the reign of Ahmad Bakr (1682-1722), who imported teachers, built mosques, and compelled his subjects to become Muslims. In the eighteenth century, several sultans consolidated the dynasty’s hold on Darfur. The sultans operated the slave trade as a monopoly. They levied taxes on traders and export duties on slaves sent to Egypt, and took a share of the slaves brought into Darfur. Some household slaves advanced to prominent positions in the courts of sultans, and the power exercised by these slaves provoked a violent reaction among the traditional class of Fur officeholders in the late eighteenth century. The rivalry

⁶⁵ See Collins, R. O. 2006. Disaster in Darfur: historical overview. *Genocide in Darfur: investigating the atrocities in the Sudan*, 3-24.

between the slave and traditional elites caused recurrent unrest throughout the next century” (Muhammad al-Idrisi, 2000:114-115).

The British annexation of Darfur to Sudan terminated the Fur sultanate. Many Furs educated themselves in Arabic in the expectation of getting advancement in the Sudanese political environment. They were seen as outsiders by the Arabs and their advancement was slow. Moreover, Arabs and Fur competed for scarce land. When in the late 1970s oil was discovered, the Fur had greater incentives to demand autonomy, which was de facto achieved in the 1980s. The civil strife in Chad during the 1980s spilled over into western Darfur and exacerbated the historical tensions between the non-Arab Fur and Zaghawa ethnic groups. As Metz (1991:59) reports, “At the time of the Bashir coup in June 1989, western Darfur was being used as a battleground by troops loyal to the Chadian government of Hissein Habré and rebels organized by Idris Deby and supported by Libya”. Deby was from the Zaghawa ethnic group that lived on both sides of the Chad-Sudan border, and the Zaghawa of Darfur provided him with support and sanctuary. Hundreds of Zaghawa from Chad had also fled into Sudan to seek refuge from the fighting. In May 1990, Chadian soldiers invaded Sudan’s provincial capital of Al Fashir, where they rescued wounded comrades being held at a local hospital (Prunier, 2005: 16-24). During the summer, Chadian forces burned eighteen Sudanese villages and abducted 100 civilians. Deby’s Patriotic Movement for Salvation (Mouvement Patriotique du Salut) provided arms to Sudanese Zaghawa and Arab militias, ostensibly so that they could protect themselves from Chadian forces. The militias, however, used the weapons against their own rivals, principally the ethnic Fur, and several hundred civilians were killed in civil strife during 1990⁶⁶. Sudan’s government was relieved when Deby finally defeated Habré in December 1990. The new government in N’Djamena signaled its willingness for good relations with Sudan by closing down the SPLM office. Early in 1991, Bashir visited Chad for official talks with Deby on bilateral ties. But there is every reason to see the Chad civil war, and the use of Darfur as a sanctuary for rebels, played a key role in arming African Muslims in Darfur in fighting against Arab herders and challenging the state.

⁶⁶See Collins, R. O. 2006. “The Disaster in Darfur in Historical Perspective.” *Journal of Conflict Studies*, 26(2).

Another major contributor to the insecurity in the region was the 1984-85 drought which heightened relations between Fur and Arab, and between Fur and Zaghawa pastoralists. The proliferation of automatic weapons made recurrent clashes over pasture lands and theft of livestock bloodier. In 1988-1989, the intermittent clashes in Darfur evolved into war between the Fur and the Arabs. It became a civil war and not just a communal conflict when the government in Khartoum began to arm the Arabs (HRW, April 2004, 7-9). By 1990-91 much of Darfur was in a state of war, with many villages being attacked (Metz, 1991). The conflict in Darfur pitted the government of Sudan and allied militias, called the janjaweed, against an insurgency composed of two groups. The Darfur Liberation Front metamorphosed to the Sudan Liberation Army/Movement (SLA/M) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM). Initially, rebels were made up of the Zaghawa, the Fur and the Masaalit. But later, the Jebel and Dorok peoples joined the rebellion (HRW 2003, 36).

In April 2003, the SLA launched a surprise attack on El Fashir, the capital of North Darfur, and damaged several government owned military aircraft and helicopters and looted fuel and arms depots. The Sudanese government responded with a heavy bombing campaign and the introduction of heavy equipment, including tanks to stave off rebel attacks (HRW April 2004, 7-9). The Darfur region of western Sudan has been the site of terrible violence, death, and displacement; what the United States has labeled 'genocide.' Despite what is currently the world's largest relief operation, efforts to calm the conflict and assist the approximately five million Darfurians suffering ongoing deprivation have produced precious few results. With no end in sight for the turmoil, Ahmad Sikainga, a native of Sudan and Professor of History at the Ohio State University, explores the origins and current status of the Darfur conflict ⁶⁷(Sikainga, 2010).

4.8 Human security challenges in Central African Republic

Central African Republic, a landlocked country that is sparsely inhabited gained independence from France in 1960. The country is extremely underdeveloped and perhaps one of the poorest countries in the world (Berg, 2008:8). Besides poverty, CAR has struggled with recurrent insurgencies and army mutinies since the late

⁶⁷ Nielsen, E. S. 2008. "Ethnic boundaries and conflict in Darfur An event structure hypothesis." *Ethnicities*, 8(4), 427-462.

1990s. The pathologies of insecurity and instability that have bedeviled the nation could be traceable to the colonial legacy of French brutality and series of successive post-colonial kleptomaniac regimes that have availed themselves of the resources of the country to enrich themselves while embroiling peacefully coexisting ethnic groups in competition with one another (Saulnier, 1998:14). The French exploitation of the country during the colonial era and its continuation in the contemporary era has resulted in deficiency of physical infrastructure, the absence of government administration and institutional breakdown. This influence is illustrated by the fact that there has not been any change in the country's government to date without at least the consent, if not the active intervention of France (Berg, 2008:3).

Central African Republic has a population of about 5.5 million people with conglomeration of more than 80 ethnic groups, each with its own language. About 75% are Baya-Mandjia and Banda (40% largely located in the northern and central parts of the country), and 4% are M'Baka (southwestern corner of the C.A.R.). Sangho, the language of a small group along the Oubangui River, is the national language spoken by the majority of Central Africans. The population of the country mainly comprises Christians and followers of indigenous beliefs who constitute about 85% of the population, while Muslims constitute about 15% of the populations (U.S. Dept. Country Notes, 2014). Religious identity is often closely associated with ethnic identity. Only a small part of the population has more than an elementary knowledge of French, the official language. More than 55% of the population lives in rural areas. The chief agricultural areas are around the Bossangoa and Bambari. Bangui, Berberati, Bangassou, and Bossangoa are the most densely populated urban centers. Central African Republic is bordered by Chad, Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo. Regional insecurity and instability within these areas have resulted in porous borders and have increased trans-border crimes, illicit trades and proliferation of weapons (CIA World Factbook, April 11, 2014). CAR has undergone several armed conflicts since the mid-1990s that badly affected the population.

The 1996-7 mutinies, the May 2001 coup attempt by former leader Andre Kolingba, which affected a section of Bangui residents and the six months rebellion by Francois Bozize against the regime of Ange-Felix Patasse from October 2002 to March 2003 created humanitarian crisis in the provinces of Ouham, Ouham Pende, Nana Grebizi,

Kemo and parts of Ombella Mpoko. Thousands of people abandoned their homes for the bush while an estimated 41,000 refugees crossed over and remain in southern Chad, afraid to return home because of the destruction of their villages, continued insecurity and the collapse of infrastructure (IRINAfrica, 3 March, 2004). The 2002-2003 rebellion engendered food insecurity as most farms were burnt; health and educational facilities looted, and many people were exposed to diseases and epidemics (OCHA, 2004).

The latest chapter in CAR's history of violence began in December 2012, when a coalition of predominantly Muslim rebel forces from the northern part of the country known as Seleka bolstered by mercenaries from neighboring Chad and Sudan advanced southwards, and eventually toppled President Francois Bozizé in March 2013(OCHA, 2014). Since the Bozizé government was ousted, the writ of the state has apparently been affected with a prevalence of insecurity as a result of the proliferation of armed groups. The rebels have been engaged in battles with government troops and said they overthrew Bozizé because he failed to follow through on earlier peace deals. Bozizé's regime was marred by allegations of corruption and cronyism (see <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/car-3.htm>). Seleka is a heterogeneous coalition of Central African rebel groups that emerged in northeastern CAR in 2006 and foreign combatants who have nothing in common except being Muslims (Lombard, 2014:1). The rebels took up arms not so much to replace the government as to force it to allocate resources to their marginalized region. The violence in CAR spiraled into chaos as Seleka rebels terrorized civilians, looted properties and burn villages and killed Christians and destroyed non-Muslim communities (FIDH Report, 2014:7). The level of violence, lawless and impunity has created a "human catastrophe of epic proportions ". According to Amnesty International, about 1 million people, in a country of 5.5 million, fled their homes. Many of those fleeing were farmers and herders, and officials feared that their absence would lead to famine (IRC, 2014:1).

The coup leader, Michel Djotodia who assumed power in April 2013 under a new transitional national council, suspended the constitution, and dissolved parliament. He was sworn in as head of state in August and promised to hold free and fair elections within 18 months. The weak and fragile state institutions have disintegrated

following looting and the destruction of most of the country's administrative and judicial infrastructure. Séléka's leadership failed to have effective control over the various armed groups within its coalition, thus, despite being officially dissolved on 13 September, its former constituents are still able to carry on indiscriminate attacks and looting. Furthermore, fighting between various armed groups has affected many parts of the country, resulting in large-scale atrocities and escalation of humanitarian crisis (Dersso, 2013:1). There has been significant participation of numbers of foreign fighters from Chad and Sudan which has heightened the risk of cross-border movement of armed groups, as well as small arms (Geel, 2014:9). Roland Marchal points out that Seleka fighters had 'notional inclinations for political Islam' but also shared 'strong sense of communal identity and a will to avenge previous CAR regimes and their beneficiaries identified as Christians' (Global Observatory, September 2013). For the first time in the country's history, large-scale atrocities are being committed along Muslim-Christian lines. In response to the rebellion and the increasing wave of indiscriminate attacks against Christians, the largely Christian populations in Bangui and villages across the north have formed self-defence units called anti-balaka ("anti-machete" in the Sango language). The retaliating Christian militias were equally brutal to Muslims. Reprisals by the disbanded Seleka led to at least 750 deaths in Bangui in early December 2013, and casualties have continued to increase at a rate of 20 deaths per day on average (Médecins Sans Frontières reported last week). In the worst case scenario, killings, rapes and other abuses have been committed by Muslims against Christians and vice versa. A high proportion of CAR Muslims have become targets of communal violence as the withdrawal of the disbanded Seleka fighters to Chad, Sudan and Cameroon has made the Muslim population increasingly vulnerable to mob violence. The African Union refused to recognize Djotodia as president and subsequently suspended its AU membership while imposing sanctions, travelling bans and asset freeze on the Seleka leadership⁶⁸. In October 2013, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon said the country had experienced "total breakdown of law and order," and he authorized the deployment

⁶⁸ See Vines, A. 2013. A decade of African peace and security architecture. *International Affairs*, 89(1), 89-109.

of a peacekeeping force⁶⁹(Cordier et al, 2013). In December, the African Union increased the size of its force there from 3,500 troops to 6,000. France deployed 1,600 soldiers to CAR. Many feared that CAR was on the brink of experiencing genocide. At the urging of regional leaders, Djotodia resigned in January 2014 for his failure to stem the escalating violence between Christians and Muslims that left the country in tatters. In January, the 135-member national transitional council elected Catherine Samba-Panza, an insurance broker and the mayor of the capital, Bangui, as interim president.

The country's leading clerics, Bishop Nestor Aziagba, and Imam Layama, both spoke of their fears of a genocide, a prospect also evoked by French Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius, senior UN officials as well as human rights activists (Guardian 6th December, 2013). Bishop Aziagba described the situation as primarily a political crisis. One person was helped by mercenaries from Chad and Sudan to get into power. Unfortunately, most of the mercenaries who helped him to get into power are Muslim mercenaries from abroad. They don't have any feeling for the local population, so they started committing abuses, looting their properties, cows, ransacking their crops, burning down everything they had, he added ⁷⁰(IRIN Africa Nov 27, 2013).

However, Louisa Lombard of the University of California at Berkeley noted in April 2013 that many Muslims in CAR had long put up with discrimination:

People from southern CAR frequently refer to all north-easterners as 'foreigners' (Chadian or Sudanese), meaning that regardless of their actual citizenship status; they do not belong in the country. When they travel, people from the Northeast are targeted for special surveillance because of their alleged 'foreignness'. For instance, on the many roadblocks operated by branches of the state security forces, rebels and/or others, people with Muslim-sounding names or dress are frequently subject to harassment and extra extortion (African Argument January 24, 2014).

⁶⁹ See Cordier, A. W., Wilder, A. W. C. D. H., and Foote, W. 2013. *Public Papers of the Secretaries General of the United Nations: Volume 5*. Columbia University Press.

⁷⁰ (see <http://www.irinnews.org/report/99216/religious-violence-and-the-seeds-of-hate-in-car>)

Imam Layama, one of the leading Islamic clerics in CAR corroborated the views expressed by the Archbishop. He emphasized that at the root of the conflict was greed for CAR's natural resources. "Our riches have attracted greed". Politicians use this wealth to get into power, so there are lots of mercenaries in the country, occupying the mining areas. And because there is no state, smuggling is going on with complete impunity. If security is not restored, the country will be stripped bare. Politics, he added, was also part of the toxic mix⁷¹ (IRINAfrica 27 November, 2013). The country is improbable on a variety of levels and had never had a tightly-woven social fabric. It has always been more of loose netting that has become dangerously frayed over the last few years. The crisis in CAR could be traced back to the early 20th century, when French colonial authorities concentrated their administrative energies on Bangui and relegated the northeast to concessionary companies as 'autonomous district'. As a result, everything that is 'state' and 'nation' in the CAR grows out of the French-Christian enterprise centered on the capital. According to Lombard, most of the northeastern towns such as Ndele, Vakaga and Sikkikede were considered to be inhabited by foreigners. However, these 'foreigners' may have lived in the country for generations. In making these claims, the government officials echo their colonial predecessors, who justified killing the raiding sultans because they were 'foreign' invaders with no right to rule over people here. Since this territory is occupied almost exclusively by 'foreigners', the central government does very little there. People in northeastern CAR feel neglected and grossly marginalized. People with Islamic-sounding names are made to pay more at the roadblocks that proliferate especially in the southern and western parts of the country than people with Christian names, and it is harder for people from the Northeast to obtain national identity

⁷¹ However, Archbishop Nzapalainge, the head of Caritas international, argues that the analysis of the country's crisis from ethno-religious perspectives obscures more than it clarifies. He states that the anti-balaka movement emerged in reaction to what was happening in the country. Whole villages had been burned, the people killed and scattered, and the time came when people said enough was enough... Because the others had killed, they wanted to kill, too. If there had been an effective state and it had stopped the killings, it could have prevented the violence, but the state was powerless to respond. So they took the law into their own hands. But we know the results of mob justice, and we don't want to go down that path, he said (Caritas February 2, 2014). Explaining why the anti-balaka came to target their Muslim neighbors, the archbishop said that when the Seleka started their rebellion in the northeast in late 2012, they recruited mercenaries from Sudan and Chad. These men did not speak French or Sango, CAR's national languages, only Arabic, so they relied on local Arabic-speaking communities for support and they shared their booty with them. These local Muslims came to be seen as complicit in what the Seleka fighters were doing.

documents. Many Muslims, like former president Michel Djotodia, take a Christian name in order to minimize the discrimination they face (African Argument January 24, 2014).

Another source of tension stems from the high levels of migration after upheaval in Chad and economic crisis in other neighboring countries, such as Cameroon. Many of these migrants are Muslim, and many profit from commerce, whether running shops in markets or trading diamonds. Legally, immigrants' children who are born on Central African soil are CAR citizens⁷². In popular opinion, though, they remain foreigners. The migration has bolstered Central Africans' widespread fear that the country is being invaded by foreigners, as it was once by trans-Saharan raiders and French concessionaires. The outsized roles of the Chadian president and men-in-arms in the CAR's politics, especially over the past decade, also added to people's frustrations⁷³. Also immediately valuable is the expectation of the population that democratization would lead to a rapid, perceptible improvement in their living conditions, which was, however, scarcely possible given the lack of infrastructure, insufficient indigenous skilled workforce and steady state revenue decline. Overwhelmed by the challenges posed by the task of developing the country, President Bozize concentrated on buttressing his own power by expanding his support base and personal enrichment from resources of the state. As a result of his obvious inability to at least slow down the economic malaise. His administration's inability to pay the salaries of civil servants created human security challenges. The piling-up of civil servants salaries arrears, especially over the second half of 2013 created disenchantment and frustration among the populace. Market purchases and bar sociality cultivates a day-to-day 'getting along' no less real for being bred of practical necessity and the drying up of money removed any such possibilities for social lubrication. An injection of cash, such as by paying those salaries, would do much more for people's well-being and the establishment of security than a strictly 'humanitarian' distribution. Given all of these dynamics and histories of mistrust, the Seleka rebellion has provided avenue for the masses to vent their anger and

⁷² See Alusala, N. 2007. Armed and conflict disarmament: selected central African case studies. *Institute for Security Studies Monographs*, (129), 74-p.

⁷³ See Taylor, I. 2003. Conflict in Central Africa: Clandestine networks & regional/global configurations. *Review of African Political Economy*, 30(95), 45-55.

frustration which subsequently, crystallized into inter- and intra-community score-settling and cruelty (Brown et al, 2013:212).

4.9 African Union response to human security challenges in Africa

The African struggles for de-colonization, emancipation, human rights, dignity and identity crystallized into the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in May 1963. The Charter establishing OAU was based on the principles of state sovereignty and non-interference, and stipulated the struggle for the decolonization of Africa among its fundamental objectives, as it was believed that Africa could not be considered free unless the last colony had gained its independence, achieved the right to self-determination, and won the fight against apartheid (Gawanas, 2009:137).

Linked to this was an obligation on OAU member states to provide support to people involved in liberation struggles, as set out in Article 20(3) of the African Charter. Furthermore, the justification of human rights as the basis of OAU struggle was enshrined in the United Nations universal declaration of rights which in its preamble recognizes the inherent dignity, equality and inalienable rights of all members of human family as the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. It gave credence to the aspiration of African people⁷⁴. Hence, OAU was built on the theoretical foundation of Ubuntu as encapsulated on the concept of Pan-Africanism. However, the OAU perception of human rights as evidenced by the decolonization struggle and the right to self-determination precludes the salient rights of African people as it relates to their civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights (Heyns, 2006:15).

The preponderance of human security pathologies and gross violation of individual rights within the continent as exemplified by the escalation of conflicts, increasing cases of genocides, killings, torture and other civil and political rights violations that beset the continent show that OAU failed to adequately address the aspirations of African people (Human Security Report, 2005:22). For instance in 2007, Freedom House found that, of the 20 countries in world with the worst protection of civil and political rights, eight are in Africa (Côte d'Ivoire, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland and Zimbabwe). It also determined that, of the 45

⁷⁴See Assembly, U. G. 1948. Universal declaration of human rights. Retrieved February, 22, 2010.

countries classified as “not free” in the world, 18 are in Africa (Freedomhouse, 2007). Thus, 18 out of the 53 or so countries in Africa are seen to be not free. In the 1990s, 160 million Africans lived in countries ravaged by civil war; three million of them were killed in the course of such conflicts (Sarkin, 2009:13). Intra-state conflict comprised 79 of the 82 conflicts on the continent during that period (Kibble, 2003). Of the 32 intra- and inter-state armed conflicts that have occurred worldwide since 2004, nearly half took place in Africa (Project Ploughshares, 2005:2). Children are often used as soldiers in these conflicts and it is estimated that 300,000 child soldiers are involved in 21 ongoing or recent armed conflicts around the world (Sheppard, 2000:12). It has also been estimated that 2 million children died and 6 million children were wounded as a result of conflict in the years between 1994 and 2004 (Davison, 2004).

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) states that there are about 37 million displaced people around the world as a result of conflict. Many of these people are in Africa, the largest numbers coming from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Sudan and Somalia. 25 million people out of the 37 million people that are internally displaced are Africans (UNHCR, 2006). From 1956 to 2001, 80 successful and 108 unsuccessful coups took place in Africa, nearly half of them in West Africa (McGowan, 2003:42). The fact that 50 of these coups, 13 of which were successful, took place in the final decade of the 20th century indicates that forced regime change is on the rise. Even in relatively peaceful states, many Africans endure abject poverty and lack access to food and basic necessities such as potable water (McGowan, 2003:43).

In the face of these egregious human rights abuses and the incessant unconstitutional changes of government, the historical response both at continental and international levels, had been hand-wringing when hostilities break out, but little if anything in the way of serious preventive action. Yet there are often obvious signs that war may be coming in particular official policies that violate human rights through systematic discrimination and disregard for the rule of law, stolen elections (if any are held at all), and impunity for gross abuses (Nowrojee, 2004:38). The major world powers have not given the United Nations (U.N.) the capacity to respond effectively to

Africa's wars. Although some of the Africa's former colonizers have sent troops in recent years to areas ravaged by conflict including the 2000 British intervention in Sierra Leone⁷⁵ and the French engagement in Côte d'Ivoire in 2002⁷⁶. However, the major powers have repeatedly made it clear that they will not make the necessary commitment to prevent the massive human rights violations in Africa that result from conflict as evidenced by the neglect in such areas like Rwanda, the DRC, Burundi, and the Central African Republic (Nowrojee, 2004:40). OAU was handicapped as the principles of sovereignty and non-interference were repeatedly used to fend off criticism of state sponsored violence against its citizens (Kioko, 2003:809).

With the end of the Cold War in 1990s and the emergence of a new world order in which values like democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights gained wider acceptability, the imperative need to find collective ways and means of effectively addressing the many grave problems of the continent such as endemic poverty, HIV/AIDS and armed conflicts, as well as responding to the challenges posed by a globalizing and integrating world necessitated the transformation of OAU to African Union (AU) in July 9, 2002⁷⁷. African leaders were generally in agreement on the need to promote and consolidate African unity, to strengthen and revitalize the continental organization to enable it to play a more active role and keep pace with the political, economic and social developments taking place within and outside the continent. These leaders felt that the many problems the continent was confronted with required a new way of doing things; such a new approach should include building partnerships between governments and all segments of civil society⁷⁸, in particular women, youth and the private sector, as well as strengthening the common institutions and providing them with the necessary powers and resources to enable them to discharge their respective mandates effectively (AU Constitutive Act, 2000).

⁷⁵ See Williams, P. 2001. Fighting for freetown: British military intervention in Sierra Leone. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 22(3), 140-168.

⁷⁶See Weissman, F., and Leverdier, R. 2004. Humanitarian action and military intervention: Temptations and possibilities. *Disasters*, 28(2), 205-215.

⁷⁷See Murithi, T. 2007. "Institutionalising Pan-Africanism: Transforming African Union values and principles into policy and practice." *Institute for Security Studies Papers*, (143), 16-p.

⁷⁸ See Murithi, T. 2007. "Reflections on leadership: From OAU to the AU." *Conflict Trends*, 2, 9-14.

The Constitutive Act of the AU envisages a more integrated level of continental governance. Under the Act, there is a commitment to “promote and protect human and peoples’ rights,” and it specifies that “governments which shall come to power through unconstitutional means shall not be allowed to participate in the activities of the Union.” It also provides for a fifteen-member Peace and Security Council (PSC) to replace the OAU’s Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution. The council will facilitate the A.U.’s response to crises and will “promote and encourage democratic practices, good governance and the rule of law, protect human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the sanctity of human life and international humanitarian law, as part of efforts for preventing conflicts” (AU, 2002). Article 4 (h) of the A.U. Protocol explicitly authorizes the organization to “intervene in a Member State in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity” (AU Constitutive Act, 2000).

At the same time as the process establishing the A.U. was ongoing, African governments led by South Africa, Nigeria, Senegal and Algeria created another new mechanism to promote good governance and economic development known as the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD). NEPAD rests on the determination of Africans to extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment and exclusion in a global war. It sees peace, security and democracy as prerequisite for attracting investments, garnering growth and development, and reducing poverty. It places demands on African governments to commit to a set of targeted initiatives, intended to strengthen their political and administrative frameworks in line with the principles of transparency, accountability, integrity, respect for human rights and the promotion of the rule of law (NEPAD 2001:para. 1). NEPAD is built on five core principles of good governance; entrenchment of democracy, peace, stability and security; sound economic policy-making and execution; productive partnerships; and domestic ownership and leadership⁷⁹.

One of the NEPAD systems for monitoring adherence to the rule of law is the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) created in 2003. Under the APRM, a

⁷⁹ See Secretariat, N. E. P. A. D. 2001. *The New Partnership for Africa’s Development. Abuja, Nigeria, October.*

group of African “eminent persons” is to conduct periodic reviews of members’ “policies and practices” “to ascertain progress being made towards achieving mutually agreed goals.” Membership in the APRM is not mandatory⁸⁰. Rather, states choose peer review by signing an additional memorandum of understanding (Cilliers, 2004:5).

In 2002, the AU adopted a Memorandum of Understanding on Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA). This includes a set of undertakings on a wide range of issues related to human rights, democracy, and the rule of law. The CSSDCA, loosely modeled on the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), has a peer review implementation mechanism that resembles but in some respects is stronger than NEPAD’s. There are obvious areas of overlap between the CSSDCA and NEPAD, and there is now an attempt to coordinate the two processes, with ongoing discussions about harmonizing the standards used and division of responsibilities under the different review systems. The AU places much emphasis the nexus between peace, democracy, and development. The organization’s institutional architectures are based on the principle that democracy and development can help promote peace. Each of the three areas has its own protocol, the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union of 2002; the African Charter on Democracy, Elections, and Governance of 2007; and the NEPAD Framework Document of 2001 (AU, 2002, 2007). Each also has a legal instrument with an implementation mechanism, the Peace and Security Council; the Democracy and Electoral Assistance Unit; and the NEPAD Planning and Coordinating Agency respectively. The three sectors are intended to coordinate their efforts closely. The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) were both established in 2003 in support of NEPAD’s work.

The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme of 2003 is recognized as a sound approach to rejuvenating and strengthening agricultural production and resource management, as well as food security on the continent. It seeks to provide a policy framework for the agricultural sector, which generates 35-

⁸⁰ Secretariat, A. P. R. M. 2003. Guidelines for countries to prepare for and to participate in the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). *Midrand: APRM Secretariat*, 10.

40 percent of Africa's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and employs about 70 percent of its population⁸¹. In essence, CAADP is about bringing together diverse key players at the continental, regional and national levels to improve co-ordination, to share knowledge, successes and failures, to encourage one another, and to promote joint and separate efforts to achieve the CAADP goals. Overall, CAADP's goal is to eliminate hunger and reduce poverty through agriculture. To do this, African governments have agreed to increase public investment in agriculture by a minimum of 10 per cent of their national budgets and to raise agricultural productivity by at least 6 percent."⁸² Thirty African countries had joined the programme by February 2013, but a mere eight are allocating 10 percent of their national budgets to agriculture as pledged in 2003, and only 26 have established appropriate plans and monitoring (Adebajo and Paterson, 2012:23). By January 2013, 33 countries had joined the APRM, which sets and investigates standards of governance, addresses democratic deficits and oversees important tax and electoral reforms. By, 2013, 17 countries had undertaken its review process (APRM January 2013). Many African countries have also not signed the agreements regarding women's rights (ratified by 36 states), and combating corruption ratified by 34 states (AU 21 February, 2013). Moreover, seven African states have not signed the protocol establishing the Peace and Security Council (AU 28 February, 2013). Compliance with these mechanisms has been hampered by the non-binding nature of its findings and capacity constraints at the national level.

In the face of these daunting challenges, the AU has made some landmark achievements since its transformation. Between 1960 and 1990, no single ruling party in Africa lost power. Between 1989 and 1998, the number of multi-party political systems in Africa increased from five to 35. After 2002, ruling parties were voted out of power in Benin, the Central African Republic (CAR), Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Mali, Mauritius, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and

⁸¹ See Kidane, W., Maetz, M., and Dardel, P. 2006. Food security and agricultural development in sub-Saharan Africa. FAO, Subregional Office for Southern and East Africa, Rom.

⁸² See (accessed at <http://www.nepad-caadp.net/about-caadp.php>)

Zambia though; the quality of democracy in many countries has arguably declined since 2005, in particular with the curtailing of political rights during elections.

Furthermore, the number of inter-state conflicts has decreased since the creation of the AU from eight in 2002 to four in 2012. The African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) of the African Union (AU) has made a significant contribution to this positive development through its peacemaking, peacekeeping, peace-building and conflict transformation efforts. The AU Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development (PCRD) framework which was adopted at the 9th Ordinary Session of the Executive Council in Banjul, Gambia, in July 2006, remains a credible conflict prevention tool for responding to current and future post-conflict security challenges or threats. It addresses the needs of countries emerging from conflict, including the requirements of affected populations, prevention of the escalation of disputes and avoidance of relapses into violence, as well as focusing on the root causes of conflict and consolidating sustainable peace (Addo, 2012:90). The PCRD framework has six key indicative elements that form the basis of efforts across different phases of action. These are security, humanitarian/emergency assistance, political governance and transition, socio-economic reconstruction and development, human rights, justice and reconciliation, and women and gender (Mathews, 2009:29).

However, one of the fundamental challenges faced by the AU is the relative powerlessness of its institutions. African member states sometimes do not comply with norms to which they have agreed, both on the continent and internationally. In addition, unlike the UN Security Council, the AU does not have a body with the power to enforce its decisions⁸³. The AU Peace and Security Council often lacks the power to implement its decisions with the possible exception of suspending countries whose soldiers have staged coups d'état .

Since the AU's governance framework is premised on the voluntary compliance of member states for its implementation,⁸⁴ if this cooperation is withheld, its structural

⁸³ Williams, P. D. 2007. From non-intervention to non-indifference: the origins and development of the African Union's security culture. *African Affairs*, 106(423), 253-279.

⁸⁴ The AU had intervened in variety of ways to prevent and resolve conflicts, and ameliorate human security challenges within the continent. At the RECs level, the ECOWAS military interventions in Liberia (1990-1998 and 2003), Sierra Leone (1997-2000), Guinea Bissau (1998-1999), Cote d'Ivoire (2003-2004), and Mali in 2012. The SADC interventions in Lesotho (1998) and Democratic Republic

mechanisms are undermined. For example, the APRM's authority has weakened since Tshwane questioned its findings on xenophobia in South Africa. President Thabo Mbeki's government objected to criticisms made in a 2007 report issued by the body, in particular dismissing its warning about a xenophobic threat in South Africa as "simply not true". Less than a year later, 62 African immigrants were killed and 100,000 displaced in xenophobic attacks (Mwanasali, 2012:73). Furthermore, other key AU agreements remain un-ratified by many member states (Engel, 2012:24). The African Charter on Democracy, Elections, and Governance only reached its threshold of 15 signatories in January 2012. The many states that have not signed the document are not obliged to observe its principles. Indeed, about one-third of AU member states actively oppose its efforts to entrench human rights and democracy principles and protocols, while many others appear to support its goals merely in response to peer pressure.

Other challenges facing the union are lack of consensus, weak early warning capabilities in intelligent field, lack of financial and institutional capacities for intervention and donor dependency (African Briefing Report 16 May, 2011). The dynamics of inter-governmentalism, tensions within its supranational architecture, weak institutional and political integration of its RECs, coupled with ambiguities in terms of common governance values and standards have impeded on the effectiveness of the Union in promoting human security in Africa (Mbeki: April 29, 2011). The AU's credibility, authority and reliability have suffered following the crises in Libya and Côte d'Ivoire. The proposed AU roadmap for resolving the conflict in the Libya crisis has not been given proper attention by the international community, and has rather been criticized within and outside the continent. Similarly, the AU has also been criticized for having mismanaged the quick resolution of the conflict in Côte d'Ivoire, among others, by not being forthright in

of Congo in 1998. At the regional level the AU interventions in Burundi (2003-2004), Sudan (since 2004), Somalia (since 2007) and in CAR since 2012 (Adebajo and Paterson, 2012:18). However, the numbers of localized crises and intra-state conflicts have continued to undermine its efforts. The AU Peace and Security Council are increasingly focusing on these conflicts. Between 2003 and April 2013, 11 coups d'état took place in Africa. The AU suspended Mauritania, Guinea, Niger, Madagascar, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Guinea-Bissau, and CAR from its membership between 2008 and 2013. To foster the role of civil society in its work, the AU established the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) in 2004, and the Economic, Social, and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) a year later. However, the PAP has yet to be granted legislative powers, while ECOSOCC has been largely ineffective in fulfilling its mandate of mobilizing grassroots participation in the AU's bodies

supporting the ECOWAS position on intervention. The AU appears to have lost credibility due to the interplay of the following fundamental factors: Perception: the popular protests in North Africa (including the Libyan crisis) and the Middle East have been perceived as an 'Arab Spring', rather than an African issue. This perception was fed by the lack of consultation between African and European leaders on the issue, and further aggravated by the predominance of the Arab League and the relatively slow reaction of the AU. Given the fact that the Libyan crisis has important political and financial implications for the AU, it should have been prioritized by the organization from the beginning (African Briefing Report 16 May, 2011).

The internal divisions within the Union have undermined its efforts in continental peace-building. For example, three African states voted in favour of UNSCR 1973 (South Africa, Gabon and Nigeria), despite the AU High Panel (Toumani Ture/Mali, Zuma/RSA Museveni/Uganda, Abdul Aziz/Mauritania, Nguesso/C-Brazzaville) taking a different position. Subsequently, the AU five-point Roadmap, which included a ceasefire, the protection of civilians, humanitarian aid, dialogue, and an inclusive transitional period, meeting the aspirations of the Libyan people, gathered much criticism. The AU's mediation proposals (11/12 April) were rejected by the Libyan opposition (National Transitional Council), which insisted on Gaddafi's departure (Aljazeera: news 12 April, 2011:00:35).

The conflict in Côte d'Ivoire is another classic demonstration of the AU subsidiarity. The situation in Côte d'Ivoire showed that the AU Panel lacked a coherent strategy. The AU's choice to send Thabo Mbeki to resolve the dispute between Gbagbo and Ouattara in December 2010 failed on two accounts. First, Mbeki did not combine efforts with ECOWAS. Second, South Africa was seen as a peacemaker that often opted for a pro-government (in this case pro-Gbagbo) approach (Vanguard 8 February, 2011). Similarly, Raila Odinga compromised his neutrality as a mediator when he supported military action prior to confirmation by ECOWAS, which had not reached an internal consensus on the matter at the time as a result both parties felt that they were dealt with unfairly (Koua: January 20, 2011). Outgoing Malawian President Bingu Mutharika visited Côte d'Ivoire in an effort to salvage the declining role of the AU, but it proved unsuccessful. Eventually, Teodora Nguema was

considered too controversial to be involved in the resolution of the crisis because of his questionable human rights credentials. The level of consensus regarding the legitimacy of Ouattara achieved at the ECOWAS level provided a basis for AU and an international consensus. The AU Resolution of 9 March 2011 endorsed Ouattara's legitimacy.

The AU's attempt at a peaceful resolution of the Côte d'Ivoire crisis was hampered many times by internal divisions between Member States that undermined the credibility of the AU as the main political mediator. These divisions were reflected within the AU mediation team, notably when RSA sided with Gbagbo and claims emerged from the Ouattara camp that RSA had stationed a naval warship off the coast to prevent an ECOWAS intervention. It later emerged that South African naval presence was part of a mutual military exercise between Côte d'Ivoire and RSA (see: www.africareview.com/News/-/979180/1110752/-/index.html).

4.10 Conclusion

The chapter concludes that the AU needs to work in collaboration with African civil society organizations to ensure that the rights of individual Africans are adequately protected and projected through strict adherence to policies that will enhance human security. In light of the chapter's content, it can be seen that the human security situation in the entire region of Africa is intricately webbed in an interwoven relationship as instability in one part invariably affects the stability of other parts. We can find common trends among all the countries in focus. They are all facing internal political instability and bad leadership, which is further complicated by a lack of democratic traditions, colonial history, and experiences of repressive military regimes. While we can certainly look on democratization of these countries from many different aspects, from the security point of view, political changes have indeed brought new aspects of threats and many new actors. While the countries have become more inclusive to some extent, that also presented a new opportunity for various ethnical groups, following their own goals and interests. However, taking in consideration everything stated before, the replacement of military dictators by elected civilians was not all that citizens wanted. They wanted, above all, a government that would prove to be better than military rule; one that would respect

their rights while continue to provide security. All countries discussed in the chapter's case studies are tackling the issues of border instability, and are major recipient countries for large amounts of refugees from neighboring war-torn countries. While Mali and Nigeria were deeply affected by the Libyan civil war, Libya on the other hand was affected by the Arab spring. Central African Republic experienced continuous influx of refugees from Chad and Sudanese region of Darfur. The incoming refugees that usually settle in the border regions of the recipient country present an additional stress for already fragile human security. Refugees are a particularly vulnerable social group since they lack almost any legal economic income, at the same time they present an increasing social, economic and humanitarian burden for the recipient state, which most African countries cannot handle themselves, thus refugees usually suffer from high undernourishment and are easy targets for extremist and terrorist groups that operate in the area.

Countries in focus are all suffering from poor governance, lack of elite consensus, and acute poverty. Indicators confirmed the connection between human insecurity and regional instability. Countries with a lower degree of stability and higher rates of violence normally face a higher probability of human insecurity and vice versa, countries dealing with human insecurity are more likely to become victims of social unrests, criminal violence and terrorist activity. The situation in Nigeria shows that political corruption and lack of political stability can contribute to high levels of human insecurity. The political situation in Africa, to a big extent is still affected by decolonization and the postcolonial reality of unstable regimes, enormous inequalities and low political inclusiveness. Regional approaches do not seem to be yielding the desired goal of human security promotion, nor do they provide a foreseeable hope for the teeming populations of Africa that are daily marginalized by the governments that swore to protect and promote their fundamental rights.

In the next chapter, the study will examine the evolution of US foreign policy toward contemporary Africa. The chapter will briefly examine the policies of several US governmental administrations and the strategic interests that propel such policies. The study will analyze the sequence of events to engender the creation of AFRICOM, its programs, operations and activities in the continent of Africa.

CHAPTER FIVE

UNITED STATES' FOREIGN POLICY IN AFRICA AND THE EMERGENCE OF AFRICOM

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined the human insecurity in selected African countries especially the countries in the Sahel region and Horn of Africa. It was noted that human insecurity in the Sahel region and Horn of Africa are inextricably linked. Porous borders and limited government presence and capacities mean that insecurity in one part of the region can quickly become a security threat in another. In 2011, one result of the Libyan revolution, among many others, was an increase in the flow of dangerous weapons and well-armed, experienced fighters into the Sahel.

The collapse of Libyan security institutions caught the Sahel at an especially vulnerable time. In Mali, a rebellion in the north by heavily armed, primarily Tuareg rebel groups, together with weak governance in Bamako, corruption, and an ineffectual counterterrorism response, culminated in a March 2012 coup d'état. Terrorist and extremist groups, including al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), and Boko Haram exploited the resulting political vacuum and seized control of the northern two-thirds of Mali and north-eastern Nigeria. Terrorists enjoyed greater freedom of movement and, temporarily, access to a larger pool of potential recruits and training opportunities. At the same time, transnational criminal networks used well-established smuggling routes to increase their trafficking in weapons, drugs and people.

Chad has been a steady route for illicit weapons trafficking out of Libya. These human security pathologies are resultant effects of exogenous influence as colonialism created arbitrary boundaries and entrenched perennial poverty through the process of imperialism and globalization. In this chapter, the study will look at United States (US) foreign policy toward Africa, the US strategic interests that motivate these policies and how these interests eventually crystallized into the creation of USAFRICOM. The chapter will also examine AFRICOM's programs, activities and current operations in the continent since its creation.

To enable a systematic analysis of US foreign policy toward Africa, a concise conceptualization of foreign policy is needed. Much scholarly effort has been spent on defining foreign policy. However, few of these definitions will be reviewed. According to Pearson (2010:146), foreign policies are strategies governments use to guide their actions towards other states. The foreign policy process is the set of procedures and structures that states use to arrive at foreign policy decisions and to implement them. In the rational model of decision making, officials choose the action whose consequences best help meet the state's established goals. By contrast, in the organizational process model, decisions result from routine administrative procedures; in the government bargaining (or bureaucratic politics) model, decisions result from negotiations among governmental agencies with different interests in the outcome.

From a neo-realist perspective, foreign policy is strongly determined by the external environment, an international system characterized by anarchy. In this system, states understood as unitary, rational actors interact to assure them of the security (Jervis, 1978:167-9). A state's foreign policy behaviour is determined by its relative power, which is a function of distribution of power in the international system, and is seen to depend on material resources (military capacities, raw materials) (Mearsheimer, 2007:83).

Little attention is paid to the domestic context. In a neoliberal (institutionalist) perspective, the international system is also primarily an arena for state interaction, but non-state actors and intergovernmental institutions can also play a role. Since states strive to maximize their interests in this arena, "cooperation under anarchy" (Oye, 1986), the creation of institutions through durable inter-state cooperation become feasible (Keohane, 1989). This presupposes bargaining among states on the basis of predefined objectives (ibid), formulated in a domestic context via the pluralistic competition of interests. Opening up the black box of the domestic context and the explanation of the link between internally defined interests and their defence in the external arena via foreign policy can be perceived as the major contributions neoliberal theorists have made to foreign policy analysis (Doyle, 2008:49), demonstrating in quite sophisticated ways how these arenas might interact (Moravcsik cited in Keukeleire and Schunz, 2008:4-5). Central to the formulation

and defence of interests is the emphasis on economics, in addition to military and natural resources, which makes the neoliberal concept of power slightly broader than the neo-realists'

United States foreign policy is in tandem with the US national interests. The global policy perspective of the US is that of a Super-Power that is bent on preserving the international capitalist system. V.I. Lenin's theory of 'Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism' is both self-explanatory and still relevant today. He outlined the ethos of imperialism as follows: (1) the gap in economic development between industrialized Western (and European settled) countries and those restricted to primary production. This gap is widening under continued imperialist domination.

- The export of capital from the more developed countries to the less.
- The division, especially in the late nineteenth century, of territories throughout the World by the more developed nations as part of the rivalry and competition for strategic and economic advantages. This competition for colonies led to two world wars.
- The further concentration and centralization of capital and the integration of the world capitalist economy into the structures of the giant Western-based multi-national corporations or integrated monopolistic enterprises. These multinational corporations not only accelerate technological change but also control trade, prices and profits.
- The decline in the period since the Russian Revolution of 1917 of national rivalries among the leading capitalist countries as an international ruling class is consolidated and constituted on the basis of ownership of control of the multi-national corporations; and as the world capital market is internationalized by the World Bank and other agencies of the international ruling class.
- The evolution of global imperialist foreign policy which corresponds to the global interests and perspectives of the multinational corporations.

The intensification of these tendencies arises from the threat of world socialism to the world capitalist system. A number of US scholars have in recent studies shown that the US global policy has always been a grand and deliberate plan (Mandaza,

1985:9). In the real world, US global planning has always been sophisticated and careful, as you'd expect from a major superpower with a highly centralized and class conscious dominant social group. Their power, in turn is rooted in their ownership and management of the economy, as is the norm in most societies. During World War II, American planners were well aware that the United States was going to emerge as a World dominant power, in a position of hegemony that had few historical parallels, and they organized and met in order to deal with this situation (Chomsky.1985:3). This developed subsequently into the conception of "Grand Area" planning⁸⁵.

The Grand Area was a region that was to be subordinated to the needs of the American economy. As one planner put it, it was to be the region that is strategically necessary for world control. The geopolitical analysis held that the Grand Area had to include at least the Western Hemisphere, the Far East, and the former British Empire, which we (the US) were in the process of dismantling and taking over ourselves. The Grand Area was also to include western and southern Europe and the oil producing regions of the Middle East; in fact it was to include everything, if that were possible. Detailed plans were laid for particular regions of the Grand Area and also for international institutions that were to organize and police it, essentially in the interests of this subordination to US domestic needs (Chomsky, 1985:3-5).

This is a policy based on real politik analysis of US interests. I In 1948 a Top Secret document of The State Department made it clear that the questions of human rights, justice and economic and social progress for those dominated by the US was quite secondary in this regard (PPS:23). This document outlined as follows:

We need not deceive ourselves that we can afford today the luxury of altruism and world benefaction. We should cease to talk about vague and..., unreal objectives such as human rights, the raising of the living standards, and

⁸⁵ On September 12 1939, a few days after World War II broke out in Europe, CFR leaders met with Assistant Secretary of State George Messersmith, a longtime member of the council, to offer their services on postwar planning. Messersmith spoke later in the day with Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles and Secretary of State Hull, both of whom expressed interest in the idea. Shortly thereafter CFR president Norman Davis talked with his friend Hull and received verbal approval of the plan (Shoup, 1974, p. 64). The State Department also conveyed its approval of the plan to the Rockefeller Foundation, which gave the council \$44,500 on December 6 to begin its work. This foundation support continued for the life of what turned out to be a five-year project, and it amounted to over \$10 million in 2013 dollars.

democratization. The day is not far off when we are going to have to deal in straight power concepts. The less we are then hampered by idealistic slogans, the better⁸⁶(The State Department Policy Planning Staff Papers: 1947-1949. Vol 1 Garland, 1983).

The point can hardly be overstated: imperialism is aggressive by nature; and includes in its armour and weaponry all those policies and actions designed to attain its global objectives: political blackmail, economic blockades, manipulation of "aid" and the control of the international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and in addition to open aggression, intervention, etc. (Mandaza, 1985:42). Yet it would be to miss the point if it were forgotten that the major objective of US policy is not aggression for its own sake, but in pursuit of a "stability" within which its economic and strategic interest will as far as possible be maintained intact.

U.S. foreign policy objectives in Africa have long been carried out by multiple U.S. government agencies. The primary actors are DoS; USAID; DoD; and country ambassadors. Other agencies include: Departments of Health and Human Services; Justice; Treasury; Energy; Commerce; Agriculture; Homeland Security (DHS); Trade and Development Agency (TDA); National Institute for Health (NIH); Centres for Disease Control (CDC); and Millennium Challenge Corporation (Lawson and Epstein, 2009:20). The three main agencies of DoD, DoS, and USAID represent defense, diplomacy, and development which, according to the National Security Policy, comprise three key elements of the U.S. foreign policy apparatus. DoS oversees several programs that relate to democracy promotion, narcotics control and international law enforcement, terrorism, weapons proliferation, and non-UN peacekeeping operations, including oversight of PEPFAR through the U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator. USAID is responsible for most of the bilateral development assistance, including economic growth, global health, and democracy programs, [and] Title II of P.L. 480 food assistance (Lawson and Epstein, 2009:21-22). Department of Defence is responsible for foreign military financing and training

⁸⁶ Planning Policy Statement 23 “**PPS/23: in U.S. Foreign Policy**” is one of the attempts to identify the major global problems facing American policy makers and strategies for coordinating policy decisions based on cost/benefit analyses.

programs, support for international peacekeeping operations, healthcare, and humanitarian assistance, among others.

These programs are mostly bilateral in nature (country specific) rather than multilateral (combined with contributions from other donors). Individual agencies are largely responsible for bilateral programs, which often have considerable overlap. The multilateral programs are also intended to accomplish many of the same objectives as the bilateral assistance, although through different channels. All programs are under the policy guidance of DoS and, in some cases, under its direct authority, the diverse and sometimes related objectives of the many implementing aid agencies operating within the African environment raises questions about whether these agencies are working at cross-purposes or duplicating each other's work (GAO-08-860:23).

5.2 U.S foreign policy toward Africa

Although there are deep historic and cultural ties between the United States of America and Africa which dates back to inauspicious beginning of slave-trading network, there exists no consensus within US policy circles over Africa's importance to US strategic interests. Despite this historic asymmetrical linkage of US-Africa's relationships, US foreign policy toward the continent has been marked by indifference, at worst, and neglects, at best (Schraeder, 1994:3). Africa has very often been treated as a low priority foreign policy backwater compared to the time, effort and resources dedicated to many other regions considered by Washington to be of greater concern (Patman, 2008:317). The origins of the US/Africa relationship are steeped in the grubby business of the slave trade and the associated repatriation of emancipated slaves by 'Colonization Societies' to the African West coast commencing in 1815 to Sierra Leone⁸⁷, ultimately leading to the establishment of Liberia (the free land) as a republic in 1847 (Bullock, 2011:2). By the end of the nineteenth century, attracted by Africa's natural resources, virtually the entire

⁸⁷ Colonization Societies were private initiatives either set up by altruistic abolitionist white-Americans who believed that the best hope for emancipated slaves to escape hardship and inequality was to leave the US or by US States wanting to get rid of their freed slave population. Library of Congress "History of Liberia: A Timeline" <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/libhtml/liberia.html> (accessed 22 April 2011).

continent was under European colonial power, with Britain and France taking the largest share (Bagby, 1999:278).

5.2.1 President Franklin D Roosevelt's foreign policy doctrine in Africa

Franklin D Roosevelt was the first American president to hint at the liberation of Africa, along with other regions under colonial rule during the Second World War. In March 1941, President Roosevelt who had become an ardent anti-colonialist laid out his position in unequivocal terms:

There has never been, there isn't now, and there never will be, any race of people on earth fit to serve as masters over their fellow men. We believe that any nationality, no matter how small, has the inherent right to its own nationhood. (Foster, 1955:18).

Roosevelt doggedly pursued decolonization policy with British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and leaders of other Allied colonial powers, culminating in the creation in 1945 of the UN Trustee Council whose remit was to oversee the decolonization of those dependent territories that were placed under the international trusteeship system. Of the eleven territories placed under trusteeship, seven were in Africa (<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpi/decolonization/history.htm>).

5.2.2 President Harry Truman's foreign policy toward Africa

The Cold War which started under President Truman brought a fundamental shift in Roosevelt's anti-colonial agenda as ideological war against USSR and its allies commenced. The United States government supported their European allies, some of whom still retained vestiges of colonial power. African struggles for independence were met with vehement resistance by the west as there were widespread fears that African independence might open the door to communism (Bagby, 1999:278). Washington adopted a policy of 'selective engagement' cultivating African countries as client states, providing support to sometimes brutal and corrupt regimes including the crushing of ethnic rebellions or defending against threats from neighbors while seeking to undermine those states whose sympathies lay with Moscow (Patman, 2008:317). Due to the strategic importance of the countries in the horn of Africa, most especially Ethiopia, US foreign policy toward this region dated back to 1945 and was guided by a series of Cold War rationales that viewed the region as a means for solving non-African problems.

Specifically, US policymakers did not perceive the countries and peoples of the Horn of Africa as important in their own right but, rather, as a means of preventing the further advances of Soviet communism. As a result, US relationships with various regimes in the region evolved according to their perceived importance within an East-West framework (Schraeder, 1992:571). Emperor Haile Selassie, for example, was courted from the 1940s to the 1970s because of the importance of Ethiopia as part of a worldwide telecommunications network directed against the Soviet Union. After the US-Ethiopian security relationship was shattered in the aftermath of the 1974-77⁸⁸ Ethiopian revolution and the rise to power of a Soviet-backed regime headed by Mengistu Haile Mariam, the Somali regime of Siad Barre achieved greater status in Washington because of Somalia's importance as an access country from which the United States could counter militarily any perceived Soviet threat to Middle Eastern oil fields (ibid). The US partiality to certain countries in the region over others, especially Ethiopia and Somalia which received more than \$600 million and \$800 million respectively in economic and military aid, created regional security complex and increased tensions in the region when viewed in a security context. During Ethiopia's annexation of Eritrea, the United States actively supported Ethiopia (Eberhart, 2011:3). This pattern of selective support led to distrust of US intention within the region.

In 1950 a joint US-Belgian military mission visited the Belgian Congo, which supplied two-thirds of the US demand for uranium. Their intention was to assess the security situation in a colony that was, according to George Marshall, "the primary source of danger" to US strategic interests in Africa. Marshall, best known as the author of the post-war Marshall Plan, was concerned about Soviet intentions in Africa. But he recognised that the most serious threat would be "a large scale uprising of the natives in the area or considerable disaffection of the natives employed in the mines" (Wright, 1997:19). This fear of a mass uprising involving the African working class has guided US foreign policy in Africa ever since. Even when

⁸⁸ Napper, Larry C., "The Ogaden War: Some Implications for Crisis Prevention," in George, Alexander L., ed., *Managing U.S.-Soviet Rivalry: Problems of Crisis Prevention* (Boulder: Westview, 1979), p. 237. I. William Zartman comments on this mediation initiative: "The United States [was] in a poor position to produce resolution. Only the ally of the country making the concessions — here, Ethiopia — would be able to buy an agreement." Zartman, "The Strategy of Preventive Diplomacy in Third World Conflicts," *ibid.*, p. 348.

the Cold War ended and the Soviet Union was dissolved, the CIA continued to finance UNITA because their real concern had always been with a popular movement rather than Soviet penetration (ibid). The US elite groups were engaged in an internecine struggle for control of the continent's strategic resources. This struggle may be carried on by political or military means. Throughout the Angolan war major US companies such as Gulf Oil, Chase Manhattan Bank and General Tire retained their interests in Angola. The only time they were forced to suspend their operations was under pressure from the US government (Talbot, 2002).

5.2.3 President Dwight Eisenhower's African Policy

Eisenhower's Vice President, Richard M. Nixon emphasized the strategic importance of Africa to US national interests after a twenty-two- days tour of African continent in 1957. He asserted:

For too many years, Africa in the minds of many Americans has been regarded as a remote and mysterious continent which was the special province of the big game hunters, explorers and motion picture makers... There must be a corresponding realization throughout the executive branches of government, throughout the congress and throughout the Nation, of the growing importance of Africa to the future of the United States and the Free World and the necessity of assigning higher priority to our relations with the area (Nixon cited in Schlisinger, 1973:580).

In 1958, President Eisenhower created the Bureau of African Affairs in response to the increasing number of African states gaining independence. The Bureau was headed by an Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs who, in turn, was supported by a Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary, three Deputy Assistant Secretaries, as well as a host of regional offices staffed by country directors and desk officers who monitor the day-to-day developments in sub-Saharan Africa. Events in North Africa were monitored by the State Department's Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. The major function of the Bureau is the maintenance of smooth and stable political relationships with all African governments. President Eisenhower and his Secretary of State firmly embraced Truman's policy of containment.

The growing forces of African nationalism were dismissed as of little importance and the African elites that espoused neutrality in the US/communist ideological war were treated with disdain. In accordance with the Eisenhower administration's policy of universal diplomatic presence, US embassies were opened in the newly independent states. As African embassies opened in Washington DC, black diplomats faced the brunt of the segregation laws. This damaging situation was recognized by a number of State Department Officials and prompted the start of an internal campaign to end segregation. It was this insight that drove Secretary of State Dean Rusk to urge congress to pass a bill that most US citizens considered at the time to be purely domestic legislation, which became the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Garland, 2008:12-13). Martin Luther King Jr highlighted the global dimensions of the American Civil Rights Movement and actively drew on tactics, ideas and pressures emanating from Africa. This is illustrated in a speech he made in 1960: "...the new sense of dignity on the part of the Negro has been the awareness that his struggle for freedom is a part of a worldwide struggle. He has watched developments in...Africa with rapt attention...These rapid changes have naturally influenced the thinking of the American Negro. He knows that his struggle for human dignity is not an isolated event" (Jermi, 2010:106).

5.2.4 President John F. Kennedy's Africa doctrine

On inauguration in 1961 President Kennedy brought with him an interest in African affairs having chaired the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's subcommittee on Africa and spoken out against colonialism in the Senate. Although Kennedy had much greater empathy for pro-independence movements than his immediate predecessor, he faced significant problems on the African continent including Apartheid in South Africa, the anti-colonial revolt taking in place in Portuguese Angola and the chaos following Congo's rapid decolonization all of which had to be dealt with against the overriding US Cold War policy of Containment of the Soviet Union (Frazer and Murray, 2002:105-7).

After the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963, President Nixon's administration departed from the Cold War image of the previous US governments. He saw the Soviet Union as a traditional great power with which the US could negotiate (Schraeder, 1996:33). President Nixon signed the Nixon-Brezhnev détente

with the Soviet President in 1970 which was a bi-lateral agreement between the US and Soviet Union to end the proxy wars in Africa (Cohen, 2003:20). During a speech made during a visit to Ethiopia, Secretary of State William Rogers called for an end to the Cold War in Africa and shift of focus by the international community from East-West competition to development. The Nixon Doctrine contained the Soviet expansionism in Africa, retrenched the US forces and disavowed direct intervention in Africa. However the 1975 arrival of Cuban forces in both Ethiopia and Angola caused President Gerald Ford to reject the worldwide détente relationship initiated by Nixon (ibid).

5.2.5 President Gerald Ford's African policy

A concern of the Ford administration was how to extend American political influence and exercise control over Africa's strategic resources. His administration's aggressive attitude toward the continent manifested over the US support for Jonas Savimbi's UNITA in Africa's longest civil war which left Angola devastated and killed half a million people, rendered 3.5 million people homeless and 86,000 people disabled as a result of landmine (Talbot, 2002: np). The US involvement in Angola followed previous intervention in the Congo/Zaire, where the CIA organized the murder of Patrice Lumumba and installed Mobutu Sese Seko as president.

5.2.6 President Jimmy Carter's Africa's doctrine

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the possibility of the operation spreading beyond into Iran and Kuwait raised the profile of Africa in the US policy radar as the Carter Administration began to court some African countries for basing facilities and transit authorization for its forces from East African states close to the Arabian Gulf including Somalia, Djibouti and Kenya (Cohen, 2003:21). President Carter imposed sanctions on South Africa's Apartheid government and publicly criticized them.

5.2.7 President Ronald Reagan's Africa doctrine

In July 1981, the new US Secretary for Defence, Caspar Weinberger outlined the main objectives of "US Military Strategy for the 1980s". According to Weinberger, the US "is and always should be, a global power, with global concerns and responsibilities" that are essential to its global interests. The task of the US

Government, therefore, was "to protect those interests wherever they are assailed and, in view of our global role, we must defend and support a stable, peaceful international system" (quoted in Chomsky, 1985:7).

Accordingly, the intention is to "support regional security in Africa" and cooperate with our allies and friends in Africa to deter aggression and subversion by our global adversary. We intend to assure the US and our allies' fair commercial access to essential fuel and non-fuel minerals and other raw materials produced in Africa, and at the same time to promote the growing engagement of the American economy and the American private sector in Africa's growing economy"⁸⁹ (Ibid).

Soviet military power, which includes "the training and support of terrorists" and "the use of military assistance and proxies" was the most immediate, significant and dangerous threat to the national security of the United States". In short, the national security objectives of the United State "included the usual aims of foreign and military policy: protecting US interests, supporting allies and friends, maintaining access to resources, etc." (Ibid). He viewed US interests in Africa as "wholly consistent and compatible with the interests of the African States themselves" (Weinberger cited in Campbell, 1998: 357-364). Therefore, according to Crocker, the presence of Cuban troops in Africa is "inimical to our objectives and to African interests also" (ICA, June 9, 1981). Implicit in the entire policy statement is the view that Africa as a whole is 'rightfully' a US sphere of influence. What complicated US policy was South Africa's policy of apartheid, which had increasingly become a human rights issue in international politics with public opinion dead set against it. The Reagan doctrine contained two new dimensions: the need "to contain Soviet expansion" and that of "intervening in areas that the United States deemed to be part of 'The Soviet empire' " (Time Magazine, 4 August, 1985:9).The strategy was to be pursued through both conventional and unconventional means. In the period 1981 to

⁸⁹ The architect of the Reagan's Africa policy, Chester Crocker, summarized his country's broad objectives in Africa. Addressing a State Department Foreign Policy Conference, in Washington, on 2nd June, 1981, he stated: "The Reagan administration recognizes that Africa is a region of growing importance to US global objectives — economic, political, strategic, human and so forth. We cannot afford to neglect a region where our interests are so clearly growing and I would simply refer here in passing to the obvious facts of our long history of involvement with Africa, to the many links of culture and a blood that ties an important portion of our own citizenry to Africa; to our growing import-dependence on fuel and non-fuel minerals produce in Africa, to Africa's growing place as a focus of world politics and its growing role as an actor in World politics" (Mandaza, 1985:12)

1985, covert action and special operations as well as diplomatic, political and economic means were used "with increasingly close cooperation between the Department of Defence and the Central Intelligence Agency" (Ibid). Thus by late 1983, the US was engaged in several major covert operations around the continent, including those against Angola, Chad, Ethiopia and Libya, "all of which involved the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars" (Jeune Afrique, 27 October, 1982:33).

However for much of 1983 and 1984, this military strategy "aimed at the systematic destabilization or over-throw of Third World governments" was not publicly known until the explicit outline of the "Reagan doctrine" by President Reagan himself in January 1985: "we must not break faith with those who are risking their lives on every continent, from Afghanistan to Nicaragua — to defy Soviet-supported aggression and secure rights which have been ours from birth" (The Guardian, February 16, 1986). Hence, the President adopted the idea of constructive engagement in dealing with Africa. This idea means that there were moderates in the African governments and so you wanted to encourage them. And if you constructively engaged with them, they would promote gradual change, political reform and so on. But to just oppose the government would make it intransigent and that would create greater polarization, and that was a situation from which only extremists would benefit. The members of the Reagan team argued that the United States would best achieve its purposes through an understanding of South Africa's internal dynamics and encouraging evolutionary change; these policy advocates counseled against economic warfare and in favour of maintaining continuing pressures on Pretoria. Because these 'realists' concluded that change would be determined primarily by the actions of internal elements rather than through external pressures and incentives, they regarded it as in US interests to facilitate a negotiated settlement among the domestic African actors⁹⁰. The Reagan administration saw the African National Congress (ANC) as a dangerous, pro-communist movement. So the notion of constructive engagement was gradual reform. It was also linked to Reagan

⁹⁰ On the "centrist consensus", see Kitchen, Helen and Michael Clough, *The United States and South Africa: Realities and Red Herrings*, Significant Issues Series 6, no. 6 (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, 1984), pp. 12-16; and Crocker, Chester A., "South Africa: Strategy for Change," *Foreign Affairs* 59, no. 2 (Winter 1980- 81): pp. 323-351.

supporting the Sullivan principles as a proper way to bring about change. Despite the abominations of apartheid in South Africa and the global outcry against the racial marginalization of black South Africans, the US was very slow to end its tacit support (Chazan et al., 1999:446).

The links that the African National Congress had to communism were judged sufficient by successive administrations to justify US support for the racist government. Through the 1950s the US abstained on UN General Assembly resolutions condemning apartheid. Indeed, in the 1980s President Reagan vetoed the imposition of UN sanctions justified by a belief in both free trade and South Africa's role as a bastion against Marxism in the region. A policy shift forced through by Congress finally occurred in the mid-1980s, including imposition of economic sanctions, which ultimately helped bring apartheid to an end in 1990 (Jentleson, 2010:393). Prior to his assumption of office as the president of the United States, Ronald Reagan made a notable statement in connection with the liberation of Angola.

I don't know about you, but I'm concerned — scared is the proper word — about what is going on in Africa, he said. Many Americans have interpreted our interest in Africa as an extension of our own desire to achieve racial equality and elimination of injustice based on race. I am afraid that is a naive oversimplification of what is really at issue. (African Report, 1980:3).

These considerations have, with varying degrees of emphasis and intensity, prompted violent and horrific US intervention in various parts of the continent. For instance, the series of acts of destabilization and the accounts of CIA operations in Africa ever since the Congo Crisis of 1960 and the related assassination of Lumumba; the overthrow of Nkrumah; the well-known pattern of destabilization of frontline and SADCC states through the agency of the South African military machinery; and the support of such bandit groups as the MNR in Mozambique and UNITA in Angola. In 1985, the administration openly declared support for UNITA rebels. During Savimbi's visit to Washington, D.C. in 1986, President Reagan invited him to the White House. Following the meeting, Reagan spoke of UNITA winning "a victory that electrifies the world." Savimbi also met with Reagan's successor, George H. W. Bush, who promised Savimbi "all appropriate and effective assistance" (The New

York Times January, 1989). US Cold War machinations in Angola have left the country deeply divided politically between MPLA and UNITA supporters. It was only after the end of the Cold War that US administrations had the freedom to shape policy for Africa without the baggage of non-African imperatives (Cohen, 2003:20).

In Libya, the relations between Gaddafi's government and the U.S. under President Reagan were continually contentious, beginning with the Gulf of Sidra incident in 1981; by 1982, Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi was considered by the CIA to be, along with USSR leader Leonid Brezhnev and Cuban leader Fidel Castro, part of a group known as the "unholy trinity" and was also labelled as "our international public enemy number one" by a CIA official (Times August 23, 1982). These tensions were revived in early April 1986, when a bomb exploded in a Berlin discothèque, resulting in the injury of 63 American military personnel and death of one serviceman. Stating that there was "irrefutable proof" that Libya had directed the "terrorist bombing", Reagan authorized the use of force against the country (Global Security Org. April, 2005). In the late evening of April 15, 1986, the U.S. launched a series of air strikes on ground targets in Libya. The UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher allowed the US Air Force to use Britain's air bases to launch the attack, on the justification that the United Kingdom (UK) was supporting America's right to self-defence under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter (BBC News April, 1986). The attack was designed to halt Gaddafi's "ability to export terrorism", offering him "incentives and reasons to alter his criminal behaviour". The president addressed the nation from the Oval Office after the attacks had commenced, stating, "When our citizens are attacked or abused anywhere in the world on the direct orders of hostile regimes, we will respond so long as I'm in this office" (ibid). The attack was condemned by many countries. By a vote of 79 in favour to 28 against with 33 abstentions, the United Nations General Assembly adopted resolution 41/38 which "condemns the military attack perpetrated against the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on 15 April 1986, which constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law" (UNSC/Res/41/38/1986:Nov.20).

5.2.8 President George H .W Bush's doctrine on Africa

The Bush administration departed significantly from the ideological view of the Reagan administration. He embraced the principle of realpolitik and moved beyond

the policy of containment. Among his administration's early move was for the US to announce that future foreign aid would be dependent on democratization. Between 1990 and 1992 the promise was delivered by cutting off assistance to long-time Cold War allies like Zaire, Liberia and Sudan and instead providing support to South Africa, Ethiopia and Mozambique (Dueck, 2006:138). In 1990, Bush met separately with South Africa's reform-minded president, F. W. de Klerk, and with the newly freed Black Nationalist leader Nelson Mandela. He supported sanctions against the South African government which helped to dismantle the apartheid system of racial segregation. His administration lifted the sanctions in 1991 after concluding that the requirements imposed by Congress had been met (Grolier Encyclopedia, 2000). On September 11, 1990, President Bush addressed a joint session of Congress regarding the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, and he discussed "an historic period of cooperation," which he called the New World Order⁹¹. Bush claimed this new order would be freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace. An era in which nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in harmony (Millercentre.org., np). Again, on January 16, 1991, in an address to the nation about the start of the Persian Gulf War, President Bush used the term in explaining the motivations and justifications for using force against Iraq⁹²:

We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order, a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. When we are successful—and we will be—we have a real chance at this new world order, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders (Bush, George HW. "Address to the Nation on the Invasion of Iraq, January 16, 1991)." President Bush's New World Order involved collective security with multinational cooperation, and it broke down Cold War conceptions and created new allies. The New World Order sees international politics among sovereign states balancing each other's power (Nye, 1992). In 1992, President Bush signed and issued the National Security Strategy of the United States for fiscal year 1992 known as the "National

⁹¹ Bush, G. H., & Scowcroft, B. (2011). *A world transformed*. Random House LLC.

⁹² Tuathail, G. Ó. (2003). "Just out looking for a fight": American affect and the invasion of Iraq. *Antipode*, 35(5), 856-870.

Security Review 30". This document represents a watershed in US policy on African security issues.

The preamble stressed US anxiety about "the turmoil and dangers in the developing world ... [which] remains a dangerous place—a place of ethnic antagonisms, national rivalries, religious tensions, spreading weaponry, personal ambitions and lingering authoritarianism (US Government, 1991: v).

The NSR 30 was the first comprehensive review of US policy toward Africa in more than a decade. It offered a framework for pursuing US interests in Africa in the light of rapid changes engendered by the end of the cold war. A de-classified intelligence assessment prepared as part of NSR 30, concluded that post-cold war developments in Africa provided both "significant opportunities for, and obstacles to, US interests". Outlining strategies for realizing these security interests and objectives, NSR 30 concluded that "Africa's regional or sub-regional organizations ... [have] potential utility for the achievement of US foreign policy objectives". To attain these goals, five major issue-areas were identified:

- Access to selected African air and naval facilities, air space and sea lanes
- Downsizing African militaries
- African military support for democracy, human rights and civilian control
- Conflict resolution and African regional peacekeeping operations
- Retaining sufficient US military presence in Africa (Aning, 2001:45).

Despite this analysis and its perception of threats from Africa among other places, the US initiated a policy of constructive "disengagement" from Africa through a well-crafted strategy of downsizing the human and material contribution needed to provide credible responses to African security issues. Simply put, in the calculations of the US, resolving African crises were costly in both political and financial terms. A classic example of how this minimalist strategy was tested was during the collapse and disintegration of Liberia into total chaos and the emergence of predatory "warlordism" from 1989 to 1997 (Ellis, 1999; Reno, 1998: 79-113).

During the crisis, the expectation among Liberia's populace, especially the elite, was that the US would respond quickly and massively to the collapse of its quasi- colony in Africa, by providing military and political support to resolve the civil war

(Interview in Lagos, Nigeria, 15 July 1997 cited in Aning, 2001). Instead, in the calculations of US security experts, the geo-strategic value of its previously close African ally with strong historical links and whose émigrés had dominated its politics had diminished, and did not justify the disbursement of human and material resources (Tanner, 1998; US Defence Security Assistance Agency, 1991). Under the new US policy, unilateral or multilateral involvement in resolving crises in "minor states" were at best scaled down or at worst curtailed (Aning, 1999:335). Such tactical withdrawal continued despite the conclusion of US strategic planners that, instabilities in Africa provide fertile soil for insurgency, and are the potential sources of regional conflict.

When considered in the light of the proliferation of modern arms, the situation in the developing world poses significant threats to vital US interests' worldwide (Gray, 1990:18). However, as a contingency measure to prevent such crises from damaging US interests, James R. Locher III, former Assistant Secretary of Defence for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict (SOLIC), designated Africa as a priority area (Jane's Defence Weekly, 1990). To demonstrate its new-found concern about threats emanating from Africa, on 1 July 1990, a month prior to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the US Special Operations Command (SOCOM) established the US Army 3rd Special Forces Group (Airborne) (3rd SFG) based at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. A major rationale for the establishment of the 3rd SFG was to contribute to resolving African crises (Volman, 1993:2). In the calculations of the Pentagon's strategists, Africa was one of three potential areas (apart from Latin America and the Pacific Rim of Asia) where low intensity conflict (LIC) could require US intervention. The 3rd SFG attained its full strength of 1,370 officers when a third battalion was activated in October 1992. Its chief overseas missions since July 1990 have been dispensing medical assistance and undertaking joint military training exercises with several African countries including Zimbabwe, Namibia, Niger and C6te d'Ivoire (Volman, 1993: 2; Aning, 2001:46).

President Bush envisaged order arising from broad values like democracy and human rights, as well as from international law and institutions such as the United Nations⁹³.

⁹³ Benvenisti, E. 2008. Reclaiming democracy: the strategic uses of foreign and international law by national courts. *American Journal of International Law*, 241-274.

In the wake of dire humanitarian crises that gripped Somalia following the overthrow in 1991 of its long-term military dictator, Siad Barre, President Bush deployed perhaps what was the largest military force the US had ever sent to Africa. Known as “Operation Restore Hope”, the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) was an unprecedented operation involving 25,000 troops (Sarjoh and Aning, 2008:4). UNITAF consisted of contingents from about 24 countries with a mandate to restore security, and undertake humanitarian activities to help relieve the suffering of the civilian population. US forces later operated as part of the Security Council-authorized United Nations Mission in Somalia (UNOSOM II), whose mandate was to restore peace through disarmament and reconciliation of the various parties to the conflict. Although the operation was initially successful in helping to feed the Somali people, President Bill Clinton ordered the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Somalia after eighteen U.S. soldiers were killed in Mogadishu, in an operation to capture Mohamed Aideed, a particularly unpleasant warlord. The tragedy was further amplified in the US by horrific TV coverage of US soldiers’ bodies being dragged through the streets (Chazan et al, 1999:447). "Operation Restore Hope" left many people wondering whether the United States should intervene in other countries when U.S. interests were not clearly at stake.

5.2.9 President Bill Clinton’s African policy doctrine

At the beginning of Clinton’s presidency, his world view seems unclear. His campaign rhetoric suggested that he held similar opinions about moving beyond containment in the post-cold war era and creating a new world order based on U.S. leadership as the sole remaining superpower (Banjo, 2010:142). Some suggested that his selection of officials suggested a return to the regionalist policies reminiscent of the Carter administration. The administration was expected to down- play the foreign dimensions of conflicts in Africa in favour of their internal roots, and recognize African nationalism as an important constraint on American intervention on the continent (Shraeder, 1994: 35).

However, the emphasis on the spread of democracy as a key policy tool was still very prevalent in Clinton’s agenda. The new administration prioritized market reform

and free trade as a mechanism for development and democratization⁹⁴. For reasons of international strategy, Africa's conflicts rank lower than those in Bosnia or the former Soviet Union. Thus, at the point of Clinton's entry into the White House, Africa still ranked lowest on the USA's totem pole of international concerns. Arguably, Clinton's appointments soon changed the course of U.S policy thought on Africa. George E. Moose, who was appointed by Clinton to replace Herman Cohen as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, inherited a full desk of United States' concerns in Africa: from civil war in Angola to humanitarian disaster in Somalia and to concerns about the onward march of Islamic fundamentalism in Africa. After whirlwind diplomatic shuttle in Africa and Europe, George Moose, declared that, 'Fostering democracy will be the central plank of the administration's policy'. The second and third areas of U.S. Africa policy he listed were conflict resolution, followed by trade and investment (cited in Agonafer, 1996: 247). This policy change came on the threshold of Clinton's appointment of other key foreign (Africa) policy aides. Some of these diplomatic actors included committed Africanists or have had extensive experience in Africa such as, Warren Christopher, George Moose, Dennis Jett and Jennifer Ward. Soon after their call to service, several imperatives became apparent in official U.S. thinking about Africa which became the essential character of the Clinton years. Clinton adopted "Development Diplomacy" in his conduct of a whole range of foreign relations with developing countries⁹⁵.

Banjo (2010:143) defines "Development Diplomacy" as a foreign policy process of conducting relations with developing countries targeting poverty mitigation and reduction as end product. It can also be described as the overall policy options of a developed state or super/hyper power towards less endowed states, weak economies and countries in conflict or emerging from conflict that focuses on issues that has direct impact on human security and survival with primary aim of enabling beneficiaries (citizens of recipient states) to have access to good life. Finally, it can be bilateral or multilateral, but must be the official engagement with the developing world by the developed north with the sole aim of finding effective solutions to a

⁹⁴ Clark, H. R. (1998). African Renaissance and US Trade Policy. *Ga. J. Int'l & Comp. L.*, 27, 265.

⁹⁵ Clough, M. (1992). Free at last?: US policy toward Africa and the end of the Cold War (pp. 5-13). New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press.

growing number of socio-economic, political, health and environmental problems in the global south. Development issues may include HIV/AIDS, Debt crisis and direct financial assistance, aid, peace- keeping and building. Others include economic justice and fair trade, human rights and democracy, environmental sustainability, disaster mitigation and conflict resolution amongst others. Bill Clinton's foreign policy doctrine toward Africa rested on economic imperative and multilateralism (Furley and May 1998, 149). In one of his few statements on Africa during the election campaign, Clinton said 'the USA should do more to support United Nations peace- keeping operations, and should explore new ideas for preventive diplomacy'(Africa Confidential, 1993: vol 34). Consequently, he created the post of Secretary of State for Global Affairs, to highlight many key issues that affect Africa more than other regions. Some of these include: environmental degradation, terrorism, drugs, population policy, and international health risks such as HIV/AIDS and trans-border and inter-continental migration (Banjo, 2010). His administration was particularly vocal about environmental disaster in Africa⁹⁶.

President Clinton's administration gave new impetus to African regional and sub-regional organizations⁹⁷. Clinton took steps to expand the US/UN mission significantly and at the suggestion of Washington, the UN approved a resolution calling for the reconstruction of Somalia as a failed state; however it rapidly became apparent that the conditions for nation building and democracy-promotion were extremely poor. On May 3, 1994, President Clinton signed a Presidential Decision Directive establishing U.S. Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations. This directive was the product of a year-long interagency policy review and extensive consultations with dozens of Members of Congress from both parties⁹⁸.

The policy represented the first, comprehensive framework for U.S. decision-making on issues of peacekeeping and peace enforcement suited to the realities of the post-Cold War period. President Clinton argued that peace operations are not and cannot be the centre-piece of U.S. foreign policy. However, as the policy states, properly

⁹⁶ Bullard, R. D. 2007. "Equity, unnatural man-made disasters, and race: Why environmental justice matters." *Research in social problems and public policy*, 15, 51-85.

⁹⁷ Malaquias, A. 2002. Peace Operations in Africa: Preserving the Brittle State?(Regional Perspectives). *Journal of International Affairs*, 55(2), 415.

⁹⁸ Moore, J. N., and Turner, R. F. 1990. National security law (p. 131). Carolina Academic Press.

conceived and well-executed peace operations can be a useful element in serving America's interests. The directive prescribed a number of specific steps to improve U.S. and UN management of UN peace operations in order to ensure that use of such operations is selective and more effective (Terry, 1996:101).

The policy directive (PDD) addresses six major issues of reform and improvement: These issues are (a) Making disciplined and coherent choices about which peace operations to support -- both when we vote in the Security Council for UN peace operations and when we participate in such operations with U.S. troops. To achieve this goal, the policy directive sets forth three increasingly rigorous standards of review for U.S. support for or participation in peace operations, with the most stringent applying to U.S. participation in missions that may involve combat. The policy directive affirms that peacekeeping can be a useful tool for advancing U.S. national security interests in some circumstances, but both U.S. and UN involvement in peacekeeping must be selective and more effective.

(b). Reducing U.S. costs for UN peace operations, both the percentage our nation pays for each operation and the cost of the operations themselves. To achieve this goal, the policy directive orders that we work to reduce our peacekeeping assessment percentage from the current 31.7% to 25% by January 1, 1996, and proposes a number of specific steps to reduce the cost of UN peace operations.

(c). Defining clearly our policy regarding the command and control of American military forces in UN peace operations. The policy directive underscores the fact that the President will never relinquish command of U.S. forces. However, as Commander-in-Chief, the President has the authority to place U.S. forces under the operational control of a foreign commander when doing so serves American security interests, just as American leaders have done numerous times since the Revolutionary War, including in Operation Desert Storm. The greater the anticipated U.S. military role, the less likely it will be that the U.S. will agree to have a UN commander exercise overall operational control over U.S. forces. Any large scale participation of U.S. forces in a major peace enforcement operation that is likely to involve combat should ordinarily be conducted under U.S. command and operational

control or through competent regional organizations such as NATO or ad hoc coalitions.

(d). Reforming and improving the UN's capability to manage peace operations. The policy recommends 11 steps to strengthen UN management of peace operations and directs U.S. support for strengthening the UN's planning, logistics, information and command and control capabilities.

(e). Improving the way the U.S. government manages and funds peace operations. The policy directive creates a new "shared responsibility" approach to managing and funding UN peace operations within the U.S. Government. Under this approach, the Department of Defense will take lead management and funding responsibility for those UN operations that involve U.S. combat units and those that are likely to involve combat, whether or not U.S. troops are involved. This approach will ensure that military expertise is brought to bear on those operations that have a significant military component. The State Department will retain lead management and funding responsibility for traditional peacekeeping operations that do not involve U.S. combat units. In all cases, the State Department remains responsible for the conduct of diplomacy and instructions to embassies and our UN Mission in New York.

(f). Creating better forms of cooperation between the Executive, the Congress and the American public on peace operations (Davidson, 1998)

The policy directive sets out seven proposals for increasing and regularizing the flow of information and consultation between the executive branch and Congress; the President believes U.S. support for and participation in UN peace operations can only succeed over the long term with the bipartisan support of Congress and the American people (PDD 25 The White House May 6, 1994). The Presidential Decision Directive 25 (PDD 25) practically forbade US intervention in future crises unless national interests were in jeopardy and the assignment had distinct and limited objectives as well as a well-defined exit strategy (Malan, 1997:1). The document is framed as a cautious hedge of obstacles to UN action and to American participation, a justification for refusal, rather than a stimulus to action. It does not name compelling factors that, if present, would require intervention; only requisite

conditions whose absence can justify inaction. "The PDD trapped the UN in a vicious circle⁹⁹: the United States would refuse any new deployment of UN Blue Helmets unless all the necessary conditions (logistical, financial, troop deployments, etc.) were fulfilled yet they could never be fulfilled without the active support of the superpower." This "first comprehensive US policy on multilateral peace operations suited to the post-Cold War era", in White House words, is a clear response of withdrawal from interventionism (Grunfeld and Huijboom, 2007).

After the Rwanda debacle, Clinton's administration made a number of proposals regarding involvement in African peace-making efforts which ranged from financial assistance for various African initiatives including the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Organisation of African Unity, now African Union (AU). The US State Department officials embraced warmly the Nigeria-led ECOMOG peace operations in Liberia, despite media criticism. Washington gave some \$29 million support to the ECOMOG peace-keeping operations. Training, logistics and non-lethal equipment were also provided to specific ECOMOG contributing states like Ghana and Senegal. Senegal got US\$15 million in 1991 and 1992, while another US\$15 million was provided for Tanzanian and Ugandan participation in ECOMOG in 1993 and 1994. Furthermore, US\$50 million was provided in 1997 and 1998. An example of US military assistance was the provision of logistic services by Pacific Architects and Engineers (PAE), (Ellis, 1999; Kramer, 1995; Africa Watch, June 1993: 30-33). About \$200 million were channeled through aid agencies to Amos Sawyer's government in Monrovia for humanitarian assistance (Africa Confidential, 1993: Vol. 34). More significant than the total amounts provided was their reactive nature. These came several years after the Liberian conflict had started. Considering the fact that Liberia is a US's quasi-colony in

⁹⁹ The first application of PDD 25 in Africa was in the 1994-5 genocide atrocities in Rwanda which left an estimated 800,000 people dead in the space of three months. The Rwanda genocide raised serious moral dilemmas for the international community. The US showed indifference to the plight of the Tutsi and did not seem to give much thought to the nature of the killings, being wary of any intervention that would embroil it in something even more complex than Somalia. In fact, Clinton's administration actively and successfully worked behind the scenes of the UNSC to ensure the word 'genocide' was not used in any Security Council Resolution as this would have meant that the US as signatory to the Genocide Convention would have had a legal obligation to act. In doing so it not only avoided the necessity for US involvement in what was an extreme case of human rights violation, but also prevented the wider international community from taking action (Mahbubabi, 2005:50)

Africa, there were high expectations that the US government will intervene and ameliorate the suffering of the Liberian people; the US refrained from active engagement on the grounds that it was an African problem and deserved an African solution¹⁰⁰. Similarly, the UN argued that its agenda was full and could not be burdened with Liberia. Rather, Clinton's administration encouraged the OAU to give a stronger lead in regional crises as it moves away from its strict doctrine of non-intervention in domestic conflicts (Sesay, 1996:35-41).

Subsequently, former US Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, in an address to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in October 1996, emphasized the United States' preparedness "to create a new political and military partnership" with African states. He stated inter alia that due to the Burundi crisis and its potential impact on other states, "we must develop the capacity for an effective response ... in any future crisis, and we must find new ways for Africans to work together and for the international community to support you." (Aning, 2001:49). After presenting the ACRF idea, Christopher went on a five-nation African tour that took him to Angola, Ethiopia, Mali, South Africa and Tanzania, where the broad outlines of the scheme were reiterated. He emphasized that ACRF would hopefully "become a strong link in the chain of successful responses to conflict that the OAU was building." ACRF consists of African troops reinforced by training, equipment, logistical and financial support from the United States and other countries. The immediate aim of the force was not to intervene in hostilities, but to shield designated safe havens from conflicts. This would enable civilians to obtain protection and humanitarian assistance. The intermediate and long-term aims of ACRF are to assemble a rapid reaction capability force from participating African contingents. ACRF will be developed in full consultation with the United Nations and the OAU. Critically, the original plans envisaged a standing force that could be quickly assembled, led by Africans and deployed under UN auspices. According to ACRF's mission statement, it was "to protect innocent civilians, ensure the delivery of humanitarian aid, and help resolve conflicts in Africa and beyond." ACRF, therefore, looked like a marriage of

¹⁰⁰ Sesay, M. A. 1996. Civil war and collective intervention in Liberia. *Review of African Political Economy*, 23(67), 35-52.

convenience based on African pro-activism and the disbursement of indeterminate international resources (US State Department, 1997).

This concept was greeted with avalanche of criticism by the key OAU member states and major political, economic and military actors within the sub-regional organizations, especially Nigeria and South Africa (Henk and Metz, 1997: 24). These criticisms resulted from widespread uncertainty about the proposal. Its outlines were fuzzy and it sounded more like a military standing force. There are several critical issues and questions which the initiative has still not satisfactorily answered, but which will impact on its chances of success. These concerns are (i) Training; (ii) Strategic Command and Control; (iii) Operational Command, Control and Logistics; and (v) Criteria for Selection, Participation and Deployment. In view of the expressed concerns of Africans, the idea was subsequently rebranded and detuned to become the African Crisis Response Initiative (Williams, 1997).

5.2.9a. African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI)

According to Ploch (2011:27), ACRI was a bilateral training programme designed to improve the capabilities of individual African state's militaries to prepare them for multinational peacekeeping operations in situations where a cease-fire or peace accord already exists. It was a US State Department managed and supported training initiative¹⁰¹. ACRI was purported to enhance the capacity of selected African militaries to respond effectively to peacekeeping or humanitarian relief operations on the continent. ACRI's emphasis was on training based on a common peacekeeping doctrine and the supply of interoperable communications equipment, which would enable the units to work together more effectively. ACRI had a long-term objective to train up to 12,000 military personnel. Headed by the US State Department Special Coordinator for ACRI, the initiative sought to promote common doctrine, interoperability, and standard communications technology among African forces. While ACRI encouraged joint training exercises between African forces to hone their capacity to respond in emergency situations, ACRI was not designed to create a standing force. Peacekeepers from a number of African nations would stand ready in their nations of origin for rapid deployment to areas of crises as needed. Deployment

¹⁰¹ Henk, D., and Metz, S. 1997. *The United States and the Transformation of African Security: The African Crisis Response Initiative and Beyond*. DIANE Publishing.

of ACRI-trained troops was a sovereign decision of the ACRI partner in response to a request from international political entities such as the United Nations (UN) or the African Union (AU), or a sub-regional organization such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)¹⁰². ACRI-trained troops could also deploy as part of a multinational coalition force for peacekeeping¹⁰³. As Executive Agent for ACRI, US European Command (EUCOM) was responsible for the development of the military aspects involved in establishing and maintaining the concept. EUCOM was supported in this role by the US Central Command (CENTCOM), US Special Operations Command (SOCOM), US Atlantic Command (LANTCOM; later re-designated as Joint Forces Command (JFCOM), and US Transportation Command (TRANSCOM). US forces conducting ACRI battalion-level training came under the operational control of the Special Operations Command Europe (SOCEUR). ACRI training was largely conducted by soldiers deployed from the 3rd Special Forces Group (Airborne) at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

Since its establishment in 1997, ACRI conducted training in Senegal and Uganda in late July 1997 following the arrival of about 120 US soldiers of the 3rd Special Forces Group and XVIII Airborne Corps, both of Fort Bragg, North Carolina; US Army, Europe (USAREUR); and SOCOM. US Special Forces trained African military forces to respond within 30 days to a contingency, humanitarian or peacekeeping related. The American teams started 60-day training programs on 1 August 1997 for about 750 host nation soldiers in each country. Later in 1997, US teams trained similar forces in Malawi, Ethiopia and Mali. The US training teams used peacekeeping doctrine based on international standards. The US government

¹⁰² Kwiatkowski, K. U. 2000. African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) Past, Present, and Future?. Peacekeeping Institute, Center for Strategic Leadership, US Army War College.

¹⁰³ During initial battalion training, US Army instructors trained African soldiers in highly professional interoperable program of instruction in peacekeeping and humanitarian relief operations. The ACRI program, for both initial and follow-on training, exposed the host military to the full range of peacekeeping tasks authorized under chapter 6 of the UN Charter, from convoy escort, logistics, and protection of refugees, to negotiations and command and control. Conducted by US Army instructors, the initial training included instruction in military operational skills, command and staff operations, and computer-simulated exercises. Observance of human rights, issues of humanitarian law, negotiation and mediation, and other humanitarian concerns relevant to peacekeeping are interwoven into the training program. ACRI increased both the level and character of involvement of non-governmental, private voluntary and international organizations in ACRI training in order to increase African peacekeepers' capacity to respond to complex humanitarian emergencies

claimed that training each battalion costs the United States about \$3 million, including \$1 million in mainly non-lethal US equipment, primarily communications gear such as hand-held radios (Malan, 1997:3).

According to the US State Department, ACRI expended \$15 million in 1997 and \$22 million in 1998. ACRI expended approximately \$18 million for 1999, \$20 million for 2000 and 2001 and requested an additional \$20 million for 2002. The Bush Administration sought \$24 million in 2004 under the Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) for Africa programs, compared with \$40 million requested in 2003. Support for ACRI came from the PKO program (Ibid). However, ACRI failed to yield the intended result. Critics argued that ACRI was crafted around Cold War peacekeeping doctrine designed for inter-state conflicts without taking into consideration the peculiar nature of intra-state conflicts in Africa which is characterized by total disregard for international humanitarian law. Though many African countries embraced ACRI, including Uganda, Tanzania, Ghana, Ethiopia and Senegal, the two regional powers, Nigeria and South Africa remained opposed to what they viewed as a foreign initiative that did not necessarily address African concerns (Sarjoh and Aning, 2008:18).

Berman (2004:134) notes that ACRI had more to do with what the U.S felt it could provide than what African countries necessarily needed, since the countries themselves were not consulted about the contents of the programme. The programme also failed to provide logistics and military hardware, which were deemed to be of greater importance by African states than the training of troops. With an annual budget of US\$15 million, it was difficult to see how ACRI could address the serious capacity issues facing African countries as they bore the brunt of peacekeeping duties on the continent. The limited nature of the programme also made it difficult to see a clear cause-and-effect relationship between the training offered and the overall performance of troops in the field (Ibid). There were also International Military Education and Training (IMET) programs in Africa which were aimed at promoting professionalism and respect for democracy and human rights, while enhancing capabilities for participation in peacekeeping operations. These programs usually ran well under \$1 million per country, although Senegal got

\$1 million in under the FY04 request and South Africa, received \$1.6 million. Overall, IMET would rise from \$11.1 million to \$12.5 million under the FY04 request (US Department of State 12 July, 2001).

The United States contributed to United Nations peacekeeping operations in Africa and elsewhere through a program entitled Contributions to International Peacekeeping Activities (CIPA). Funds for CIPA were appropriated in the legislation that funds the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, rather than in the Foreign Operations appropriation, which governed foreign assistance. CIPA for Africa had increased significantly in FY02 due to US support for UN peacekeeping in Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Stabilization in Sierra Leone brought a subsequent reduction in this program. Still, between 1997 and 2004, ACRI was put to good use. An ACRI-trained battalion from Mali deployed to Sierra Leone as part of the ECOWAS peacekeeping force. Soldiers from Ghana were also involved in that operation. ACRI-trained troops from Benin were deployed as a part of an ECOWAS-approved peacekeeping force in Guinea-Bissau and Senegalese soldiers were engaged under the UN mission in the Central African Republic (Serafino, 2010).

In March 1998 Clinton made a highly publicized six-nation tour of the continent during which he expressed regret for “the sin of neglect and ignorance” that the United States had committed in its treatment of Africa, particularly during the Cold War. Clinton announced that it was “time for Americans to put a new Africa on our map” and for the United States to forge a new beginning in its relations with Africans (quoted in Bacevich, 2002:107). This increased engagement was partly due to lobbying efforts of the Congressional Black Caucus and other African-American groups, indeed President Clinton took several members of the Caucus with him on his 1998 visit to Africa (Cameron, 2002:170). Although some argued that the ‘apology’ was understated given the decades-long US support for Zaire’s military dictatorship, collaboration with the South African Apartheid regime and many other questionable engagements, nevertheless it did serve to indicate that Washington’s stated goals had shifted somewhat from its Cold War stance (Minter, 2000:270).

Although the August 1998 bombing attacks against the US Diplomatic missions in Kenya and Tanzania which resulted in twelve American and several hundred African deaths were attributed to Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda¹⁰⁴, the US response was to launch a cruise missile attack later the same month against a Sudanese pharmaceutical plant suspected of producing, on behalf of al-Qaeda, compounds necessary for the production of chemical weapons.¹⁰⁵ The real purpose of the attack was less retaliatory and actually a pre-emptive first shot in a campaign to deny access to weapons of mass destruction reinforced by Washington's long standing criticism of Sudan for being a safe haven to terrorists (although in 1996 it had expelled bin Laden). When announcing the attack Clinton told the US population that "our target was terror." (quoted in Bacevich, 2002:110-111). The embassy bombings and the retaliatory strike against Sudan are considered by many analysts to be a turning point in US Strategic policy towards Africa (Ploch, 2011:14).

5.2.9b African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA)

Clinton's administration also initiated the 'trade not aid' campaign which culminated into a trade bill, The African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA)¹⁰⁶ Bill that was signed into law on May 18, 2000. The deals with extension of trade benefits designated 34 sub-Saharan African countries. While on state visit to Nigeria in August 2000, Clinton also suggested the inclusion of some indigenous items in the list of items to enjoy duty-free and quota-free access into the U.S. market. The African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) is a nonreciprocal trade preference program that provides duty-free treatment to U.S. imports of certain products from

¹⁰⁴ On August 7, 1998, two car bombs exploded at the American Embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, killing 224 people and wounding more than 5,000 others. Twelve Americans were killed in the Nairobi blast.

¹⁰⁵ The US launched missiles from American warships in the Red Sea into Sudan. Several hit the Al-Shifa pharmaceutical factory, which the United States claimed was helping Osama bin Laden, the mastermind of the embassy attacks, build chemical weapons. One man was killed and ten were wounded in Sudan by the strike.

Then United States National Security Council advisor Richard Clarke stated that intelligence existed linking Osama bin Laden to Al-Shifa's current and past operators, namely the Iraqi nerve gas experts and the National Islamic Front in Sudan

¹⁰⁶ The African Growth and Opportunity Act, or AGOA (Title I, Trade and Development Act of 2000; P.L. 106-200 [1]) is a legislation that has been approved by the U.S. Congress in May 2000. The purpose of this legislation is to assist the economies of sub-Saharan Africa and to improve economic relations between the United States and the region.

eligible sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries. Its current authorization expires on September 30, 2015 (Williams, 2014:22).

In terms of tariff benefits and general eligibility criteria, AGOA is similar to the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), a U.S. trade preference program that applies to more than 120 developing countries. AGOA, however, covers more products and includes additional eligibility criteria beyond those in GSP. Additionally, AGOA includes trade and development provisions beyond its duty-free preferences (Ibid).

U.S. imports from AGOA beneficiary countries (AGOA countries) represent a small share (2%) of total U.S. imports and are largely concentrated in energy-related products. Oil is consistently the top duty-free U.S. import from AGOA countries, accounting for 77% of such imports in 2013. Despite remaining the top U.S. import under AGOA, U.S. oil imports from the region have fallen by more than half or nearly \$30 billion, since 2011. Among non-energy products, apparel is the top export for a number of AGOA countries. U.S. apparel imports typically face relatively high tariffs and are excluded from duty-free treatment in GSP, but are included in the AGOA preferences giving AGOA countries a competitive advantage over other apparel producers. Still, only a handful of countries, primarily Lesotho, Kenya, and Mauritius, make significant use of the apparel benefits¹⁰⁷. Apart from apparel and energy products, South Africa accounts for the bulk of U.S. imports under AGOA. As the most economically advanced country in the region, South Africa also exports a much more diverse range of manufactured goods than other AGOA countries; vehicles in particular have become a major South African export under AGOA. However, the AGOA has been criticized based on its strict conditions which had

¹⁰⁷ The basic provisions of AGOA include the following:

1. The lifting of all existing quota on textile and apparel products from sub-Saharan African countries into the U.S. market. 2. The extension of duty/quota free access into the U.S. market for sub-Saharan apparels made from yarns and fabrics not available in the U.S. 3. The extension of duty/quota free treatment for apparel made in Africa from U.S. yarn and fabric and for knit-to shape sweaters made in Africa from cashmere and some merino wool's as well as apparel produced in Africa from silk, velvet, linen and other fabrics not produced in commercial quantities in the U.S. 4. The Act extends duty-free and quota-free access to the U.S market for apparel made in Africa with Africa/regional fabric and yarn. Such imports, however, are subject to a cap (limit) ranging from 1.5 to 3.5 billion dollar U.S. apparel import over an eight-year period. African apparel imports made with African fabric/yarn currently totals about \$250 million (www.agoa.info/terms/html).

made most sub-Saharan African countries ineligible to benefit from the trade act (Stevens and Kennan, 2005).

Eligibility for the AGOA trade preference program consists of two separate steps. First, the country must be included in a statutorily-created list of sub-Saharan African countries, described in AGOA (19 U.S.C. 3706). This list has been updated periodically by new legislation (e.g., the 112th Congress added South Sudan in P.L. 112-163).

The second step requires the President to determine annually which eligible countries, from those on the list of SSA countries defined by Congress, should become beneficiaries of the AGOA preferences. There are two different sets of criteria for the President's consideration in this process: Section 104 of AGOA (19 U.S.C. 3703) and Section 502 of the Trade Act of 1974, or GSP (19 U.S.C. 2462). Section 104 is specific to AGOA and requires the President to consider a number of factors related to the prospective AGOA country's economy; rule of law; elimination of barriers to U.S. trade and investment; poverty reduction efforts; protection of worker rights; support of terrorist activities; and interference with U.S. national security and foreign policy efforts (Mattoo, Roy and Subramanian, 2002:62). These also include a number of economic and political factors. In two separate proclamations during the past year, President Obama has made changes to AGOA country eligibility. The President reinstated AGOA eligibility for Mali and Madagascar, which is now effective. He also terminated AGOA eligibility for Swaziland, effective January 1, 2015, due to the country's failure to meet eligibility criteria related to worker rights.

The first broadside fired against AGOA is that it was externally imposed on Africa. Critics argue that the bill, like past U.S. policy initiatives, utilized findings and analysis of the African situation based largely on misinformed analysis of the African situation and American perceptions and a shallow understanding of Africa formed from a distance. This paternalistic outlook is said to be in contradiction to the stated objective of changing past U.S. attitudes towards sub-Saharan Africa. Second, a number of development activist contested that any discussion on development in Africa that does not decisively deal with the debt crisis will come to naught just like

so many others before it as 80% of Africa's export earning is spent on debt service. Though AGOA was intended as a trade bill and not a debt relief bill, but under current circumstances, debt relief should be a high priority than trade promotion. Third, criticism has been the primacy of the market and profits. This raised the suspicion that AGOA represents the mere use of legislation to secure for the U.S an African market for so long dominated by Europe. The fourth is the unbalanced private and public sector development. Critics pointed out that the bill asks African governments to play a diminishing role in the economic affairs of their countries while at the same time pushing for more private sector involvement. It is suggested that development in the public sector should accompany development in the private sector, so that the two sectors balance and complement one another. The fifth reservation has to do with monitoring trade and aid initiatives. Critics observed that donor groups and African governments alike have manipulated conditionalities in the past to advance their own interest without regards to whether actual progress toward democratic and economic reform was been achieved. The sixth criticism is that AGOA is antithetical to sub- regional integration (Banjo, 2010:143-146).

Concerns expressed within this context has to do with the fear that the moves to establish Free Trade Area with sub-Saharan countries would be selective and disruptive to African regional initiatives already underway and reflected the colonial era of divide and rule approach. Current regional initiatives in Africa are said to be barely managing to grow and develop, thus might make more sense if the U.S. sought to strengthen these existing regional groupings rather than seeking the establishment of new ones. The seventh negation is the possibility of AGOA shrinking investment in social capital. Some critics noted that AGOA prescribes cuts in domestic spending and corporate taxes that will significantly reduce the revenue base of African governments, leading to reduced investment in the development of social capital and poverty eradication schemes. The eight worry about AGOA is the agriculture and food security concerns. The bill urges unilateral removal of subsidies and market safeguards aimed at protecting and stabilizing local agricultural production, the backbone of most sub-Saharan African economies. This would likely reduce agricultural output within Africa and increase dumping of U.S. exports on the African market, thus undermining the efforts of local African entrepreneurs. The

ninth problem with AGOA has been the fact that eligibility standards are too restrictive. These requirements such as, protection of intellectual property rights, improvements in labelling and certification standards, eliminating corruption and pursuit of WTO membership, would disqualify the majority of sub-Saharan African countries. Finally, it is said to offer a false textile boom. AGOA package has been described as having no gains for the textile manufacturers. The decrepit state of the local textile manufacturing industry which has been exacerbated by the dumping of cheap, used clothes from foreign countries, may have prepared enough ground for the sector's lack of competitive standing in the AGOA scheme. Manufacturers have touted this, among other factors, as major constraint in the industry's bid toward international competitiveness (Banjo, 2010).

5.2.10 President George W. Bush's foreign policy toward Africa

In February 2000 while campaigning for the Presidency, then Governor George W Bush was asked in a TV interview, "...does Africa fit in to your definition of strategic interests?" He responded "...at some point in time the President has got to clearly define what the national strategic interests are, and while Africa may be important, it doesn't fit into the national strategic interests, as far as I can see them" (quoted in Lehrer, 2000:np). Once in office, two factors underpinned the Bush administration's security policy in Africa. First the conviction that the US had become too dependent on oil from the Middle East and Venezuela and that Africa, particularly given a significant number of new oil reserve discoveries, offered an opportunity to diversify supplies. This view was further reinforced by the rising demand for oil and other natural resources by emerging economies, particularly China. Second was the concern that al-Qaeda-type organisations could become established in African states that had a significant Muslim population, or even worse, that al-Qaeda could establish bases in a failed African State such as Somalia (Vines and Cargill cited in Bullock, 2010:53). His appointment of two notable African-Americans into the main foreign policy positions, Colin Powell as Secretary of State and Condoleezza Rice as National Security Advisor, sent an indication that Africa will be one of the major priority of his foreign policy outline (Cameron, 2002:170). Secretary Powell was more visibly interested in Africa than Rice, and made the

continent one of his first priorities and stressed that he would continue to give Africa close attention.

Following the September 11, 2001 attacks in New York and Washington, there was a renewed interest in the continent, prompting a shift in US Africa policy driven by its 'global war on terror'. While addressing a Joint Session of Congress on the evening of September 20, 2001, President Bush declares that "we will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbour them. He further asserts that:

We will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbour or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime (Bush, September 20, 2001).

The Horn of Africa received new attention from the US military as a potential front-line in what was to become the Global War on Terror (GWOT).¹⁰⁸ In particular Somalia as a largely ungoverned space, prior connections to regional terrorism and an apparent safe-haven for al-Qaeda, al shabaab and its affiliates was identified as a focal point for counter-terrorism operations. The result was the formation of Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa

5.2.10a The Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA)

CJTF-HOA was established at Camp Lejeune, N.C., on Oct. 19, 2002 as a subordinate command to US Central Command (CENTCOM). In November 2002, personnel embarked on 28-day training cruise aboard USS MOUNT WHITNEY, and arrived in the Horn of Africa on Dec. 8, 2002. CJTF-HOA operated from the MOUNT WHITNEY until May 13, 2003, when the mission transitioned ashore to Camp Lemonier utilizing a former French Foreign Legion camp in Djibouti as a

¹⁰⁸ Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) is a term which has been applied to an international military campaign that started after the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States. This resulted in an international military campaign to eliminate al-Qaeda and other militant organizations. The United States and many other NATO and non-NATO nations such as Pakistan participated in the conflict. The phrase "War on Terror" was first used by U.S. President George W. Bush on 20 September 2001. The Bush administration and the western media have since used the term to argue a global military, political, lawful, and conceptual struggle against both organizations designated as terrorist in nature and regimes accused of supporting them. It was originally used with a particular focus on Muslim countries associated with Islamic terrorism organizations, like al-Qaeda or like-minded organizations.

permanent headquarters. At any given time there are between 2,000 and 3,000 service members “on board” the base comprising people from each military branch of the U.S. Armed Forces, civilian employees, and representatives of Coalition and Partner countries. The Combined Joint Operating Area (CJOA) consists of Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya and Seychelles (Pham, 2009:236).

The original stated mission of a kinetic antiterrorism operation evolved over time with the mission emphasis becoming “to build partner nation capacity in order to promote regional security and stability, prevent conflict, and protect US and coalition interests” (www.hoa.africom.mil/AboutCJTF-HOA.asp). While US Special Operations forces continued with their business against terrorism in the region, CJTF-HOA focussed on indirect activities, aimed at denying extremist groups and ideologies the ability to exploit the vulnerabilities of the states, societies and ethnic groups in its area of responsibility. To achieve this, the CJTF adopted measures to foster interagency integration which included establishing liaison officers at US Embassies in the region, appointing a Senior Military advisor to the US Mission in the African Union (AU) Headquarters in Addis Ababa and in particular the inclusion of a Senior State Department official as Commander CJTF-HOA’s foreign policy advisor as well as a USAID official as the development advisor (Pham, 2007:74). This arrangement subsequently crystallized to become the model for the future AFRICOM.

The formation of CJTF-HOA is a reflection of the shift in US foreign policy toward Africa as emphasized by the 2002 National Security Strategy, which states: “The events of September 11, 2001, taught us that weak states ... can pose as great danger to our national interests as strong states” (The White House, National Security Strategy of the United States September, 2002). Hence, on 18th September, 2002, President Bush released his first National Security Strategy since assumption of office in accordance to section 603 of the Goldwater-Nichols Reorganization Act of 1986 (codified at 50 U.S.C. § 404a), which requires the U.S. President to transmit to Congress each year a “comprehensive report on the national security strategy of the United States.” The overarching goal of the National Security Strategy (NSS) report is to outline the global interests, goals, and objectives of the United States that are vital to its national security (Haine and Lindstrom, 18th September, 2002).The

content and the tone of the 2002 US National Security Strategy were largely defined by the attacks of September 11th, which is the first large-scale aggression against the continental U.S. (CONUS) since 1812. This dramatic event was seen by the Bush administration as a tectonic shift in the history of international relations, comparable to the rise of the Soviet power after the Second World War. The menace of global terrorism gives this document special significance. The document states that: "The United States can no longer solely rely on a reactive posture as we have in the past. We cannot let our enemies strike first." (Bush, 2002). The 2002 NSS document underlined three main objectives. These are as follows:

- To defend the peace by “fighting terrorists and tyrants”.
- To preserve the peace by “building good relations among the great powers”; and,
- To extend the peace by “encouraging free and open societies on every continent”.

At its core, the document calls for the United States to use its “unparalleled military strength and great economic and political influence” to establish “a balance of power that favours human freedom”. The identified threat lies in the combination of terrorism, tyranny and technology, i.e. weapons of mass destruction (WMD). The combination of these three “T’s” makes the security environment more complex and dangerous (White House, National Security Strategy September, 2002). Bush emphasizes the importance of taking pre-emptive military action against threatening terrorist states, even when such action is opposed by the United Nations. "As a matter of common sense and self-defense, America will act against such emerging threats before they are fully formed," he writes. Advising that the U.S. can no longer assume the reactive defensive posture employed throughout the Cold War, President Bush wrote, "The inability to deter a potential attacker, the immediacy of today's threats, and the magnitude of potential harm that could be caused by our adversaries' choice of weapons, do not permit that option. We cannot let our enemies strike first." To better undertake pre-emptive prevention of terrorist attacks, Bush proposes that the United States:

- "Build better, more integrated intelligence capabilities to provide timely, accurate information on threats, wherever they may emerge."
- "Coordinate closely with allies to form a common assessment of the most dangerous threats".
- "Continue to transform our military forces to ensure our ability to conduct rapid and precise operations to achieve decisive results."

Along with the military response policies outlined in the new security strategy, President Bush proposed the U.S. must also "wage a war of ideas" against international terrorism, including:

- "Supporting moderate and modern government, especially in the Muslim world, to ensure that the conditions and ideologies that promote terrorism do not find fertile ground in any nation,"
- "Diminishing the underlying conditions that spawn terrorism by enlisting the international community to focus its efforts and resources on areas most at risk".
- "Using effective public diplomacy to promote the free flow of information and ideas to kindle the hopes and aspirations of freedom of those in societies ruled by the sponsors of global terrorism" (Bush, 2002).

Among the reasons advanced for Africa's rise in strategic value are the continent's natural resources. In some cases, Africa will be as important a source for U.S. energy imports as the Middle East (Lake and Whitman, 2006:9). Equally important, as the human security deterioration in Darfur bear witness, certain elements within Africa continue to "test the resolve of the international community and the U.S. to prevent mass killings and genocide."(Lake and Whitman, 2006:5). The U.S. national policy edicts in recent years reflect Africa's rise in strategic import. In July 2003, the President's African Policy stated that "promise and opportunity sit side by side with disease, war, and desperate poverty" and that this "threatens both a core value of the US--preserving human dignity—and our strategic priority—combating global terror" (Bush quoted in Penn, 2008:118). In 2003, President Bush launched the President's

Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR)¹⁰⁹, which was then the largest single effort by any nation targeting a specific disease. The program sought to establish and scale up HIV/AIDS prevention, care and treatment programs. According to the PEPFAR program website, “during its first phase, PEPFAR supported the provision of treatment to more than two million people, care to more than 10 million people, including more than four million orphans and vulnerable children, and prevention of mother-to-child treatment services” (El-Sadr et al, 2012). Under President Bush, this program was criticized for its emphasis on abstinence based prevention, but on the whole this initiative was an unprecedented attack against the AIDS pandemic (see www.pepfar.gov).

Still prompted by the events of 9/11, the US Congress sponsored an African policy review in 2004, taking into account the special humanitarian, security and developmental needs of Africans. This review was conducted by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies and overseen by Secretary Powell (Kansteiner and Morrison, 2004:np). The Policy review identified five factors that had shaped the US interests in Africa over the preceding decade (Ibid). These factors are violent extremism, strategic natural resources and growing African market, China’s growing influence in the continent, porous maritime security and ungoverned space. In line with this policy directives, President Bush in 2004, replaced ACRI with the Africa Contingency Operations Training Assistance (ACOTA)¹¹⁰, which focused on training trainers and on programs tailored to individual country needs. ACOTA, like its predecessor, was based on bilateral agreements between the United States and recipient states, but it also allowed for the possibility of support to regional and sub-regional organizations. Perhaps ACOTA’s most significant innovations were the

¹⁰⁹ The U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) is the U.S. Government initiative to help save the lives of those suffering from HIV/AIDS around the world. This historic commitment is the largest by any nation to combat a single disease internationally, and PEPFAR investments also help alleviate suffering from other diseases across the global health spectrum. PEPFAR is driven by a shared responsibility among donor and partner nations and others to make smart investments to save lives. PEPFAR is the cornerstone and largest component of the U.S. President’s Global Health Initiative. With a special focus on improving the health of women, newborns and children, the Global Health Initiative’s goal is to save the greatest number of lives by increasing and building upon what works and, then, supporting countries as they work to improve the health of their own people.

¹¹⁰ The mission of Africa Contingency Operations Training & Assistance (ACOTA) is to enhance the capacities and capabilities of its African Partner Countries, regional institutions, and the continent’s peacekeeping resources as a whole so that they can plan for, train, deploy, and sustain sufficient quantities of professionally competent peacekeepers to meet conflict transformation requirements with minimal non-African assistance.

inclusion of training for offensive military operations and the provision of weaponry to undertake these operations, although there is no evidence that any of the weaponry had been delivered by the end of 2008. The inclusion of offensive training in ACOTA can be explained by the trend towards more robust peace operations. Unlike previous programmes, ACOTA also moved away from the 'one size fits all' approach. Under this initiative, training modules have been tailored to suit each recipient state, thereby taking into consideration the varied needs among African countries (Hardy, 2005:43-4). But the absence of uniformed US personnel in implementing the training programmes has been a major shortcoming. Some recipient states have objected to working with private security firms.

In 2005, President Bush targeted another deadly disease with the launch of the President's Malaria Initiative (PMI)¹¹¹. The PMI had the initial goal of reducing malaria-related deaths by 50 percent in 15 focus countries. Malaria places a huge burden on Africans, causing millions of adult deaths every year and significant reductions in productivity. Results on the PMI website show that the program has major effect in reducing prevalence of malaria, child mortality and related deaths (www.pmi.gov). The Bush administration's African foreign policy did not stop with health initiatives. Bush led the push for the G-8 nations to demand the multi-lateral debt relief initiative (MDRI)¹¹², which encouraged the IMF, World Bank and the U.S. to reduce the debt burden of highly indebted poor countries. According to the African Development Bank, as of 2009 the MDRI relieved debt for 21 African countries (www.afdb.org/en/about-us/africa-development-fund-adf/debt-relief-initiatives/). In 2004, Bush also successfully passed reforms that converted poor country debt into grants (Engler, 2005:np). Additionally, Bush tackled security issues. The US President was one of the first world leaders to label the conflict in

¹¹¹ Launched in 2005, the President's Malaria Initiative (PMI) strives to reduce the intolerable burden of malaria and help relieve poverty on the African continent. The goal of PMI is to reduce malaria-related deaths by 50 percent in 19 countries in Africa that have a high burden of malaria by expanding coverage of four highly effective malaria prevention and treatment measures, especially to the most vulnerable populations: pregnant women and children under five years of age. These interventions include insecticide-treated mosquito nets (ITNs), indoor residual spraying (IRS) with insecticides, intermittent preventive treatment for pregnant women (IPTp), and prompt use of artemisinin-based combination therapies (ACTs) for those who have been diagnosed with malaria.

¹¹² The Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI) provides for 100 percent relief on eligible debt from three multilateral institutions to a group of low-income countries. The initiative is intended to help them advance toward the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which are focused on halving poverty by 2015.

South Sudan genocide. Although Bush received criticism for not recognizing the indictment of Omar al-Bashir by the International Criminal Court, he did put in place sanctions on oil coming from the Republic of Sudan in order to pressure a peace deal (Congressional Record, V. 152, Pt. 14, September, 2006).

In 2006, President Bush released another National Security Strategy (NSS)¹¹³. In the preamble, he begins portentously and controversially:

America is at war. This is a wartime national security strategy required by the grave challenge we face—the rise of terrorism fuelled by an aggressive ideology of hatred and murder, fully revealed to the American people on September 11, 2001. This strategy reflects our most solemn obligation: to protect the security of the American people (White House, National Security Strategy, 2006:1).

Here, the President clearly states that the current war is not the prototype of inter-State war, but rather of what he has called the on-going “war on terror”, or as the Pentagon has more recently called it, the “long war”. The assertion that there is an on-going war leads the President to repeat the controversial legal claims on the use of force made earlier in the 2002 National Security Strategy, and in particular to a reaffirmation of the Bush doctrine of pre-emptive self-defence. In the body of the strategic document, the imperativeness of Africa to US interests was clearly stated:

Africa holds growing geo-strategic importance and is a high priority of the Administration... The United States recognizes that our security depends upon partnering with Africa to strengthen fragile and failing states and bring ungoverned areas under the control of effective democracies (White House, U.S.NSS 16th March, 2006).

This proclamation differed markedly from the 2002 NSS which placed little priority on Africa other than to emphasize that Africa is a burden on America and its European allies (White House, U.S.NSS 30th September, 2002). Given this

¹¹³ The National Security Strategy is a document prepared periodically by the executive branch of the government of the United States for Congress which outlines the major national security concerns of the United States and how the administration plans to deal with them. The legal foundation for the document is spelled out in the Goldwater-Nichols Act. The document is purposely general in content (contrast with the National Military Strategy, NMS) and its implementation relies on elaborating guidance provided in supporting documents (including the NMS).

significant boost to Africa's position within Bush's second administration, the announcement of AFRICOM was more than a simple administrative exercise to correct the untidiness of the boundary arrangements and put right the disjointed approach the continent had thus far suffered, but reflected the growing strategic importance of Africa within the spectrum of US vital interests. On 10 July 2007 the Deputy Commander of EUCOM, General William E Ward, and an African-American was nominated by President Bush to be the first Commander of AFRICOM (Volman, 2009:45).

5.2.11 President Obama's foreign policy toward Africa

On assumption of office in 2009, President Obama inherited a complex legacy from his predecessor. On the positive side there had been significant increases in US financial assistance through PEPFAR, MCC and other aid and development programmes, a growing awareness of the strategic importance of Africa to the US and the need to build closer government-to-government relationships with African states. However the Bush security agenda, not least the creation of AFRICOM, had awakened long held suspicions of a return to a neo-colonialist or Cold War style interference by the US which was perceived as a threat to the growing sense of confidence amongst African leaders to determine the future of their continent without outside interference (Vines and Cargill, 2010:54).

On his first trip to Africa in July 2009 Obama sought to reassure when speaking to the Ghanaian Parliament "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"(Obama, July 11th,2009)¹¹⁴. Obama pledged to make Africa a higher priority and to base policy less heavily on power and more on principles, prosperity and peace (Bullock, 2010:61). The fact that both President Obama and Secretary of State Clinton went to Africa in the first year of the administration, the first time this has ever happened, provided substantiation for the administration's claim of higher priority (Jentleson, 2010:392). The rebalancing of the US approach to Africa focussed on putting the State Department's understaffed, under-resourced and under-valued Africa Bureau back on track and back in charge,

¹¹⁴ Obama, B. 2009. Obama's Speech in Ghana: President addresses the Ghanaian Parliament in Accra. Washington DC: Office of the Press Secretary, The White House, July, 11.

able to provide the coordination and oversight of the myriad of initiatives and US agencies with an interest in Africa. In addition experienced ‘Africa-hands’ were placed in senior positions in the State Department. Notably, Susan Rice, who had served as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs under President Clinton, was appointed as the US Ambassador to the UN (Ibid).

In April 2010 the Obama administration launched the first ever high-level bilateral talks with the AU, with Secretary Clinton and the National Security Advisor General Jim Jones hosting the event in Washington DC. US Attorney General Eric Holder followed up on this initiative by addressing the AU summit in Kampala¹¹⁵. In May 2010, President Obama signed into law the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) Disarmament and Northern Uganda Recovery Act. According to the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. strategy aims to assist the governments of Uganda, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and South Sudan, as well as the African Union and United Nations to “mitigate and end the threat posed to civilians and regional stability by the LRA¹¹⁶.” (Whitehouse gov., 2010).

The strategy outlines four key objectives for U.S. support:

- increased protection of civilians
- the apprehension or removal of Joseph Kony and senior LRA commanders from the battlefield
- the promotion of defections and support of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of remaining LRA fighters
- It also requires President Obama to develop a comprehensive, multilateral strategy to protect civilians in central Africa from LRA attacks and take steps to permanently stop the rebel group's violence

¹¹⁵ AFRICAN UNION SUMMIT: Attorney General Eric H. Holder delivered remarks to the AU Summit Kampala. He praised the work of the body, saying, "President Obama recognizes the growing importance of the African Union; he understands that a stronger Africa means a stronger America; and he appreciates the work that you are leading to strengthen political and economic cooperation across this continent."

¹¹⁶ The Lord’s Resistance Army Disarmament and Northern Uganda Recovery Act was a 2010 act of Congress promoted by the Obama administration that makes it American policy to kill or capture Joseph Kony and to crush his Lord's Resistance Army rebellion. According to the President, "the legislation crystallizes the commitment of the United States to help bring an end to the brutality and destruction that have been a hallmark of the LRA across several countries for two decades, and to pursue a future of greater security and hope for the people of central Africa

- The provision of continued humanitarian relief to affected communities.

Obama's debut National Security Strategy published in May 2010 made much of the significance of Africa to America's interests emphasizing the importance of long-term development, control of epidemic disease and improving the resilience of the poorest states to the effects of climate change and strengthen food security (NSS, 2010:35). The NSS also stressed the requirement to provide support to help African states improve the capacity of their security and rule of law sectors and the clear statement that the US intended to meet any attempts by al-Qaeda or its terrorist affiliates to establish safe havens in 'At-Risk States' with "growing pressure" naming Somalia, the Maghreb and the Sahel as areas of existing concern. A central theme of the NSS was the importance of "Strengthening the National Capacity" through "A Whole of Government Approach" reinforcing one of the original premises for the creation of AFRICOM (White House:NSS, 2010:14). In August 2010 during the ninth AGOA Forum On US-sub-Saharan Africa Trade and Economic Cooperation, a new partnership agreement was signed between the AU and USAID to advance prosperity, peace and stability (White House: President's Engagement in Africa, 2010).

According to the then AFRICOM commander, General Carter F. Ham, the U.S. military contributions to countering the LRA are "best done through support, advising and assistance, rather than U.S. military personnel in the lead actually conducting the operations to try to find Kony and capture him"¹¹⁷. We are an enabling force to facilitate and advance the capabilities of the African forces." (See: <https://africom.wordpress.com/2012/03/23/q-and-a-africom-general-carter-ham>). The US military role is in support of a combined effort that involves the U.S. embassies in the affected countries, U.S. Agency for International Development's programs, as

¹¹⁷ In accordance with the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) Disarmament and Northern Uganda Recovery Act, Obama's administration deployed approximately 100 U.S. military personnel in 2011, to forward locations with the national militaries of the region, living and working side-by-side with their military peers as guests in African camps run by African security officials. Their mission is focused on finding ways to enable Uganda, CAR, DRC, and South Sudan to more effectively collaborate, coordinate and synchronize their efforts to remove the threat of the LRA . The U.S. advisors seek to strengthen cooperation among the national militaries, assist them to collaborate more effectively, and enhance their capacity to improve operational planning. The number of the US military personnel was later increased to 300.

well as contributions from nongovernmental organizations. The collective intent is to supplement host nation efforts with advice and assistance that maximizes the flow of information to, and synchronizes the activities of, host nation efforts. U.S. military forces can enable intelligence fusion, facilitate more efficient means for delivering and managing logistics, and offer improved staff coordination capabilities¹¹⁸.

In June 2012, President Obama approved Presidential policy directives that outline his vision for sub-Saharan Africa. The stated pillars of the United States (US) strategy towards Africa are to strengthen democratic institutions, to spur economic growth, trade and investment, advancement of peace and security and, the promotion of opportunities and development by promoting food security and transforming Africa's public health system (U.S. STRATEGY TOWARD SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, 2012)¹¹⁹. The achievement of these stated goals is incumbent on the third goal which AFRICOM is expected to spearhead.

5.3 U.S. strategic interests in Africa

Various factors have been identified as the major drivers of U.S. policy toward Africa. Scholars like Klare (2004), Ploch (2009), Burgess (2008), Esterhuysen (2008), Forest and Crispin (2009) and Keenan (2010) have all concurred that factors such as violent extremism, terrorism, strategic minerals, global trade, China's growing influence and maritime security are significantly responsible for the renewed U.S. impetus in the continent.

5.3.1 Strategic minerals and global trade

For centuries, African continent have been viewed by Western governments and business interests as a source of natural resources ripe for extraction. While states and other dominant actors in the global North have made linking the exploitation of

¹¹⁸ President Obama sends more Special Operations forces and aircraft to Uganda to aid in the search for African warlord Joseph Kony in central Africa. U.S. personnel will provide only information, advice, and assistance to the African Union military task force that is looking for Kony and members of his organization, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). The new aid includes at least four CV-22 Ospreys, and some 150 Air Force Special Operations members and other airmen to fly and maintain the aircraft, reports The York Times, March 23, 2014 ppA7.

¹¹⁹ The new U.S. Strategy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa provides a proactive and forward looking vision grounded in partnership. The new strategy sets forth four strategic objectives, and commits the United States to elevate its efforts on the first two of these four pillars: strengthening democratic institutions and spurring economic growth, trade and investment. See <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/06/14/fact-sheet-new-strategy-toward-sub-saharan-africa>

the region's unmatched natural wealth to human development a public relations standard practice, the economic benefits of mining and other resource industries still flow overwhelmingly away from the African (Bullock, 2010:37). Whatever the public rhetoric, U.S. policymakers consider resource extraction an issue of geopolitical security. Unfettered access by U.S.-based companies and multinational corporations to minerals such as uranium, diamonds, gold, bauxite and copper is considered a vital "strategic" interest. Although Africa is rich in these and other elements, the most coveted natural resource on the continent, without a doubt, is oil. With large reservoirs of high quality "sweet" crude found especially in countries around the Gulf of Guinea, Africa has risen rapidly as a U.S. national security priority. The view that access to African oil must be advanced as a "vital interest" of the U.S. was first publicly developed in a 2002 white paper produced by the oil business experts, consultants and U.S. policymakers making up the African Oil Policy Initiative Group (AOPIG)¹²⁰, a project of the neo-conservative "Jerusalem" based think tank, of the Institute for Advanced Strategic and International studies (Crawley, 2003).

The AOPIG's report argues that "African oil is not an end but a means: to both greater U.S. energy security and more rapid African economic development." The AOPIG's first proposal for African energy security is the expanded pursuit by "participating companies" of "all the oil available in the region." Among its policy recommendations to this end are expanded land privatization, debt cancellation highly conditioned upon free market structural reforms and the establishment of a regional unified U.S. military command for the African continent (Johnson, 2002:5). Subsequently, the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Walter Kansteiner, said, African oil is of national strategic interest to the United States, and it will increase and become more important as we go forward (Crawley, 2002). The former

¹²⁰ The African Oil Policy Initiative Group, a lobby group comprising oilmen and various arms of the US government, has urged the Bush administration to declare the Gulf of Guinea, the epicentre of the region's offshore oil wealth and expected to become the world's leading deepwater oil production centre within 5-10 years, "an area of vital interest" to the US. US steps up Africa campaign, US Undersecretary of State for African Affairs, Walter Kansteiner, concedes that West Africa "has become a strategic interest" and the African Oil Policy Initiative Group (AOPIG) has been set up to bring together US government and private sector interests (Kansteiner and Morrison quoted in Ploch, 2010).

US Ambassador to Chad asserts that for the first time, the U.S national interest and that of Africans are converging (Klare and Volman, 2006:108).

According to 2011 U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA) data, Sub-Saharan Africa and North Africa accounted for about 12 percent of U.S. oil imports (Ghazvinian, 2007). In October 2007, U.S. oil imports from Africa for the first time surpassed those from the Middle East and this figure is projected to increase to 25 percent by the year 2025. The U.S considerable interest in African oil particularly in gulf of Guinea has been influenced by a number of factors (Cohen and Rafal, 2007). Proximity to the United States, high quality, and low sulphur content make African oil an attractive source of energy to the United States, and it should be even more so in the future (National Intelligence Council, 2004).

Besides oil, trade between the US and Africa has increased significantly since 1990 and the emergence of a significant African voting bloc in the World Trade Organization (WTO) which held a third of the votes is a new factor that could impact US worldwide trading interests both positively and negatively (Bullock, 2010:19). Countries like Angola and Algeria were and continue to be significant suppliers to the US with Nigeria the largest African supplier providing nearly 10% of the US requirement (US Department of Energy, 2011). However, the US government plan to replace 75 percent of its oil imports from the Middle East by 2025 has suffered setback as a result of instability, including attacks on pipelines and oil facilities in the Niger Delta periodically reduce output by over 25% with consequent effects on World Oil prices. The oil theft and piracy in the gulf of Guinea and insurgencies in the Sahel coupled with Islamist militarism have aggravated the situation creating humanitarian catastrophes (Ploch, 2011:16-18).

5.3.2 Violent extremism and terrorism

One of the fundamental challenges facing Africa in the post-Cold War era is upsurge in violent extremism/terrorism. The sharp increase in terrorist activities is a result of many factors. Africa was a recruiting ground for jihadists during the Soviet-Afghanistan war. By the end of the war, hundreds of North and West Africans who were recruited during the 1979-1989 jihads against the Soviet in Afghanistan started returning home. The arrival of these “Afghan Arabs” to their countries of origin

infused burgeoning local Islamist groups, such as the Algerian Armed Islamic Group (GIA), and the Nigerian Taliban which has metastasized to Boko Haram with an uncompromising radical outlook, coupled with a set of external connections and expertise (Hunt, 2007:32). This upsurge had led to significant increase of terrorist activity. The litany of transnational terrorist activities by al-Qaeda-affiliated groups in Africa, including social conflicts in which combatants or militants use terrorist tactics, underscores the presence of local, regional, and worldwide terrorism on the African continent.

Such activities range from the terrorist attacks on the U.S. embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya in 1998; Casablanca, Morocco in 2003 and 2007; Uganda and re-occurring attacks in Kenya. In addition, challenges posed in Nigeria by the dreaded Boko Haram Islamists in the north and militant groups in the south-south and al-Shabaab militancy in Somalia return focus towards the African continent. There is on-going concern about the activities of al-Qaeda and its franchises on the continent. The vast majority of African Moslems do not adhere to Salafist Islam. Many deliberately hold themselves apart from what they consider to be radical tendencies in the “East,” including Saudi Arabia. Nevertheless, sub-Saharan Africa has not been entirely insulated from trends elsewhere in the Middle East. Islamic revivalism has been on the upswing since the 1970, and in the past two decades political Islam has become a popular vehicle of opposition to increasingly undemocratic and corrupt regimes. External sponsorship of mosques, religious schools, and scholarships for locals to study religion in countries such as Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Iran has helped conservative strands of Islam gain a foothold (Ibid).

This influence has been particularly evident in countries like Mauritania and Nigeria that lack a strong central government or have a less rigidly doctrinal tradition of Islam. Simultaneously, the global audience and appeal of al-Qaeda’s message have dramatically expanded since the September 11 attacks resulting in exponential growth in the number of adherents to al-Qaeda’s ideology. Although virulent anti-Americanism has been notably absent in North Africa traditionally, the U.S. invasion of Iraq and one-sided media coverage of American detention and interrogation policies have lent credence in the region to the al-Qaeda narrative, which seeks to

portray isolated American actions as a coordinated war against Islam (Hunt, 2007:39). Together, these trends have created a current of cultural Islamization and on the margins have increased al-Qaeda's attraction among certain segments. The al-Qaeda leadership has pursued a strategy of feeding on local grievances, supporting many local causes that have little to do with Islam, integrating them into broader ideologies, and linking disparate conflicts through globalized communications, finance and technology (Kilcullen, 2004:16). These aggrieved and disenchanting groups in the wider global jihad will subsequently be unleashed against Western interests.

The strategy's success has been demonstrated by a series of attacks in some African countries that are considered to be US partners such as Nigeria, Kenya, Mali, Morocco, Algeria, Uganda etc (Kansteiner and Morrison, 2004:122). Despite many successful host nation security efforts and U.S.-supported military interventions against these aforementioned groups (among others), terrorists or violent extremists continue to function actively in Africa. It is argued that Africa's vast ungoverned spaces, including porous borders in Northern Africa, the Trans-Saharan region and Somalia, especially badly governed areas or those with the lack of state capacity or political will to exercise control elsewhere, offer sanctuary to extremists and insurgent groups to recruit, indoctrinate, train, equip, transit, and mount operations including smuggle and traffic in drugs, persons and weapons (U.S.DoS, 2007:12). The Trans-Saharan region's remoteness and harsh desert climate discourage effective assertion of central government control. As such, terrorist organizations are constantly on the move in the area, but they maintain less permanent facilities and a more small scale presence in sparsely populated areas (Zaied, 2009:41).

For example, Groupe salafiste pour la prédication et le combat (GSPC) focused its major attacks on Algeria; it continued to operate almost uninterrupted in the vast ungoverned Sahel region, crossing difficult-to-patrol borders between Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Algeria, and Chad to recruit extremists within the region for training and terrorist operations in the Trans-Sahara and, possibly, for operations outside the region (U.S.DoS, 2007:13). Similarly, the large areas in Somalia where the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) lacks capacity to exercise control offers

uninterrupted sanctuary to al Shabaab to focus on carrying out attacks against Somali citizens (Ibid).

5.3.3 China's growing Influence

China is perhaps the fastest growing energy consumer in the world; in 2003 China passed Japan to become the world's number two consumer of petroleum behind the United States (Wonacott, 2003:31). Once self-sufficient in petroleum production, China now imports 3.7 million b/d of oil from its daily consumption of 7.5 million b/d (USCC, 2007). During the last five years, energy demand growth has been, on average, 13 percent per year (USCC, 2007). This trend is likely to continue. Manufacturing accounts for 60 percent of energy consumption in China and 28 percent of that is from the fast growing iron and steel sector (USCC, 2007). Lax environmental standards, government subsidies and its innate profitability will likely ensure little change of this consumption pattern. Moreover, affluence will drive an upsurge in transportation related petroleum consumption. Vehicle ownership in China is expected to reach 140 million by 2020, a significant increase from the 25 million vehicle owners in 2007. By 2025 as China's population increases another 123 million people, total oil consumption will be over 14 million b/d and China will likely import an additional 7.2 million b/d of foreign oil (Hughes and Bankus, 2009). The source of China's oil imports is, therefore, of significant strategic importance and a focal point for China's state owned energy companies and its diplomatic corps. The politically unstable Middle East, led by Saudi Arabia, Iran and Oman, accounts for 44 percent of China's oil imports. Africa, led by Angola is the second largest single source of Chinese oil supply. South Sudan and Nigeria account for 32 percent of oil imports. Additionally, Russia supplies 11 percent of Chinese oil imports, via rail (International Energy Agency, 2007).

Africa, with over 120 billion barrels of petroleum reserves, remains strategically imperative to China's growing economy. China's mineral import diplomacy has also benefitted African countries substantially. China's state enterprises identify states with significant natural resource reserves and work closely with Chinese diplomats to design an engagement program with apropos economic and diplomatic benefits. China's African Policy is rooted in development and "mutually beneficial cooperation" (People's Republic of China, 2006). A natural ally based on its long-

term role as champion of the developing world, China can offer debt forgiveness, bilateral trade agreements, development packages, and grant aid. China often packages its diplomatic, defense, and development aid into synchronized and synergistic offerings. Unlike the United States, which ties its developmental aid to democratic reforms, fiscal transparency, and human rights, China insists only upon the isolation of Taiwan. The pursuit of this overriding objective is unambiguous and explicit: “The One China principle is the political foundation for the establishment of China’s relations with African countries and regional organizations” (People’s Republic of China, 2006). China explains this One China concept as a respect for African states’ autonomy in creating their own development programs, and a desire for their support in establishing a “new and rational economic order” (Cook, 2008, 106).

China’s provision of massive amounts of aid and direct foreign investment to Africa was viewed by some experts as a threat to US Security as China’s influence as competing power could lessen the influence of the US in Africa (Chau, 2007:18). Chinese direct investment in Africa had grown dramatically from about US\$50 million annually between the mid-1990s and 2002 to US\$100 million in 2003 and US\$430 million in 2004. In addition to providing direct investment, China also cancelled in excess of US\$10 billion in bilateral trades from African countries (Hanson, 2008).

During his February 2008 visit to Ghana in response to a question from the press about the increasing role of China in Africa President Bush remarked “...inherent in your question is that I view China as a fierce competitor on the continent of Africa – no I don’t” (White House Press Office, February 20th, 2008). Nevertheless there were those within the US government and influential Washington think-tanks who were becoming increasingly alarmed by the growing efforts of the Chinese to widen access to Africa’s resources and increased economic and political influence across the continent. The fact that China had invested considerable resources and engaged at the highest levels including visits by President Hu Jintao and Prime Minister Wen Jiabao was cited as evidence of a Chinese ‘Grand Strategy’ that would undermine US security interests in Africa (Bullock, 2010:56). Another and more longstanding aspect of Chinese assistance to the African continent comes in the form of medical

assistance. Sometimes called “Health Diplomacy,” teams of Chinese doctors have been rendering medical aid on the continent since 1964 to complement regular medical personnel exchanges and technical training for medical professionals. China’s medical assistance to Africa has also produced a robust program for the prevention of infectious diseases to include malaria and HIV/AIDS. This assistance includes training seminars and conferences, and supplying entire medical units as part of their military contingent to UN peacekeeping operations on the continent (Hughes and Bankus, 2009:5).

5.3.4 Maritime security in Africa

Maritime security is an amorphous focus area. According to Potgieter (2009:7), Maritime security is concerned with preventing illicit activities in the maritime domain. It could be directly linked to a specific country and national security efforts, but it can also include regional or international efforts to enforce maritime security.

Africa’s maritime domain at different period in its history has been attractive to a variety of external interests. During the colonial era and the subsequent Cold War era, the Gulf of Aden, Gulf of Guinea, Suez Canal and the Persian peninsula were hotbeds for superpower rivalries and channels through which natural resources were transported to Europe. In this contemporary period, Africa’s vast natural resources and revenues from it coupled with the growing population and the expanding market have once again raised the continent’s profile in the geopolitics of world resource endowment. The maritime security off Africa is an important issue to the US, EU, and NATO. The Horn of Africa is a choke point for shipping as the internationally important and busy maritime trade routes around it link the Indian Ocean to the Suez Canal. However, these routes are seriously threatened due the dire security situation in the Horn of African region. For over three decades, peace and stability have evaded the region as countries in the region have been ravaged by conflict. The Cold War interests of the Super Powers added to the turbulence of the region as these conflicts became interrelated, with factions in various countries obtaining and providing support across national borders (Oyebade and Olao, 1998:162). Djibouti, bordering Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea, is strategically located on the busy shipping lane through the Bab al Mandeb Strait, linking the Red Sea with the Gulf of Aden and is a transshipment location for imports and exports of the East African highlands

(Potgieter, 2009:8). With utter civil lawlessness in the region's coast, banditry, piracy, abduction and oil theft have become the order of the day while policing along the coast and harbours disappeared (Meredith, 2005:469). For example, between early 2005 and April 2006 45 attempted hijackings and 19 successful hijackings took place around Somalia (UK Maritime Trade Operations, 21 September, 2006).

According to the International Maritime Bureau, during the first nine months of 2007, 36 actual and attempted pirate attacks were recorded in the seas around the Horn of Africa (off the coasts of Somalia, Djibouti and Yemen). Most of these attacks (26) were off the coast of Somalia. It is 18% of the international total and more than doubles the figure for the same period 2006 (OXFAM, 19 November, 2007). Hijacking ships for ransom is the most common form of piracy and of the 29 attempted hijackings between January and September 2007, nine were successful. The increase in piracy is ascribed to the fact that coastal and port surveillance are virtually completely absent, the defeat of the UIC in December 2006, and the poverty and desperation of the Somali people (Ibid). Between January and June 2009, Africa ranked higher with about 66 percent of the world's 240 reported incidents. The Gulf of Aden had 86 incidents, and became the world's epicenter for maritime piracy and armed robbery at sea. Other places in Africa are Somalia – 44 incidents, Red Sea – 14 incidents, and Nigeria – 13 incidents, including Tanzania and Kenya. Despite the strong international naval presence along the transit corridor in the Gulf of Aden and elsewhere around East Africa, pirates have conducted attacks beyond the 200 nautical miles (n miles) Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). For example, one incident occurred on November 29, 2009 at about 800 n miles off the Somali coast where pirates hijacked Maran Centaurus, a Greek-flagged very large crude carrier (VLCC) containing two million barrels worth \$162 million. About \$7 million in ransom was paid for the release of the vessel and hostages and with the availability of this ill-gotten money, weapons and private armies among others become easily funded (Coolman and Mohamed, 2010). Also, the international shipping industry becomes affected thanks to high- risk insurance premiums, among other costs. Oil theft and oil infrastructure sabotage are also a significant feature in the resource-laden GoG, particularly in the Nigeria's Niger Delta area. The oil is stolen by criminals either attacking secondary pipelines to the main pipelines of an oil company, blowing-up

pipelines, or through connivance with government and oil company officials. According to the UN Office of Drug and Crime (UNODC), about 10 percent of oil in Nigeria is stolen every year, reducing the production capacity to about two thirds when sabotage and violence are included (Aning and Pokoo, 2013). The result is an upward surge in oil prices, including pollution of the waterways by spillages caused by sabotage. In addition, as with piracy, criminals acquire sophisticated weapons with which to challenge the security agencies. These activities destabilize the economy of the region.

5.4 The emergence of USAFRICOM

An Integrated Process Team (IPT) consisting of representatives from the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD), the Joint Staff, State Department and USAID, was formed and met for the first time in November 2006 (Forest and Crispin, 2009:8). In late December 2006 rumours circulating about the prospects of a new command were confirmed, albeit inadvertently, by the then US Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Mike Mullen when he mentioned the issue during a visit to US Navy personnel in Naples “The President, on the 15th of December, made the decision to stand Africa Command up”(Schogol, 2006: 29). The White House remained silent on the issue until 6 February 2007 when President Bush announced the formation of a tenth COCOM to be called Africa Command (AFRICOM), with Initial Operating Capability (IOC) 1 October 2007 as a subordinate command under EUCOM and Full Operating Capability (FOC) 1 October 2008 as a standalone COCOM. AFRICOM have responsibility for the entire African Continent with the exception of Egypt which remains within CENTCOM’s area owing to the country’s importance to the Middle East. Bush highlighted a number of apparently uncharacteristic non-military features in his statement announcing the new Command “...promote our common goals of development, health, education, democracy, and economic growth in Africa.”(White House 6th February, 2007).

5.4.1 AFRICOM’s stated mission and objectives

AFRICOM’s mission statement, as approved by the U.S. Secretary of Defense, states that United States Africa Command, in concert with other US government agencies and international partners, conducts sustained security engagement through military-

to-military programs, military-sponsored activities, and other military operations as directed to promote a stable and secure African environment in support of US foreign policy (Secretary of Defense May 2008). Since the creation of AFRICOM in February 2007, its mission statement has gone through several iterations and modifications that ranged in emphasis from humanitarian-oriented activities to more traditional military programs (<http://www.africom.mil.asp>). Arguably, these changes were as a result of concerns raised that AFRICOM would engage in activities that are traditionally the mission of civilian agencies and NGOs, including assuming leadership over directing all USG efforts, as well as concerns about militarization of U.S. foreign policy. So far, the current mission statement has stood the test of time. AFRICOM's primary aim in accordance with U.S. foreign policy and national security objectives is, to advance the United States' national interest in the continent of Africa by strengthening the defense capabilities of African partners so that they are increasingly capable of providing for their own defense and contributing more broadly to regional stability and security. According to General Ham, the US is convinced that when African nations are increasingly stable and secure, conflict is deterred; the opportunities for economic growth, the development of good governance, the provision of humanitarian needs are best able to occur (AFRICOM, 2009:10). Specifically, AFRICOM's theatre strategic objectives are to:

- Defeat the Al-Qaeda terrorist organizations and its associated networks
- Ensure peace operations capacity exists and continental peace support operations effectively fulfill mission requirements
- Cooperate with identified African states in the creation of an environment inhospitable to the unsanctioned possession and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) capabilities and expertise
- Improve security sector governance and increased stability through military support to comprehensive, holistic, and enduring USG efforts in designated states; and
- Protect populations from deadly contagions (AFRICOM, 2010:31).

5.4.2 AFRICOM's organizational structure

As earlier noted, from inception, AFRICOM was structured with a greater interagency involvement and coordination with the DoS, USAID, and other

government agencies, including a larger non-DoD civilian staff, than has been traditional with other COCOM's. The organizational structure establishes the chain of command from which information and decision making flows, and also indicates the flow of tasking and operational control to the Commander. Below the position of the AFRICOM Commander, are the Deputies to the Commander for Civil-Military Activities (DCMA) and for Military Operations (DCMO). The DCMA is a non-DoD civilian (a Senior Foreign Service Officer) who directs AFRICOM's civil-military plans and programs in support of other U.S. agencies' activities, including policy development, resourcing, program assessment, and implementation of various security cooperation initiatives consistent with U.S. foreign policy objectives. The DCMO is the DCMA's military equivalent, responsible for the implementation and execution of the command's military-to-military programs and operations. While both Deputies exercise supervisory authority for the civilian and military personnel in their respective offices, the DCMO will also exercise command authority in the Commander's absence (Ploch, 2009:8).

Further down the hierarchy of the organizational structure are the levels of authority and tasking of other personnel including seven Directors who oversee various departments of the command. Other AFRICOM subordinate elements comprise four service component commands: U.S. Army Africa (USARAF) located in Vicenza, Italy; U.S. Naval Forces, Africa (NAVAF) in Naples, Italy; U.S. Air Forces, Africa (AFAFRICA) in Ramstein Air Base, Germany; and U.S. Marine Corps Forces, Africa (MARFORAF) in Stuttgart, Germany; as well as one sub-unified functional command, U.S. Special Operations Command, Africa (SOCAFRICA); and the CJTF-HOA (AFRICOM, 2010:33). These elements contribute to AFRICOM's mission through bilateral and multilateral application of the full spectrum of their forces capabilities, including civil affairs, information operations, crisis response, campaign planning, and conduct of Theatre Security Cooperation (TSC) activities, among others (AFRICOM, 2010:32-36).

Perhaps in line with its unique organizational structure, AFRICOM's decision making and coordination mechanisms are based on variations of simple, divisional, professional, and adhocracy configurations of diverse elements, some of which are permanent, standing, on-call, or ad hoc at different levels of the structure. For

example, the direct supervision and strategic guidance provided by the commander depicts a simple configuration at the AFRICOM headquarters level. The divisional configuration is depicted in the arrangement of the service components, including SOCAFRICA, CJTF- HOA, and other elements that are semiautonomous with the AFRICOM Commander exercising operational control over their activities through their individual commanders (AFRICOM, 2009:31). These components execute their functions based on their expertise and in line with standard operating procedures (SOPs). Professional configuration is expressed by DoD health professionals who rely on their skills for coordination. As for adhococracy, the Civil Affairs assets work in a highly flexible way in meeting new and rapidly changing reconstruction projects to match the desires of host nations. Despite these configurations and coordination mechanisms, the U.S. Ambassador exercises overall leadership and authority, including providing some resources in terms of manpower and funding for the implementation of AFRICOM's activities in each of the partner countries (Ibid).

AFRICOM and its service components have about 4,400 assigned personnel and forces. About 2,400 of these personnel are based in Europe, and the remaining 2,000 personnel (400 staff and 1,600 forces) have been assigned to CJTF HOA in Djibouti. In addition, AFRICOM estimates between 3,500 to 5,000 rotational forces deploy on the continent during a major exercise. In essence, AFRICOM, including the service components, has no assigned forces, but relies on the Global Force Management (GFM) and Request for Forces System (RFS) administered by DoD for any additional forces.

5.4.3 AFRICOM's programs and exercises in Africa

1. At the attainment of Unified Command Status (UCS) in 1st October, 2008, AFRICOM inherited a total of 172 missions, activities, programs and exercises in Africa that had previously been shared by its predecessors (AFRICOM, 2009:5). However, these programs and activities are purported to represent a shift from traditional war fighting toward building the security capacity of partner African militaries to provide security for their own countries and the continent as a whole, which furthers U.S. foreign policy objectives. Some of these programs and activities include U.S. support to countering transnational and extremist threats, Operation

Enduring Freedom Trans- Sahara (OEF-TS), CJTF-HOA, and OOV; Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) under the GPOI; building maritime security capacity through the APS; IMET; Foreign Military Financing (FMF) and Foreign Military Sales (FMS) programs; HIV/AIDS programs, and Humanitarian Assistance (HA) (AFRICOM, 2010:12-31). Some technologies used as integration mechanisms are: controlling management systems (communication systems that connect DoD to DoS and other USG agencies), performance measurement systems for evaluations, resource allocation procedures used to request for forces, and fiscal responsibility processes for contracting office. Other technologies used for its Information Operations including website initiatives such as Maghreb.com and the AFRICOM's OOV to counter extremist messaging. AFRICOM conducts a variety of exercises, operations and security cooperation activities in collaboration with some African states so as to build the capacities of partnering states military forces to effectively address security threats. The programs fall under security cooperation ¹²¹(see <http://www.africom.mil/what-we-do>). This study will briefly highlight some of the operations and exercises under these programs.

5.4.3a Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) program

The Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) program is funded and managed by the U.S. Department of State. The initiative is designed to improve African militaries' capabilities by providing selected training and equipment necessary for multinational peace support operations. U.S. Africa Command supports the ACOTA program by providing military mentors, trainers, and advisors at the request of the State Department. ACOTA provides a full range of peacekeeping training and instruction tailored to match a country's needs and capabilities. The program focuses on sub-Saharan African soldiers from partner nations who are scheduled to participate in a peace support operation or who are designated to be in a standby mode to do so. ACOTA benefits its partners by training African soldiers on

¹²¹ Security Cooperation (SC) is founded on a tradition of cooperation between the United States and other sovereign nations with similar values and interests in order to meet common defense goals. It consists of a group of programs authorized by the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and the Arms Export Control Act, as amended, and related statutes by which the DoD or commercial contractor provide defense articles and services in furtherance of national policies and objectives

topics including convoy escort procedures, refugee management, and small-unit command skills; overseeing exercises for battalion, brigade, and multinational force headquarters personnel; providing equipment to partner nations, including mine detectors, field medical equipment, uniforms, and water purification devices; conducting refresher training periodically to ensure that trained units maintain their capabilities; and training African trainers, who in turn train their own nation's soldiers in peacekeeping skills (Franke, 2007:8-11).

5.4.3b Africa Deployment Assistance Partnership Team (ADAPT)

The Africa Deployment Assistance Partnership Team (ADAPT) is a “Theatre Logistics Engagement Activity” that helps build deployment capacity for African partners who conduct peacekeeping, counterterrorism, or humanitarian relief operations in Africa. Funded by the Department of State, the ADAPT program aims to enhance the projection capabilities of African militaries to support mission requirements. ADAPT works with existing organizations, such as the United Nations and African Standby Forces, and complements other endeavours, such as African Partnership Flight and Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA). Training through ADAPT has resulted in more effective deployments to critical peacekeeping missions, including the African Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), UN Mission in Sudan (UMISS), and the UN Mission in Cote d’Ivoire (UNOCI) (Boutellis and Williams, 2013).

5.4.3c Africa Partnership Station (APS)

Africa Partnership Station (APS) is U.S. Naval Forces Africa’s (NAVAF) flagship maritime security cooperation program. The focus of APS is to build maritime safety and security by increasing maritime awareness, response capabilities and infrastructure. Through APS, U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM) and NAVAF conduct engagement activities with international partners and governmental/non-governmental organizations to enhance African partner nations’ self-sustaining capability to effectively maintain maritime security within their inland waterways, territorial waters, and exclusive economic zones. As a maritime security cooperation program, APS seeks to improve capabilities with partner naval forces using four “pillars” to increase maritime safety and security: Develop Maritime Domain

Awareness—maintaining a clear picture of the maritime environment; Build maritime professionals; Establish maritime infrastructure; Develop response capabilities while building regional integration. These four pillars are addressed through a regional and comprehensive approach (US Africa Command Fact Sheet January, 2012).

5.4.3. d The African Maritime Law Enforcement Partnership (AMLEP) program

The African Maritime Law Enforcement Partnership (AMLEP) program enables African partner nations to build maritime security capacity and improve management of their maritime environment through real world combined law enforcement operations. Typically the operations employ an African host nation's own law enforcement boarding team, along with a U.S. Coast Guard boarding team, operating from a U.S. Coast Guard or U.S. Navy vessel. Many African coastal nations rely on fishing for food and as a significant contributor of revenue and jobs to local economies. Some reports have shown Africa loses upwards of \$1 billion each year to illegal fishing. Trafficking of narcotics, people, and weapons, as well as environmental crimes that take place in African waters negatively impact a nation's economy and stability. AMLEP supports the U.S. foreign policy goals of peace, security, and development by providing direct support to African maritime security forces to build their capacity and assist them in enforcing their national laws¹²².

5.4.3. e The International Military Education and Training (IMET) program

The International Military Education and Training (IMET) program provides funds for international personnel to attend U.S. military professional training programs. The IMET program specifically targets current and future military and civilian leadership in African nations. The overall objective of the IMET program is threefold: to further the goal of regional stability through effective, mutually beneficial military-to-military relations; to provide training that augment the capabilities of participant nations' military forces; and to increase the ability of foreign military and civilian personnel to instill and maintain democratic values. The IMET program exposes foreign students to U.S. professional military organizations

¹²² See: <http://www.africom.mil/what-we-do/security-cooperation-programs/africa-maritime-law-enforcement-partnership-amlep>

and procedures and the manner in which military organizations function under civilian control. The program introduces students to elements of U.S. democracy such as the U.S. judicial system, legislative oversight, free speech, equality issues, and U.S. commitment to human rights. IMET's mandatory English-language proficiency requirement establishes a baseline of communication skills for students to attend courses. Lastly, IMET training graduates fill key leadership positions in military of many African nations (US Africa Command Fact Sheet March 2, 2012).

5.4.3. f National Guard State Partnership programs

The State Partnership Program is a key U.S. security cooperation tool that facilitates cooperation across all aspects of international civil-military affairs and encourages people-to-people ties at the state level. It directly supports DOD objectives and theatre campaign plans by building relationships that enhance global security, understanding and cooperation. There are currently eight State Partnerships between the United States and Africa: California/Nigeria; New York/South Africa; North Carolina/Botswana; North Dakota/Ghana; Michigan/Liberia; Utah (South Carolina)/Morocco; Vermont/Senegal; Wyoming/Tunisia¹²³.

5.4.3. g Pandemic Response Program (PRP)

In partnership with the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), U.S. Africa Command has worked since 2008 to establish a Pandemic Response Program (PRP) aimed at assisting African militaries to develop influenza pandemic response plans that are integrated into their country's overall national response plans. The potential for a pandemic influenza event in Africa is high due to the level of cross-border travel and trade. The healthcare systems within the majority of African nations are vulnerable to any excess capacity that may result from such a pandemic. Militaries can play key roles in the event of a pandemic, working in collaboration with other governmental, non-governmental and international organizations to maintain security provide logistical support for food, medicine and other commodities, maintain communications, and provide augmented medical care. PRP strives to improve the capacity for regional stability in the event of a complex emergency such as a pandemic event. Towards these ends, PRP provides training and

¹²³ See <http://www.africom.mil/newsroom/article/10322/state-partnership-program>

technical assistance and identifies, and at times purchases, limited equipment needed for selected countries.

Although USAID is the U.S. lead agency for the pandemic response preparedness program, Congressional appropriations have also been made available through USAID to enable Department of Defense Combatant Commands (COCOMs) to develop military-to-military engagement programs as a key component of such a response. Military Pandemic Response Plans is a “Country-level” military pandemic response (contingency) plans to support national plans which are developed in coordination with USAID, the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) and other organizations in each country. There is also a “Pandemic Preparedness Training Programs” which involves response training and exercise programs focus on exercising military Pandemic Influenza (PI) response plans, developing military pandemic rapid response teams, training military health personnel in PI control and case management, training military security personnel in quarantine operations, and/or developing military public response campaigns. They also include national, provincial, and regional table-top exercises, in collaboration with appropriate civilian authorities and in coordination with USAID. The program also assists with legal doctrine development, policy, and procedural frameworks to ensure the military plays an appropriate role in the event of a pandemic¹²⁴.

5.4.4 AFRICOM’s activities in Africa

The study briefly examined some of the exercises and activities conducted by AFRICOM. Most of these activities are performed in collaboration with the US-African partners, Western nations and international organizations (Intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations). Below is a list of the activities.

5.4.4a Africa Endeavour

Exercise African Endeavour is a U.S. Africa Command’s annual 10-day communications exercise focuses on interoperability and information sharing among African partners. The first Africa Endeavour was held in 2006 in South Africa. Past exercises have taken place in Nigeria (2008), Gabon (2009), Ghana (2010), The

¹²⁴See <http://www.africom.mil/what-we-do/security-cooperation-programs/pandemic-response-program>

Gambia (2011), Cameroon (2012), Zambia (2013), and Germany (2014)¹²⁵.The exercise's primary objective is to increase the command, control, and communications capacities (C4) of African nations by encouraging interoperable tactics, training, and procedures and creating documented standards that support interoperability. This allows U.S. partner nations to provide critical C4 support to the African Union and African Standby forces involved in humanitarian assistance, disaster relief, peacekeeping missions, etc. Africa Endeavour has trained more than 1,450 communications specialists. Participants in the 2012 exercise, held in Douala, Cameroon, hailed from 36 nations. The 2012 exercise included a public affairs workshop for the first time. Seventeen public affairs officers from 14 nations and the African Union participated in three days of training, then operated as public affairs officers during the exercise scenario¹²⁶.

5.4.4b Exercise Flintlock

Exercise Flintlock is an annual regional exercise among African, Western, and U.S. counterterrorism forces, which has taken place since 2006. It is a Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff-directed and U.S. Africa Command-sponsored. Joint-Special Operations Task Force-Trans Sahara-conducted Special Operations Forces exercise. Occurring in nations across the Sahel region of Africa, the exercises are planned by Special Operations Command-Africa to develop the capacity and collaboration among African security forces to protect civilian populations. Flintlock participation has included ground and air forces from over 16 countries across a broad spectrum of operations. The exercise is designed to foster regional cooperation to enable U.S. African partners to stabilize regions of North and West Africa, reducing sanctuary and support for violent extremist organizations. Exercise Flintlock provides increased interoperability, counterterrorism, and combat skills training while creating a venue for regional engagement among all TSCTP nations. Past participants include Algeria, Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Canada, Tunisia, Italy, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, United Kingdom, and the United States. Flintlock 2014 includes Burkina Faso, Canada, Chad, France, Mauritania, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Senegal, United

¹²⁵See <http://www.africom.mil/newsroom/video/23321/african-endeavor-2014-kicks-off-in-germany>

¹²⁶See <http://www.africom.mil/what-we-do/exercises/africa-endeavor>

Kingdom, the United States and the host nation of Niger. The 3 weeks exercise which started from February 2014 focused on building partner capability to strengthen stability across the Sahel region of Africa (AFRICOM February 24, 2014).

5.4.4c Atlas Accord

Atlas Accord, an annual-joint-aerial-delivery exercise, is hosted by U.S. Army Africa. The exercise brings together U.S. Army personnel with militaries in Africa to enhance air drop capabilities and ensure effective delivery of military resupply materials and humanitarian aid. The 2012 exercise took place in Mali. U. S. service members joined troops from six partner nations with the purpose of sharing their knowledge of aerial resupply and recovery of as part of exercise Atlas Accord 2012 in Mali. During the 2012 exercise, members of the 19th Special Forces Group (Airborne) conducted pathfinder training to locate suitable drop zones, cleared the area to ensure the safety of local residents, marked the drop zones for the aircraft and recovered supplies. The focus of the exercise was to deliver supplies to people who may not have access to normal supply lines due to natural disasters or other difficult circumstances. The pathfinder training during Atlas Accord can potentially help future joint operations between partner nations to deliver humanitarian supplies safely to those in need¹²⁷.

5.4.4d Cutlass Express

Exercise Cutlass Express is an exercise sponsored by U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM), and focuses on addressing piracy through information sharing and coordinated operations among international navies. Cutlass Express 2011 took place at sea in the vicinity of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; Mombasa, Kenya; and Seychelles, with coordination among regional maritime operations centres. Samuel B. Roberts provided at-sea U.S. warship platform participation while several Commander, U.S. Naval Forces Europe and Africa/U.S. 6th Fleet staff personnel also participated as exercise planners and trainers. Exercise Cutlass Express is yet another pillar that demonstrates U.S. and participant-nation commitment to regional stability and maritime security, with participating nations including Djibouti, Mauritius,

¹²⁷See <http://www.africom.mil/what-we-do/exercises/atlas-accord> (accessed 09:34 September 2014).

Mozambique, Tanzania, The Seychelles, Uganda and the United States¹²⁸. In November 18, Maritime forces from East Africa; the United States and European nations concluded exercise Cutlass Express 2013. The objective of the exercise was to increase regional cooperation, Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA)/information sharing, and improve communications and interoperability among participating forces in order to counter piracy and maritime threats¹²⁹.

5.4.4e Eastern Accord

Eastern Accord is a military exercise focusing on humanitarian aid/disaster response with East African nations. The 10-day training exercise, which helps build partnerships with USARAF and the East African military forces, is designed to help USARAF and East African participants improve their capability to respond to regional security threats posed by Violent Extremist Groups and to more effectively counter the associated Violent Extremist Ideology¹³⁰. The 2014 exercise was carried out with the objective of building partnerships with Tanzania and other East African military forces to increase interoperability within East Africa, increase African partner nations' ability to counter violent extremism and to increase the readiness of U.S. forces to operate in austere conditions¹³¹.

5.4.4f Medlite

Medlite is multinational training to enhance medical capabilities and readiness for U.S. and African forces operating in central Africa. Medlite is a U.S. Air Forces Africa exercise conducted in Botswana during Southern Accord, focused on teaching the Botswana medics not only to load patients for aeromedical evacuation, but also to treat them during the flight. The goal of Medlite is to enhance the capabilities of the U.S. and African partners to work together by introducing the U.S. aeromedical evacuation system of patient movement to the Botswana defense force military

¹²⁸See <http://www.africom.mil/what-we-do/exercises/cutlass-express>

¹²⁹See <http://www.africom.mil/newsroom/article/11500/cutlass-express-2013-concludes> : (Accessed 08:43 April 2014).

¹³⁰ <http://www.africom.mil/what-we-do/exercises/eastern-accord>

¹³¹ <http://www.africom.mil/newsroom/article/23853/eastern-accord-15-planning-sets-stage-for-march-start>

medical personnel. The exercise consisted of classroom instruction, an Aeromedical evacuation training scenario and culminated with a mass casualty exercise¹³².

5.4.4g Natural Fire

Natural Fire was first held in Kenya in 1998, with U.S. partnership. Since then, it has been held every two years in East Africa. In 2000, it grew to include Tanzania and Uganda, as well as the U.S. and Kenya -- a significant step for the EAC alliance. In 2006, Natural Fire expanded to include field training and humanitarian assistance. Since then, the exercise has grown to feature five partner states, with the addition of soldiers from Burundi. Exercise In 2010, the exercise involved five East African partner states -- plus partners from the U.S. military -- in October 2009 in northern Uganda. Soldiers from Kenya, Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda and the United States opened the 10-day exercise, which focused on humanitarian and civic assistance, disaster relief and regional security. Roughly 550 U.S. personnel and 133 military personnel from each of the five partner nations took part. Altogether, there were nearly 1,220 participants. U.S. Army Africa, (USARAF), the land component of U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM), is co-leading the exercise with the Ugandan military. USARAF is committed to partnering with African nations to enhance mutual understanding and increase stability, security and peace on the continent¹³³.

5.4.4h Obangame Express

Obangame Express, conducted by U.S. Naval Forces Africa, is an at-sea maritime exercise designed to improve cooperation among participating nations in order to increase maritime safety and security in the Gulf of Guinea. It focuses on maritime interdiction operation, as well as visit, board, search, and seizure techniques. The guided-missile frigate USS Simpson (FFG 56) completed two days of participation for Exercise Obangame Express 2012. For its part in Obangame Express, Simpson acted as a boarding vessel with role players and trainers for teams from five countries - Cameroon, Gabon, Ghana, Sao Tome and Principe, and Spain. U.S. and European partners conduct exercises with North African maritime and land forces to increase regional maritime awareness and improve maritime security in Phoenix Express. It is

¹³² <http://www.africom.mil/newsroom/article/9111/airmen-teach-aeromedical-evacuation-principles-dur>

¹³³ See <http://www.africom.mil/what-we-do/exercises/natural-fire>

one of four African regional "Express" series exercises that are designed to test skills obtained from participating in bilateral and Africa Partnership Station (APS) training in a regional maritime exercise. In 2013, the exercise (OE-13), focused on counter-piracy and maritime security operations wrapped up in the Gulf of Guinea. OE-13 provided African, European and Atlantic partner maritime services the opportunity to work together, share information and refine methods in order to help Gulf of Guinea maritime nations better monitor and enforce their territorial waters and exclusive economic zones. The participants in this exercise conducted training which improved the interoperability between maritime forces of the participating nations, as well as the skills of individual sailors¹³⁴. Maritime partnerships and maritime security and safety are increasingly important in the Gulf of Guinea region to combat a variety of challenges including maritime crime, illicit trafficking and piracy.

5.4.4i Sahara Express

Saharan Express is a maritime training exercise which started in 2012 and was held in Dakar, Senegal. The exercise involves 12 countries' navies, coast guards and army paramedic pre-sail conference and 10 ship commanders. The second phase of the exercise involved 12 nations. These nations are Cape Verde, France, Gambia, Cote d'Ivoire; Liberia, Mauritania, Morocco, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States. This exercise is one of four regional maritime exercises in Africa, an international security cooperation initiative facilitated by Commander, U.S. Naval Forces Europe-Africa. The aim is to strengthen global maritime partnerships through training and collaborative activities to improve maritime safety and security in Africa. The aim of exercise Saharan Express is to develop participant nations' capabilities to monitor and enforce their own territorial waters and exclusive economic zones¹³⁵. Should these participants meet in the future to conduct combined peacekeeping or humanitarian operations, or to counter trafficking in drugs, people, or weapons in the Atlantic Ocean, they will be better able to respond and work together¹³⁶.

¹³⁴ <http://www.africom.mil/newsroom/article/10389/exercise-obangame-express-2013>

¹³⁵ See <http://www.africom.mil/what-we-do/exercises/saharan-express>

¹³⁶ <http://www.africom.mil/newsroom/article/10500/saharan-express-2013-concludes-in-senegal>

5.4.4j Southern Accord

This is a joint exercise intended to enhance U.S. and African forces' capabilities in the areas of humanitarian/disaster relief operations, peacekeeping operations, and aeromedical evacuation in sub-Saharan Africa. The first exercise took place in the Republic of Botswana in 2012, with more than 1,200 military personnel from Botswana and the United States attending the opening ceremony. The ultimate goal was increased cooperation, which will in turn increase stability and security across the continent. Southern Accord 2014¹³⁷, more than 220 officers and NCO's from 10 countries converged on the Malawi Armed Forces College to share knowledge and exchange ideas. Led by U.S. Army Africa, the U.S. Africa Command-sponsored exercise included several days of instruction from the U.N. Integrated Training Service and U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute and simulated the deployment of a peacekeeping force in a realistic, challenging scenario¹³⁸.

5.4.4k Western Accord

This is sponsored by U.S. Africa Command and led by Marine Forces Africa. The 2012 multi-lateral training exercise, which took place in Dakar, Senegal, included live-fire and combat marksmanship training, peacekeeping operations, disaster response, intelligence capacity building, as well as a humanitarian-civic assistance project that provided primary medical and dental assistance to more than 2,000 residents of the local population. The exercise increased U.S. and African nations' interoperability and understanding of each other's capabilities and proficiency, enhancing the ability to operate together in limited crises response and overseas contingency operations. In partnership with Senegal and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), U.S. Army Africa conducted U.S. Africa Command's Exercise Western Accord 2014 to enhance ECOWAS' ability to provide mission command capability to support regional peace operations. Training focused on developing the ability to plan, deploy, employ, sustain, and redeploy a rapid deployment force in response to a regional crisis. Western Accord 2014¹³⁹ is a key

¹³⁷ <http://www.africom.mil/search?term=Southern+Accord+2014>

¹³⁸ See <http://www.africom.mil/tags/exercise-southern-accord>

¹³⁹ See <http://www.africom.mil/search?term=Western+Accord+2014>

element in a broader series of military-to-military activities to demonstrate the strong partnership between the U.S and western regional African partners, and all of the participating militaries. In an on-going partnership, the U.S. along with 16 other countries participated in Exercise WA 2014 in Dakar, Senegal from June 16-27. During part one of the exercise, ECOWAS and partnering nations received academics that took them through the UN standards for mission analysis and focused on collective tasks, functional, and staff procedures in support of Command and Control of a peacekeeping operation based on real world events. During the command post exercise (the second part of the exercise), they prepared and executed their plan to move forces into a contested area, defeat the threat, and restore basic services and the rule of law while setting the stage for national reconciliation¹⁴⁰.

5.4.4I Phoenix Express

The exercise is organized by U.S. and European partners in collaboration with North African maritime and land forces to increase regional maritime awareness and improve maritime security¹⁴¹. Phoenix Express is one of four African regional "Express" series exercises that are designed to test skills obtained from participating in bilateral and Africa Partnership Station (APS) training in a regional maritime exercise. Phoenix Express 2014 marked the ninth year of the exercise. The 2014 exercise was designed to improve cooperation among participating nations to help increase maritime safety and security in the Mediterranean Sea. One of the goals of PE2014 was to build communication between North African and European partners so that there is a stronger united force in the Mediterranean Sea. At the same time, the training provided will help enhance maritime security. During the 2014 edition of Phoenix Express, an Algerian boarding team member fast ropes out of a Greek helicopter onto the NATO Maritime Interdiction Operational Training Center (NMIOTC) ship "Aris" during the pre-sail phase of Exercise¹⁴².

5.4.5 The DoD HIV/AIDS Prevention Program (DHAPP)

The HIV/AIDS epidemic is devastating and has negatively affected many militaries and other uniformed organizations worldwide by reducing military readiness,

¹⁴⁰ See <http://www.africom.mil/what-we-do/exercises/western-accord>

¹⁴¹ See <http://www.africom.mil/what-we-do/exercises/phoenix-express>

¹⁴² See <http://www.africom.mil/tags/phoenix-express-2014>

limiting deployments, causing physical and emotional decline in infected individuals and their families, posing risks to military personnel and their extended communities, and impeding peacekeeping activities. In response to this threat, the White House urged DoD to participate in the LIFE Initiative and focus on prevention programming in sub-Saharan Africa¹⁴³. Since 1999, the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) has been involved in HIV/AIDS prevention to reduce the incidence of HIV in foreign militaries through the DoD HIV/AIDS Prevention Program (DHAPP)¹⁴⁴. The Partner Military HIV/AIDS Program (PMHAP)¹⁴⁵ is U.S. Africa Command's program to implement DHAPP objectives. At its inception, U.S. Africa Command declared its commitment to support the fight against HIV/AIDS and acknowledged HIV as a potential threat to Africa's regional security and stability by adopting the vision to "Eliminate new HIV cases in Partner Nation Militaries."¹⁴⁶

The objective of PMHAP is to support capacity building and development of HIV/AIDS policy within African militaries. AFRICOM's strategic security engagement objective is to assist African partner military's leadership with reducing the yearly incidence of HIV in their militaries. Over the years, DHAPP has successfully engaged over 80 countries in efforts to combat HIV/AIDS among their

¹⁴³ On July 19, 1999, the Administration announced a new Initiative to address the global AIDS pandemic. This

Initiative is supported by an amendment to the Fiscal Year 2000 budget proposal signed by the President and submitted to Congress for its consideration. A central feature of this LIFE Initiative is a \$100 million increase in US support for sub-Saharan African countries and India, which are working to prevent the further spread of HIV and to care for those affected by this devastating disease. This additional funding is a critical step by the United States Government in recognizing the impact that AIDS continues to have on individuals, families, communities and nations responding to the imperative to do more.

¹⁴⁴ See <http://www.med.navy.mil/sites/nhrc/dhapp/countryreports/Documents/yearly08/fullreport08.pdf>

¹⁴⁵ AFRICOM's PMHAP is executed and implemented by DHAPP. The program is funded through the DHAPP Program Office using congressional supplements via the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Health Affairs (OSD (HA)) Defense Health Program; the Department of State (DoS), Office of the Global AIDS Coordinator (OGAC) using the Presidential Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), and the Department of State using the HIV/AIDS Foreign Military Financing (FMF) program. Activities include: prevention training; support for orphans and vulnerable children affected by HIV/AIDS; counseling and testing services; HIV/AIDS treatment; laboratory infrastructure; strategic information; policy analysis and system strengthening; training in prevention of mother and child transmission; and training in medical procedures. Palliative care including basic health and support for HIV-infected clients and their families as well as the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis, and screening and referral of clients and their families for HIV testing.

¹⁴⁶ [http://www.africom.mil/search?term=The+DoD+HIV%2FAIDS+Prevention+Program+%28DHAPP%](http://www.africom.mil/search?term=The+DoD+HIV%2FAIDS+Prevention+Program+%28DHAPP%29)

respective military services. DHAPP is collaborating with the US Department of State, Health and Human Services, US Agency for International Development and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, in the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief. DHAPP's goal is to maximize program impact by focusing on the drivers of the epidemic specific to the military, and to support the development of interventions and programs that address these issues. Pursuing HIV/AIDS activities with foreign militaries is clearly tied to security interests, regional stability, humanitarian concerns, counterterrorism, and peacekeeping efforts due to the impact of HIV/AIDS as a major destabilizing factor in developing societies. DHAPP employs an integrated bilateral and regional strategy for HIV/AIDS cooperation and security assistance. Using country priorities set by the US Under Secretary of Defense for Policy and by the Office of the Global AIDS Coordinator, DHAPP implements bilateral and regional strategies in coordination with respective Combatant Commands and PEPFAR Country Support Teams to offer military to military HIV/AIDS programs assistance. DHAPP supports defense forces in the following areas: HIV prevention, care and treatment for HIV infected individuals and their families, and strategic information (US Africa Command Fact Sheet, March 2012).

5.4.6 AFRICOM's operations in Africa

Besides these programs, activities and exercises, U.S AFRICOM is currently involved in two major operations in the continent. These operations are "Onward Liberty" and "Counter LRA Operation". These operations support the development of capable, professional partner military forces, and are integrated and coordinated with the DOS, U.S. Chiefs of Mission, and other international partners.

5.4.6a OPERATION ONWARD LIBERTY

The 2003 Comprehensive Peace Agreement¹⁴⁷ that brought an end to the Liberian civil war called for the United States to lead the restructuring of the Armed Forces of

¹⁴⁷ Agreement on Ceasefire and Cessation of Hostilities Between the Government of the Republic of Liberia and Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia. The Agreement called for the establishment of a post-war transitional government (National Transitional Government of Liberia) which would consist of 76 members: 12 each from the three warring parties; 18 from political parties; seven from civil society and special interest groups; and one from each of Liberia's 15 counties. The warring parties, the opposition parties and civil society groups

Liberia (AFL). After consultations with Liberian authorities, a program was put in place that led to the complete rebuilding of the army from the ground up. Principally executed by U.S. Government-funded contractors, along with a small number of U.S. military personnel, the initial effort led by the U.S. State Department, 2005-2009, involved demobilizing the old AFL, rehabilitating three military bases, then recruiting, vetting, training and equipping a new AFL of about 2,000 men and women from across the country. After the contractors departed and the Government of Liberia assumed operational control of the AFL. In January 2010, U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM), through U.S. Marine Corps Forces Africa (MARFORAF), established OOL to provide U.S. military personnel to assist with the mentorship and training of the AFL. Operation Onward Liberty (OOL)¹⁴⁸ is a U.S. military-led team who mentor and advise the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL)¹⁴⁹ in order to develop a national military that is responsible, operationally capable, respectful of civilian authority and the rule of law, and is a force for good among the Liberian people. OOL's goal is to assist the AFL in building a professional and capable military force that can effectively provide and contribute to the overall security environment in Liberia. OOL currently has approximately 50 personnel assigned, currently comprised of military members from the U.S. Marine Corps, the U.S. Army's Michigan National Guard and the U.S. Air Force, and vary in rank. OOL team members fulfill deployment tasking of anywhere between six and 12 months. The main goal of each team member is to serve as a mentor/advisor to a counterpart (or counterparts) within the AFL chain of command.

agreed to share ministerial portfolios and employment opportunities in the cabinet and parliament and elections were to be held no later than 2005.

¹⁴⁸See <http://www.africom.mil/what-we-do/operations/operation-onward-liberty>

¹⁴⁹ The Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) are the armed forces of the Republic of Liberia. Founded as the Liberian Frontier Force in 1908, the military was retitled in 1956. For virtually all of its history, the AFL has received considerable materiel and training assistance from the United States. For most of the 1941–89 period, training was largely provided by U.S. advisers, though this assistance has not prevented the same generally low levels of effectiveness common to most of the armed forces in the developing world. For most of the Cold War, the AFL saw little action, apart from a reinforced company group which was sent to ONUC in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the 1960s. This changed with the advent of the First Liberian Civil War in 1989. The AFL became entangled in the conflict, which lasted from 1989 to 1996–97, and then the Second Liberian Civil War, which lasted from 1999 to 2003. The AFL is in the process of being reformed and retrained after being completely demobilized following the second civil war. The AFL currently consists of two infantry battalions, and a small Liberian National Coast Guard, which is being reformed. The Liberian Government has requested that a Nigerian Army officer serve as head of the military during the transitional period.

This operation is a U.S. Department of State and U.S. Department of Defense initiative designed to continue the United States' support to the government of Liberia and its on-going efforts to transform its military. It is a five-year commitment of continued support and partnership, with mentors cycling through on six-month temporary duty assignments and some service members electing to do yearlong assignments. For the AFL itself, the current organization consists of an Infantry Brigade, Coast Guard, Logistics Command, an Armed Forces Training Command and a headquarters element. The AFL hopes to establish a robust recruiting, vetting and separation policy to ensure its ranks are constantly being supplied with new, eager soldiers as well as experienced commissioned and non-commissioned officers who are able to lead effectively¹⁵⁰.

5.4.6.b Counter-LRA Operation

According to the U.S. Department of State, “Counter-L R A Operation” aims to assist the governments of Uganda, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and South Sudan, as well as the African Union and United Nations to “mitigate and end the threat posed to civilians and regional stability by the LRA¹⁵¹.”

The strategy outlines four key objectives for U.S. support:

- Increased protection of civilians
- The apprehension or removal of Joseph Kony and senior LRA commanders from the battlefield
- The promotion of defections and support of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of remaining LRA fighters
- The provision of continued humanitarian relief to affected communities

To that end, the decision, announced Oct. 14, 2011, to send U.S. military advisers to assist the forces that are countering the LRA forms one part of the United States’

¹⁵⁰ <http://www.africom.mil/what-we-do/operations/operation-onward-liberty>

¹⁵¹ The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), also known as the Lord's Resistance Movement, is a militant movement which has been described variously as being quasi-Christian, "Christianist," extremist Christian, or as a new religious movement and or a cult which operated in northern Uganda and South Sudan. Originally known as the United Holy Salvation Army Uganda Christian Army/Movement, its stated goals include ruling Uganda according to the Ten Commandments. Since 2005 there have been claims that the group has entered the Democratic Republic of Congo, and in 2007 it was reported that it was in Central African Republic. The LRA has been accused of widespread human rights violations, including murder, abduction, mutilation, child-sex slavery, and forcing children to participate in hostilities.

overall continuing effort to achieve these strategic objectives. The U.S. military role is in support of a combined effort that involves the U.S. embassies in the affected countries, U.S. Agency for International Development's programs, as well as contributions from nongovernmental organizations. The collective intent is to supplement host nation efforts with advice and assistance that maximizes the flow of information to, and synchronizes the activities of, host nation efforts. U.S. military forces can enable intelligence fusion, facilitate more efficient means for delivering and managing logistics, and offer improved staff coordination capabilities. After deployments in 2011, approximately 100 U.S. military personnel are in forward locations with the national militaries of the region, living and working side-by-side with their military peers as guests in African camps run by African security officials. Their mission is focused on finding ways to enable Uganda, CAR, DRC, and South Sudan to more effectively collaborate, coordinate and synchronize their efforts to remove the threat of the LRA. The U.S. advisors seek to strengthen cooperation among the national militaries, assist them to collaborate more effectively, and enhance their capacity to improve operational planning.

According to General Carter F. Ham, the former AFRICOM commander, the U.S. military contributions to countering the LRA are "best done through support, advising and assistance, rather than U.S. military personnel in the lead actually conducting the operations to try to find Kony and capture him. We are an enabling force to facilitate and advance the capabilities of the African forces¹⁵²."

Besides the these programs, exercises, activities and operation, AFRICOM is engaged in a panoply of aid projects with an eye toward winning a war of ideas in the minds of Africans and so beating back the lure of extremist ideologies, from that of Boko Haram in Nigeria to Somalia's al Shabab. These civil-military operations, or CMOs, include "humanitarian assistance" projects like the construction or repair of schools, water wells and waste treatment systems, and "humanitarian and civic assistance" (HCA¹⁵³) efforts, like offering dental and veterinary care. The CMO

¹⁵² <https://africom.wordpress.com/2012/03/23/q-and-a-africom-general-carter-ham/>

¹⁵³ Examples of HCA projects include: a .Medical, surgical, dental, and veterinary care provided in rural, isolated, or underserved areas of a country, including education, training, and technical assistance related to the care provided. Units conducting these activities must ensure that they do not drastically exceed the standard of care already provided by the HN. Providing care that exceeds the

benevolence is designed to influence foreign governments and civilian populations in order to “facilitate military operations and achieve U.S. objectives.” According to the Pentagon, humanitarian assistance efforts are engineered to improve “U.S. visibility, access, and influence with foreign military and civilian counterparts,” while HCA projects are designed to “promote the security and foreign policy interests of the United States.” In the bureaucratic world of the U.S. military, these small-scale efforts are further divided into “community relations activities,” like the distribution of sports equipment, and “low-cost activities” such as seminars on solar panel maintenance or English-language discussion groups. Theoretically at least, add all these projects together and you’ve taken a major step toward winning Africans away from the influence of extremists. But are these projects working at all? Has anyone even bothered to check?

5.5 Conclusion

The trend of US foreign policy towards Africa has generally been to treat the continent with benign neglect. In some countries, notably Egypt, Ethiopia, South Africa and the earlier Zimbabwe, U.S. policy has been mildly constructive. Regardless of the unending rhetoric on democracy, human security projection and good governance, the United States found itself financing leaders whose regimes slowly became repressive, corrupt and unpopular. The US role in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Somalia, Uganda and Ethiopia during the Cold War and in apartheid South Africa demonstrate that the U.S. can cooperate with leftist leaders as long as these governments will not imperil U.S. interests. The US military forays in Africa have led to a disproportionate development of military institutions relative to the instruments of civil rule thereby impacting negatively on the human security of African people. The US has continued to fund African armies through various DoD programs such as the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership, African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance Programme and US Foreign

standards of the HN or USAID projects may undermine the HN government and can negatively affect perceptions toward the United States if the populace expects follow-up visits or improved services from the HN or additional development assistance from USAID. When HCA activities involve direct patient or animal care, units conducting the engagement must be mindful of and take steps to mitigate unintended consequences of such engagement, including: discrediting national and local governance; discrediting national and local medical providers and facilities; and the economic displacement caused by such activities. b. Construction of rudimentary surface transportation systems. c. Well drilling and construction of basic sanitation facilities. D. Rudimentary repair and construction of public facilities

Military Financing with increased support flowing to DRC, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Uganda. In recent years, however, brutal responses by African militaries against their citizens have been recorded. The Nigerian army's brutal response to Boko Haram has transformed the sect into a regional terror force. Similarly, according to a recent United Nations report, the Congolese army's 391st Commando Battalion, formed with US support and trained for eight months by US Special Operations Forces, later took part in mass rapes and other atrocities. Another long-time recipient of US support, the Ethiopian army, was involved in abuse in 2012, following an attack by gunmen on a commercial farm. In response, according to Human Rights Watch, members of Ethiopia's army raped, arbitrarily arrested and assaulted local villagers. The Ugandan army has been the primary US proxy when it comes to policing Somalia regardless of Ugandan President's dictatorial tendency. However, its members were implicated in the beating and even killing of citizens during domestic unrest in 2011 (Human Rights Watch World report, 2010).

The US global war on terror (GWOT) has impinged on the human security of African people. In 2001, according to the global terrorism database of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism at the University of Maryland, there were 119 terror incidents in sub-Saharan Africa. By 2011, there were close to 500 cases. A recent report from the International Centre for Terrorism Studies at the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies counted 21 terrorist attacks in the Maghreb and Sahel regions of northern Africa in 2001. Under the current Obama administration, the figures have fluctuated between 144 and 204 annually. Similarly, an analysis of 65000 individual incidents of political violence in Africa from 1997 to 2012, assembled by researchers affiliated to the International Peace Research Institute, found out that "violent Islamist activity has increased significantly in the past 15 years, with a particular sharp increase witnessed from 2010 onwards". The overthrow of Gaddafi in Libya by an interventionist coalition including the US, France and the United Kingdom similarly empowered a host of new militant Islamist groups. Libya has become a fertile ground and new hub for militants arriving from the Arabian Peninsula and other places in the Middle East as well as elsewhere in Africa to recruit fighters, receive training and recuperate. The crisis in Mali, the rise of Boko Haram in Nigeria, the coup in CAR and the violence in the Africa's Great

Lakes region and the Horn of Africa are ipso facto, the outcome of Libyan disintegration and subsequent failure. Regardless of the relative amounts and the quality of official aid injected into the continent through laudable programs such as ACRI, CIPA, AGOA, PEPFAR, ACOTA and PMI, there is general notion that the aid has had anything to do with any serious search for an improvement of the social and economic problem that have confronted the Africa. From the Washington's Cold War intervention in Africa, one can argue persuasively that US involvement in Africa has often aggravated African plights.

In the next chapter, the study will present the research findings through the empirical analysis of data collected from interviews and questionnaires

CHAPTER SIX

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented a systematic analysis of United States foreign policy toward Africa vis-à-vis the emergence of AFRICOM, its programs, activities and exercises. This chapter presents and analyses the data that was collected from various institutions and the study participants. The overall aim of the survey was to collect data from AFRICOM staff, African senior military commanders in strategic command positions, members of diplomatic community, security experts, scholars and postgraduate students in the field of critical security studies, strategic studies, politics and international studies. Data collected through the use of questionnaires were cleaned, edited and coded before being analysed using the software package SPSS version 18. The results of the survey are presented in descriptive and inferential format, using tables and statistics. In addition data collected from interviews was categorized, coded and analysed using thematic analysis.

The fieldwork component of this study investigated and scrutinized the activities, objectives, impact, efficiency, co-ordination and political agenda of AFRICOM, and their consequences for human security in Africa with particular reference to its intervention in security situations in Libya, Mali, Nigeria, Somalia and Uganda. The results of the fieldwork are organized and presented according to the research questions outlined in chapter one section 1.3.3. The main research questions were as follows:

- What are the U.S. National Security interests and Strategy in Africa?
- What are the implications of AFRICOM for human security in Africa?
- Whose security interests will AFRICOM serve?

- Will increased US military activities in Africa assist the AU's strategic objective of promoting peace and human security or will it contribute to instability?
- How can AFRICOM intervention in Africa ameliorate the human insecurity in Africa?

This chapter is divided into seven sections. Section one (1) contains the demographic information about the respondents and the characteristics of the interviewees while section two (2) to six (6) contain the presentation of the data, discussion, interview excerpts and analyses of the data presented from research question one (1) to research question five (5). The last section (7) of this chapter contains the conclusion.

6.2 The Demographic Information

The researcher was able to elicit useful information concerning this study from the respondents involved. Three hundred questionnaires were administered to seven categories of respondents. Out of these numbers, one hundred and twenty five (125) copies of the questionnaire were administered to military officers in Nigeria and South Africa as well as senior military officers from several African countries who were randomly selected, thirty seven (37) copies of the questionnaires for scholars and security experts, twenty five (25) copies of the questionnaire for diplomats and policy makers, thirty two (32) copies of the questionnaire for postgraduate students, nineteen (19) copies of questionnaires for members of the press, seventeen (17) copies of the questionnaires for members of non-governmental organisations, and twenty three (23) copies of the questionnaires were administered to lecturers in various universities in Nigeria and South Africa. One hundred and twenty-five (125) copies of questionnaires were administered to the members of the military because AFRICOM is a military command that relates chiefly with African military institutions and personnel. The response rates for military officers, scholars and security experts, diplomats and policy makers, students, press, NGOs and lecturers are shown in the table 1 below.

Table 6.1: Demographic information of the respondents.

Demographics Variables		Frequency	Percentage
Specialization	Military	102	38.6
	Scholar & Security Expert	37	14
	Diplomats & Policy Maker	25	9.5
	Students	32	12.1
	Press	19	7.2
	NGO	17	6.4
	Lecturers	23	8.7
	Missing data	9	3.4
	Total	264	100
Religion	Christianity	189	71.6
	Islam	57	21.6
	African Traditional Religion	10	3.8
	Others	2	0.8
	Missing data	6	2.3
	Total	264	100

Source: Field data (2014)

6.2.1 Nationalities of respondents

Though the study took place in Nigeria and South Africa, questionnaires were administered to respondents across the continent of Africa so as to reflect the perceptions of Africans in general of the implications of AFRICOM for human security in Africa. Ninety-seven (97) respondents were drawn from Nigeria, sixty-four (64) respondents from South Africa, seventeen (17) respondents from Kenya,

thirteen (13) respondents were from Sudan, twelve (12) respondents from Mali, South Sudan, Somalia and Chad have nine (9) respondents respectively, eight (8) respondents from Rwanda, while Ghana and Central African Republic have seven (7) respondents each, Bangladesh has four (4) respondents while Cote d'Ivoire, Cameroun, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Republic of Benin, Uganda and Zambia have one (1) respondent respectively.

Table 6.2: Nationalities of the respondents (N=264)

Nationality	Nigerian	97	36.7
	South African	64	24.2
	Kenyan	17	6.4
	Sudanese	13	4.9
	Malian	12	4.5
	South Sudanese	9	3.4
	Somalian	9	3.4
	Chadian	9	3.4
	Rwandan	8	3.0
	Ghanan	7	2.7
	Central African Republic	7	2.7
	Bangladesh	4	1.5
	Ivorian	1	0.4
	Republic of Benin	1	0.4
	Cameroun	1	0.4
	Zambian	1	0.4
	Tanzanian	1	0.4
	Ethiopia	1	0.4
Congolese	1	0.4	
Uganda	1	0.4	

Source: Field data (2014)

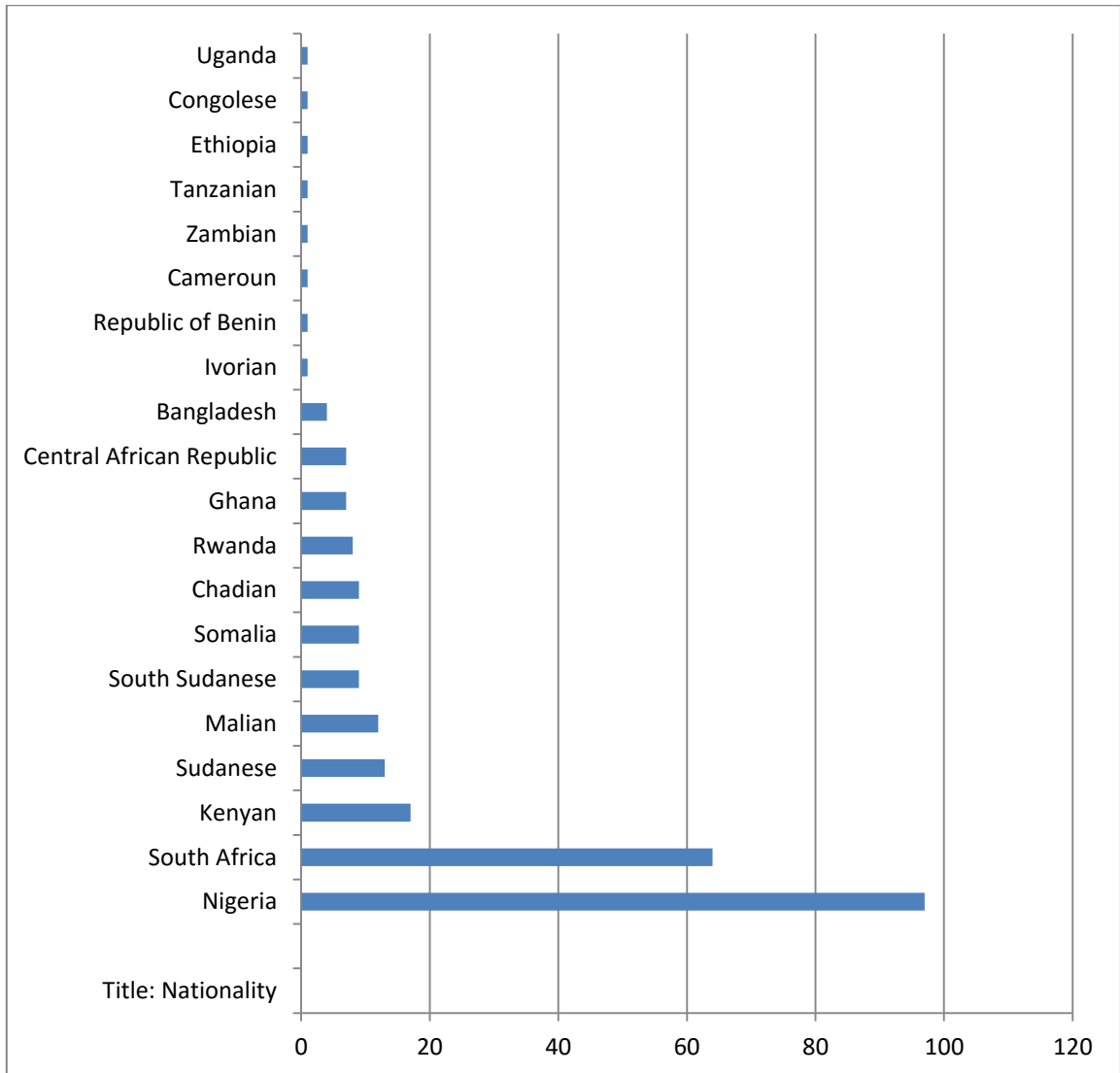


Figure 6.1: Nationalities of the respondents (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014).

6.2.2 Specializations of the respondents

This section presents the specializations of the respondents involved in the study. The picture shows that 102 (38.6%) copies of the questionnaire were returned by military officers out of 125 copies of the questionnaire sent earlier, 37(14%) copies of the questionnaire were returned by scholars and security experts out of 40 copies of the questionnaire sent, 25 (9.5%) copies of the questionnaire were returned by diplomats and policy makers out of 29 copies of the questionnaire sent, 32 (12,1%) copies of the questionnaires were returned by the students out of 37 copies of the questionnaires sent, members of the press returned 19 (7.2%) copies of the

questionnaires out of the 20 copies of the questionnaires sent, 17 (6.4%) copies of the questionnaires were returned by the members of non-governmental organisations out of 20 copies of the questionnaires sent and the lecturers returned 23 (8.7%) copies of the questionnaires out of 29 copies of the questionnaires sent. 264 copies of questionnaires were collected (100%).

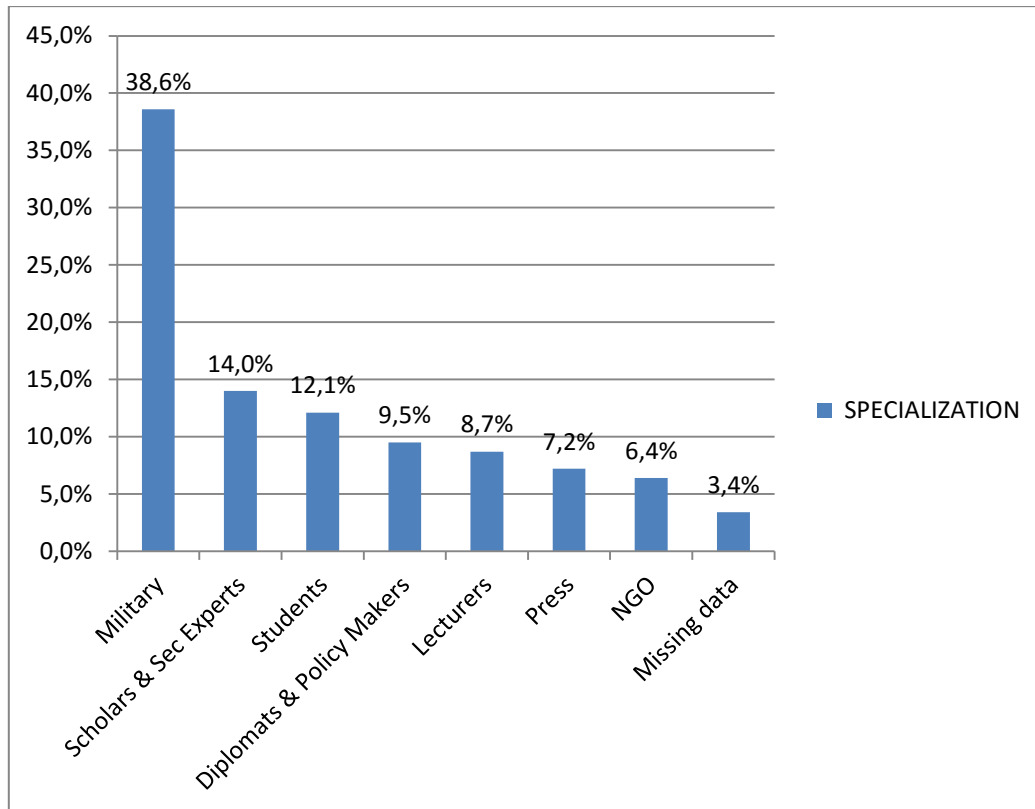


Figure 6.2: Specialization of the Respondents (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014).

In consideration of the thematic field of the study, AFRICOM as a component of DoD, falls under the state-centric security paradigm while human security falls under humanitarian development-security discourse. The nature of the study requires informed respondents and interviewees who are experts in the following fields: African affairs, strategic studies, public policy, politics, critical security studies, international relations and foreign policy analysis. These requirements informed the researcher's choice of respondents and interviewees. The study therefore, presents

the characteristics of respondents who were involved in the study in terms of age, gender, marital status, education level and occupation.

In addition to the 264 questionnaires collected, 14 (100%) interviewees were drawn from senior military officers, diplomats, security experts and scholars from AFRICOM, Nigerian Armed Forces, South African Defence Force, ECOWAS, South African Institute of International Affairs (SIIA), Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), African Union, Institute of Security Studies (ISS), and African Partnership Stations (APS).

6.2.3 The age distribution of respondents

Questionnaires were administered to respondents from the age of 20 years and above. From 20-30 years were 34 (12.9%), respondents between the ages of 31-40 years were 26 (9.8%), and respondents between the ages of 41-50 year were 136 (51.5%) while respondents above the age of 50 years were 68 (25.8%). Total 264 (100%).

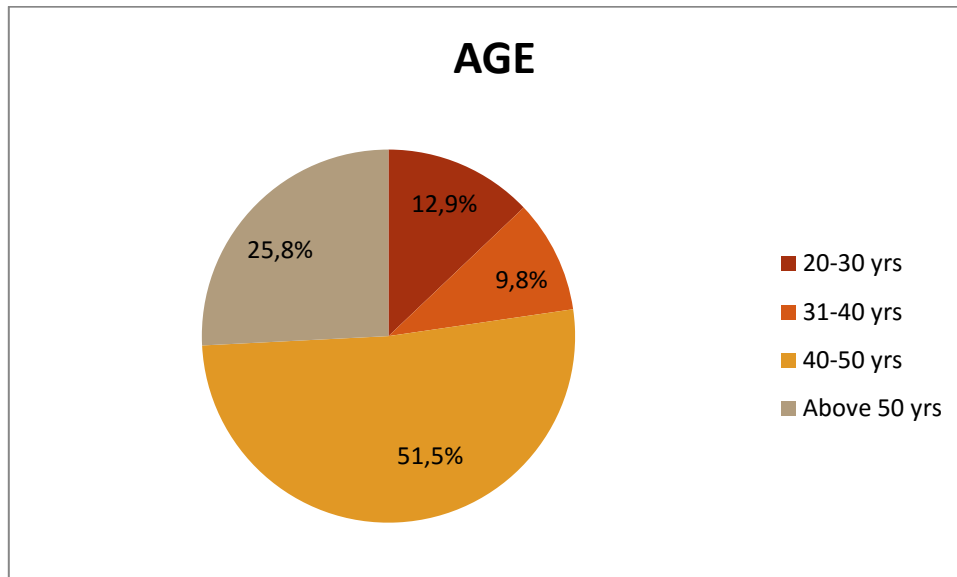


Figure 6.3: Pie Chart Representation of Age Distribution of the Respondents (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

6.2.4 The gender distributions of the respondents

The gender distribution of the respondents is as follows: Male 234 (88.6%); Female: 30 (11.4%). Total 264 (100%).

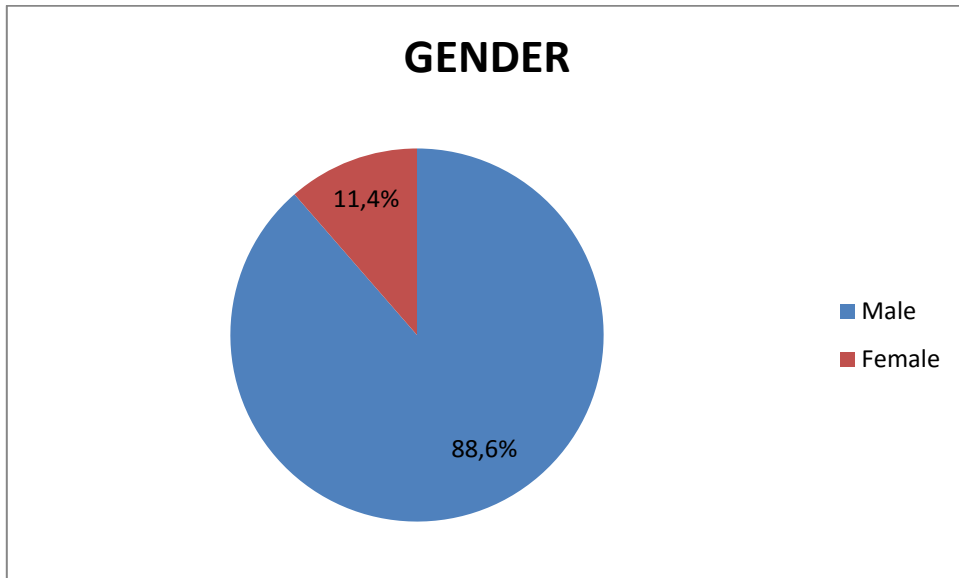


Figure 6.4 below shows the gender of the respondents (N=264).

Source: Field data (2014).

6.2.5 Educational levels of the respondents

As earlier emphasized, the nature of the study requires informed respondents; however, a few of the respondents had Senior Secondary School Certificate and National Certificate in Education. These categories of respondents have gained wealth of experience from their long years of meritorious service, courses attended and training acquired in their professions. In this study second degree represents master's degree while third degree stands for PhDs.

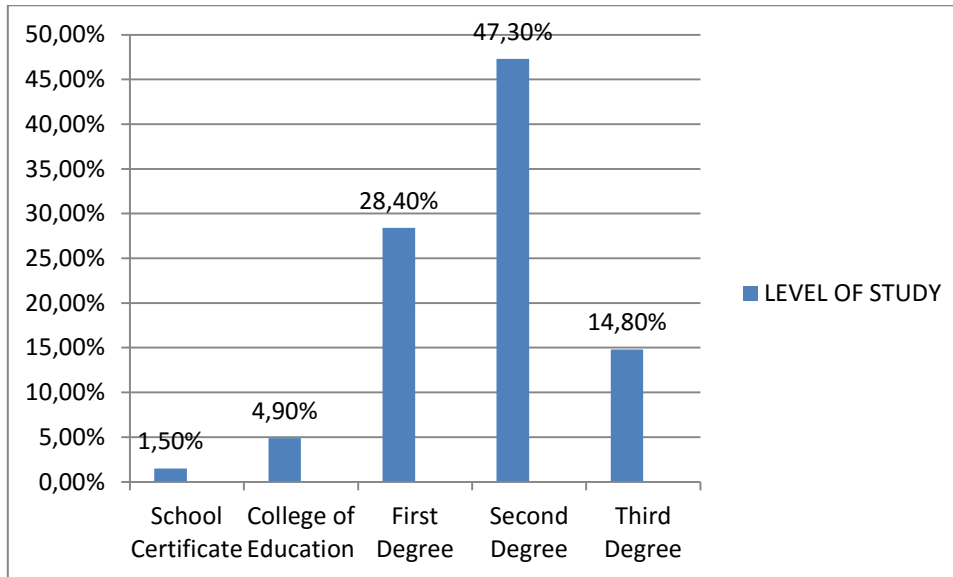


Figure 6.5: The figure below highlights the educational qualifications of the respondents (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Among the fourteen (14) interviewees, six (6) have PhDs while the remaining eight (8) have Master's degree in their respective disciplines.

According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:261), the overall rate of response is a guide to the representativeness of the sample respondents. If a high response rate is achieved, there is less chance of significant response bias than in a low rate. Babbie and Mouton (2001:261) further claim that the consensus is that a response rate of 50 per cent is adequate for analysis and reporting. A response of 60 per cent is good, and a response rate of 70 per cent is very good. Therefore following Babbie and Mouton's (2001:261) advice the researcher was satisfied with the response rate for the number of completed copies: of the two hundred and sixty four questionnaires received from seven categories of respondents and the interview schedules completed by three categories of interviewees.

6.3 Section Two: Data presentation and analysis

6.3.1 Research Question 1: To critically evaluate the United States national security policy and strategy in Africa. What are the US national security interests and strategy in Africa?

In an attempt to provide empirical answers to research question one (1): The researcher posed some questions to respondents involved in the study. In the characterization of the US foreign policy toward Africa, the responses were as follows: 123 (46.6%) responded positively that the US policy toward Africa is good, 34 (12.9%) responded negatively while 83 (31.4%) were undecided and 24 (9.1%) abstained from the question totaling 264 (100%).

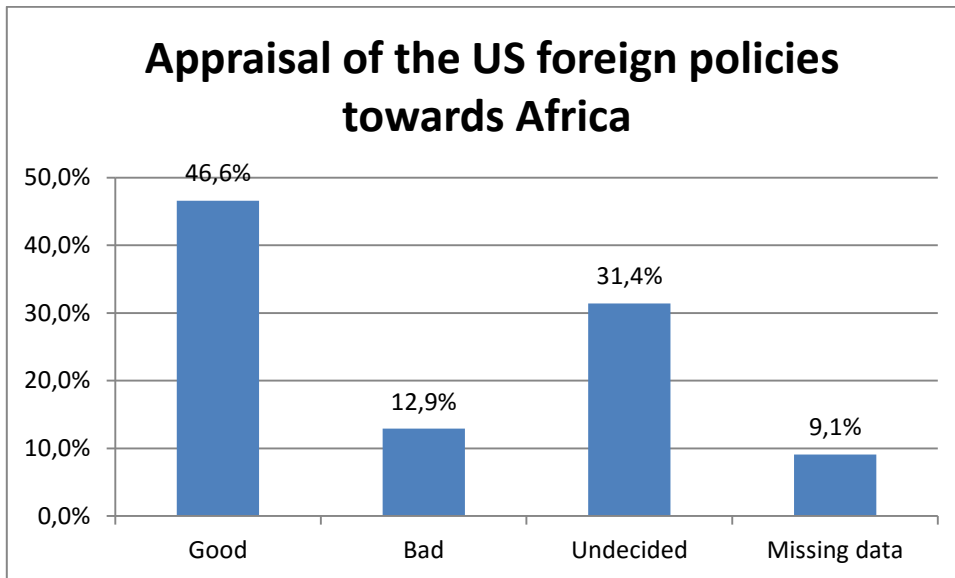


Figure 6.6 below shows the appraisal of US policy toward Africa (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014).

The responses were further categorized in accordance with the respondents' specializations so as to discover whether there were variations in the pattern of response and if there were, to identify the reasons behind these variations.

Of the 92 (100%) senior military personnel asked to characterize US foreign policies toward Africa, 54 (58.7%) affirmed that US-African policies are good while 10 (10.9%) said that US-African policies are bad and 28 (30.4%) were undecided. Nineteen (19) career diplomats and policy makers representing (76%) out of the 25 (100%) approved US foreign policies toward Africa, 2 (8%) felt that US policies toward Africa have negatively impacted the continent while 4 (16%) were undecided. Among scholars and security experts 16 (50%) believed that US foreign policies toward the continent are good while 6 (18.8%) see US policies in Africa from negative perspective and 10 (31.3%) were undecided. Majority of the students

were undecided 15 (51.7%) while 9 (31%) agreed that the policies of the US toward Africa are good and 5 (17.2%) faulted US policies toward Africa. Seven (7) members of the press (41.2%) agreed that the US policies toward Africa are good while 3 (17.6%) disagreed with US policies toward Africa and 7 (41.2%) were undecided. Out of 15 (100%) NGOs who responded to the question, 7 (46.7%) approved US policies toward Africa while 2 (13.3%) disapproved and 6 (40%) were undecided. Among the lecturers who responded, 8 (38.1%) approved while 8 (38.1%) were undecided and 5 (23.8%) disapproved of US policies toward Africa. The result above shows that large majority of the diplomatic community, senior military officers, NGOs, press, scholars and security experts approved US foreign policy toward Africa.

Clustered bar chart showing responses by specialization

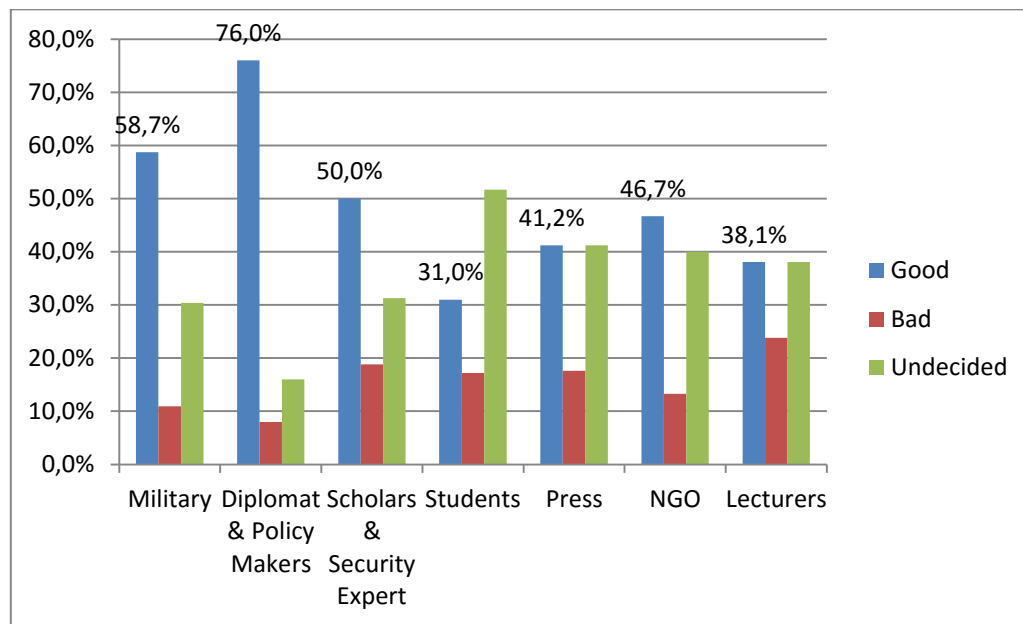


Figure 6.7 shows the responses by different specializations involved in the study.

Source: Field data (2014)

Chi-Square Test			
N = 232	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	16.870	12	0.155
Likelihood Ratio	17.088	12	0.146
Linear by Linear Association	4.014	1	0.045

Interview report: As indicated in chapter one of the study, a combination of methods was used to collect data. Although the quantitative method was dominant, the qualitative method was used as a complementary method. The aim was to utilize the qualitative data to buttress the quantitative findings. The interview schedule that was administered is presented as appendix 2. The results of the interview conducted are reported in detail and the excerpts are reported in appendix 3.

Fourteen (14) interviewees were asked to appraise US national security interests and strategy toward Africa. Nine (9) interviewees stated emphatically that US national security interests in Africa are threefold namely: (i) To secure strategic mineral resources which the US needs for the growth of her military industrial complex (ii) To establish a military foothold in Africa so as to deny terrorist organisation expanses of ungoverned space or safe havens to carry out terrorist activities against US interests and (iii) To counter China's growing interests in Africa. Two (2) of the interviewees insisted that the interests of the US in Africa are vast, ranging from deepening democracy and engendering development to helping Africans create responsible and representational governments that will provide human security and promote the general wellbeing of Africans. The two (2) interviewees elaborated that various US administrations have invested enormous funds in Africa through laudable programmes to enhance the human security capabilities of African people, citing programmes such as AGOA, PEPFAR and ACOTA. However, three (3) interviewees

see US foreign policy toward Africa as the projection of the US national interests on Africans which will seriously undermine the human security situation in Africa.

The researcher wanted to examine whether US interests in the continent will promote of human security? Out of 264 questionnaires collected, 101 (38.3%) affirmed that the interests of the US will bolster the human security needs of Africans while 126 (47.7%) believed that US interests in the continent will undermine the human security needs of Africans, 37 (14%) respondents abstained. The reason for the increase in the number of opposition to US interests is that the respondents that were undecided in the first question (see fig.6.6 and table 6.1) answered question 2 and most of them felt that US interests in Africa will work at cross purposes with the promotion of human security in the continent.

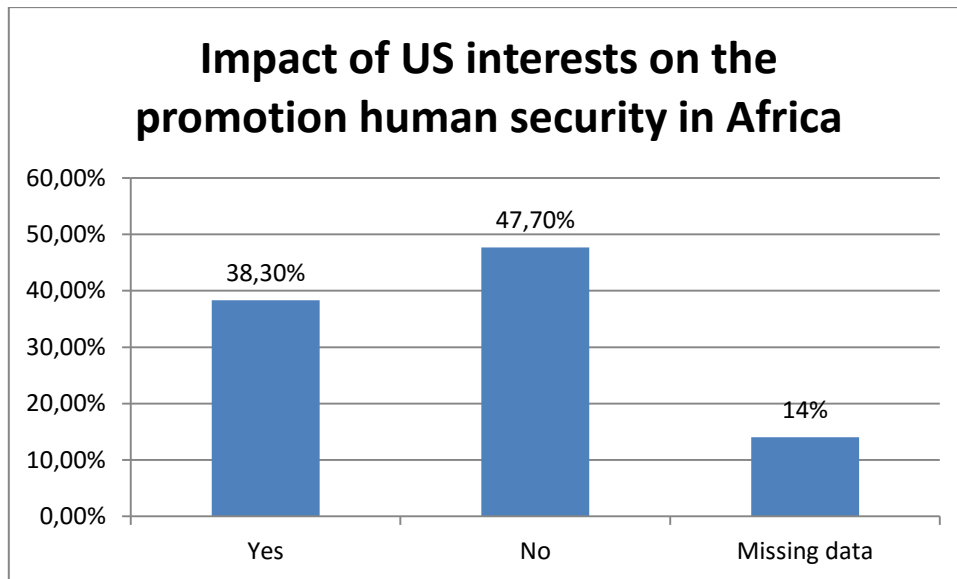


Figure 6.8: Appraisal of the impact of US policy on human security in Africa (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

When the respondents were categorized according to specialization, 47 (52.8%) senior military officers said that the interests of the US in Africa will promote human security while 19 (59.4%) scholars and security experts said that US interests in Africa will undermine the human security of African people. A majority of the diplomats, policy makers, lecturers, press, NGOs and an overwhelming number of students felt that US interests in Africa will work at cross purpose with the human

security of Africans. The African military support for US interests can be viewed from the acquired status of African military institutions since the emergence of AFRICOM. Emphasis has been on bolstering the military capacities of African states. However, the clustered bar chart below shows that beside the military, other specializations were unanimous in stating that US interests in Africa will undermine the human security of African people.

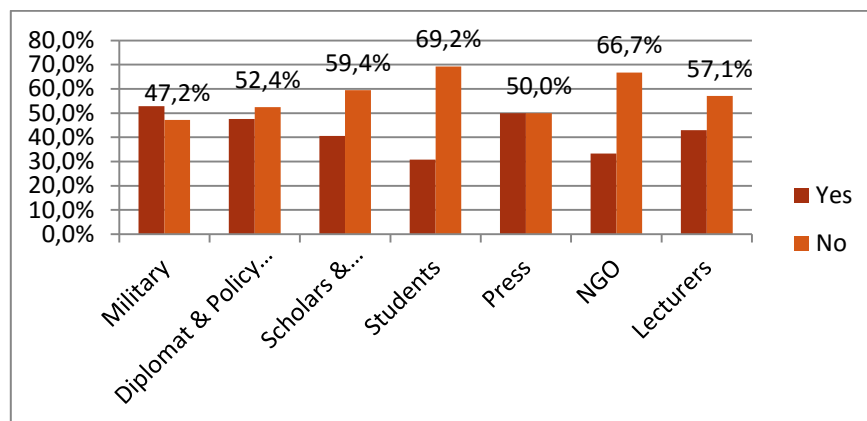


Figure 6.9 above shows the responses of the respondents according to specialization (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Chi-Square Test			
N = 232	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	5.623	6	0.467
Likelihood Ratio	5.716	6	0.456
Linear by Linear Association	1.969	1	0.161

Of the fourteen (14) interviewees, there is general consensus among ten (10) that Africa was neglected by various US administrations. Two (2) interviewees stated that the Africa’s strategic ascendency in the US policy radar resulted from the late discovery of a quantifiable amount of strategic energy, notably oil in the Gulf of Guinea. One (1) respondent argued that “The US renewed interests in Africa is not

for altruistic reasons, the turbulence in the Middle-east is impeding US energy requirements and since oil has been discovered in the Gulf of Guinea that is even of a higher grade, Africa has become the newest bride”. However, seven (7) of the interviewees noted that since the inception of President George W Bush Jnr’s administration, the US has invested hugely in some notable programmes that have enhanced the human security of African people. One (1) respondent in particular argued that regardless of the so called laudable programmes, the US policy of selective engagement made the US abdicate her responsibility when much is expected from her. This respondent cited the US role in the Rwandan genocide of 1994 and the Liberia civil war of 1990s as examples.

The next question sought to ascertain the views of the respondents on the US government’s current efforts to assist Africa in the area of human security enhancement.

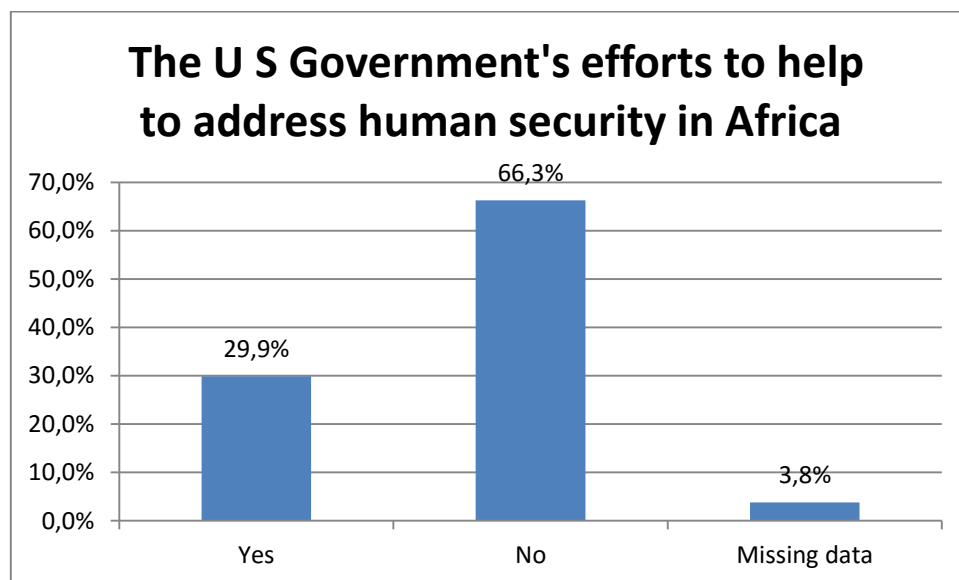


Figure 6.10: Respondents appraisal of US human security efforts in Africa (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

In figure 10 above, 79 respondents (29.9%) affirmed that current efforts by the US to ameliorate the human security situation in Africa are laudable while 175 respondents (66.3%) believed that the current US efforts can neither promote nor ameliorate human security in Africa and 10 respondents (3.8%) abstained.

The researcher observed that all the specialized groups were of the opinion that the US government has not made adequate efforts to assist Africans. Overwhelming majority of lecturers (81.8%), students (80%) and members of the press (77.8%) concurred that the US government has not made serious efforts to address the human security pathologies in Africa. See figure 6.11 below:

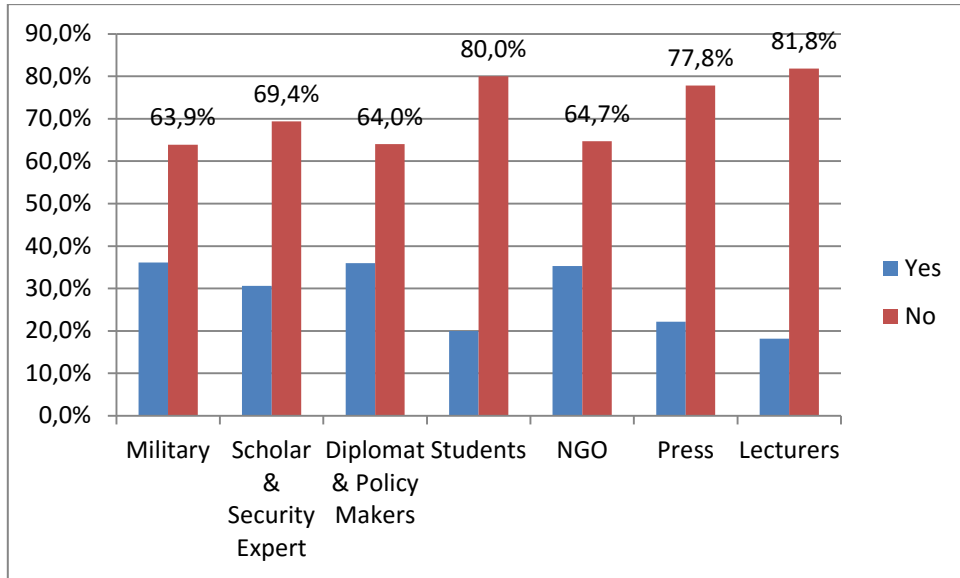


Figure 6.11 above shows the views of specialized groups (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Chi-Square Test			
N = 232	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	5.671	6	0.461
Likelihood Ratio	5.950	6	0.429
Linear by Linear Association	2.929	1	0.087

When the same question was posed to the 14 interviewees, seven (7) responded that current efforts by the US to ameliorate human insecurity in Africa are laudable; however, the projection of AFRICOM, a component of DoD as a humanitarian-

developmental institution has led to the securitization of the US foreign policy toward Africa as every issue is viewed from a military prism. Two (2) of the interviewees affirmed that the current US efforts in promoting human security in Africa are highly welcome in light of the emerging threats of violent extremism, trans-border crime and increasing rate of piracy in the Gulf of Aden and Gulf of Guinea. These two respondents cited AFRICOM's military-to-military training with African partners as one of the major contributions of the US government in the promotion of human security in Africa. Five (5) interviewees argue that the US's current efforts in Africa will create human security crises. These interviewees cited the UN-NATO intervention in Libya which has turned the formerly wealthiest state in Africa in 2010 into a fragile or failed state, with consequences which have spilt over to the entire Sahel region.

In figure 6.12, the researcher wanted to know the respondents appraisals of President Barack Obama's National Security Strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa that was released in 2012.

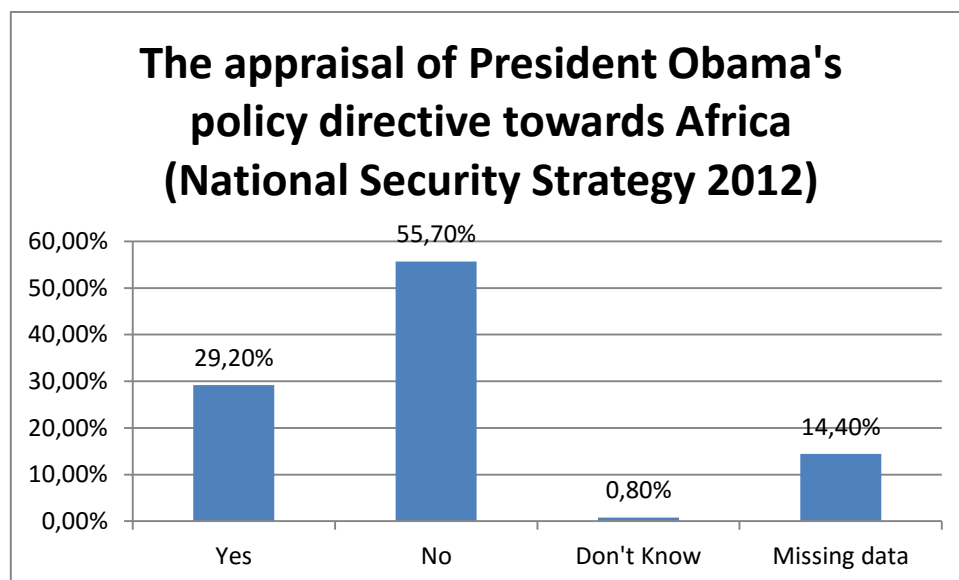


Figure 6.12 shows respondents appraisal of President Obama's National Security Strategy toward Africa (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Figure 6.12 above shows the respondents appraisals of President Obama's 2012 National Security Strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa. The responses were as

follows: 77 (29.2%) favoured the policy to enhance the human security of Africans while 147 (55.7%) saw the policy as antithetical to the promotion of human security in Africa. 2 (0.8%) were undecided and 38 (14.4%) abstained from the question.

As the responses were categorized according to specialization, the researcher observed that 88.5% of the students felt that President Obama’s policy directives toward Africa were unfavourable to the continent, 75% of NGOs and Lecturers agreed with these students and 70.6% of the press, 67.7% of scholars and security experts, 56.5% of the diplomat/policy makers and 55.8% of the military personnel expressed similar views. See figure 6.13 for details.

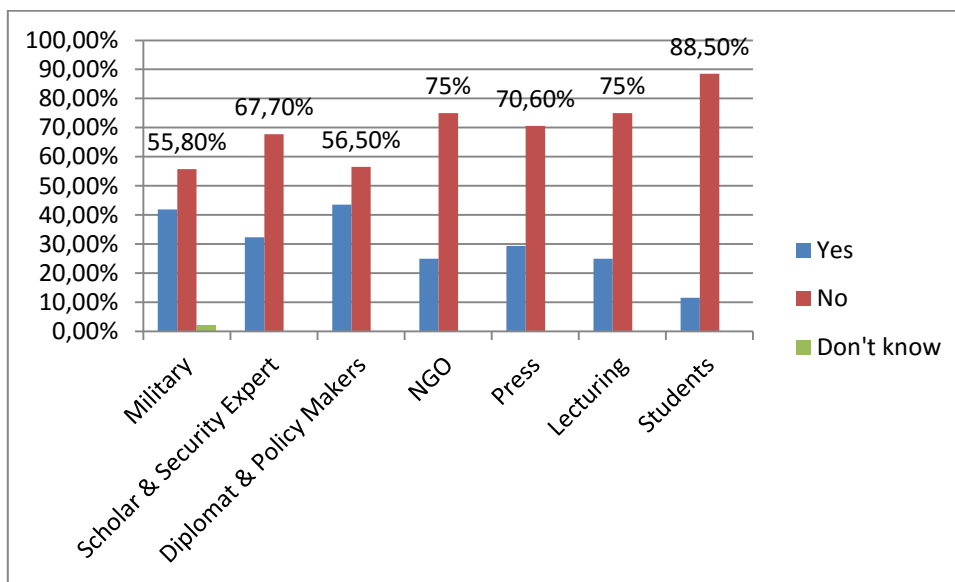


Figure 6.13 shows the clustered bar chart of responses according to the specialization (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Chi-Square Test.			
N = 232	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	13.849	12	0.310
Likelihood Ratio	15.612	12	0.210
Linear by Linear Association	1.969	1	0.161

Four (4) out of the fourteen (14) interviewees favoured President Obama’s policy directives toward Africa however, two (2) out of these four (4) are members of AFRICOM’s staff. Eight (8) interviewees were against the 2012 National Security Strategy toward Africa, citing the ineligibility of most African countries to access the benefits from AGOA due to certain conditionalities, and the harsh effects of Neo-liberal policies on many African economies. One (1) respondent noted that “Given the social background of President Obama, many Africans expected the current administration to help the continent develop in the area of technological advancement through the inflow of foreign direct investments (FDI)”. However, one respondent absolved President Obama of all blame on the underdevelopment of the continent, granting him the accomplishment of setting benchmarks for African countries to benefit from programmes, such as AGOA, ACOTA and World bank/IMF HIPC initiative.

In the next question, the researcher investigated whether African expectations of Obama’s administration were met. Figure 6.14 below depicts how President Obama has fared in meeting the expectations of Africans.

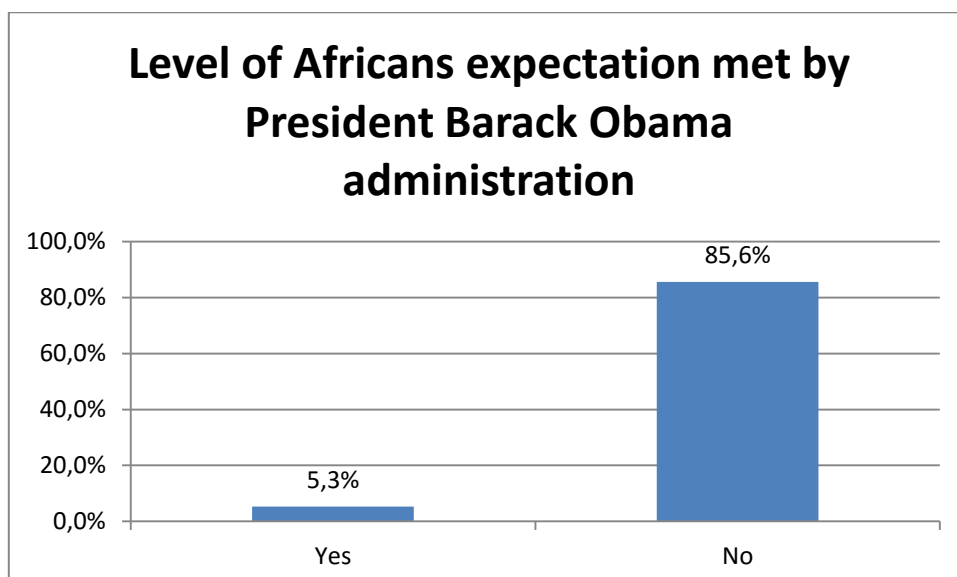


Figure 6.14: Appraisal of how Obama administration has fared in meeting the expectations of Africans (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Figure 6.14 above presents the respondents' level of expectations that President Obama has been able to meet. Fourteen respondents (5.3%) believed that President Obama's policy has met the expectations of African people while two hundred and twenty-six (85.6%) that President Obama has not met the expectations of African and twenty-four (9.1%) abstained from the question.

The categorization of the responses by specialization shows that across the groups, there was a general consensus that President Obama has not met the expectation of Africans. Both the lecturers and NGOs completely agreed that President Obama has failed drastically to meet the expectation of African people while 94.4% of the military, 93.9% of the scholars and security experts, 92% of diplomats and policy makers, 89.3% of the students and 88.9% of the press concurred that Africans expectation of President Obama has been dashed.

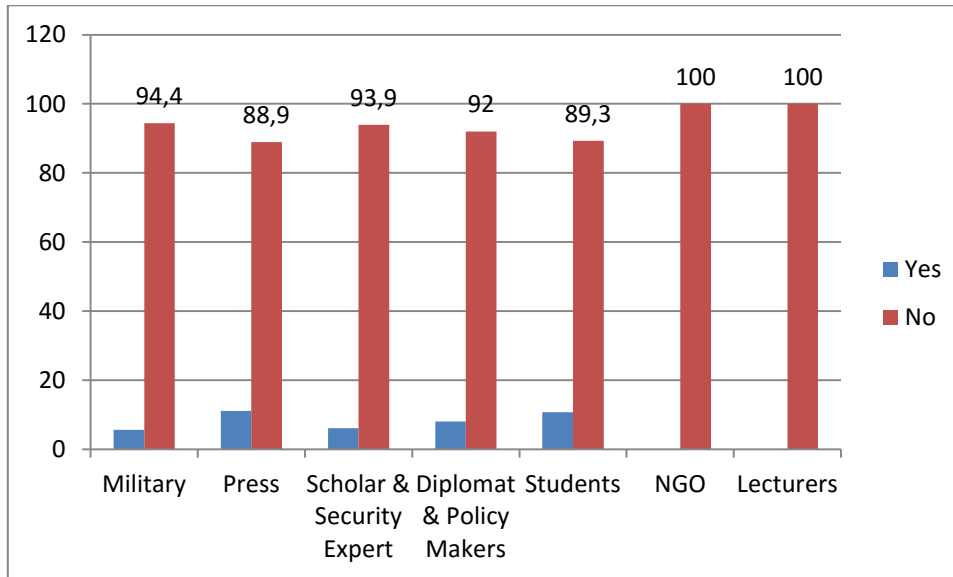


Figure 6.15 indicates cross tabulation of responses in accordance with specialization (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Chi-Square Test			
N = 232	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	4.602	6	0.596
Likelihood Ratio	6.593	6	0.360
Linear by Linear Association	0.361	1	0.548

Among the fourteen (14) interviewees, two (2) declined to comment on whether African expectation in Obama's administration has been met. Ten (10) interviewees insisted that President Obama policy toward the continent has fallen short of the expectations of African people. However, three (3) out of these ten (10) interviewees were quick to point out that US policy under either President Obama or any other president is based on the concept of national interests. I They pointed out that it was erroneous for Africans to expect too much from President Obama because he was

given his presidential mandate by American people to pilot the US to prosperity and not Africa. Two (2) respondents stated the Obama administration has to a large extent satisfied the aspirations of African people even though many US laudable programmes are still on-going in the continent. One (1) respondent retorted that when it comes to hard security that will benefit the interests of the US government and her trans-national corporation that is where Obama's administration responded speedily. Examples cited were the USAFRICOM led UN/NATO intervention in Libya and the US/French supported intervention in Mali. The respondent pointed out that human insecurity in Africa hinged on the harsh socio-economic conditions in the continent which drive Africans into violence and conflict. The respondent concluded by asking whether the military option dovetails with human security benefits for Africans? The next question sought to identify the respondents' perception of the US government's global war on terror (GWOT) that commenced immediately after the events of 9/11. A question was posed whether the US Government's War on Terror is justified.

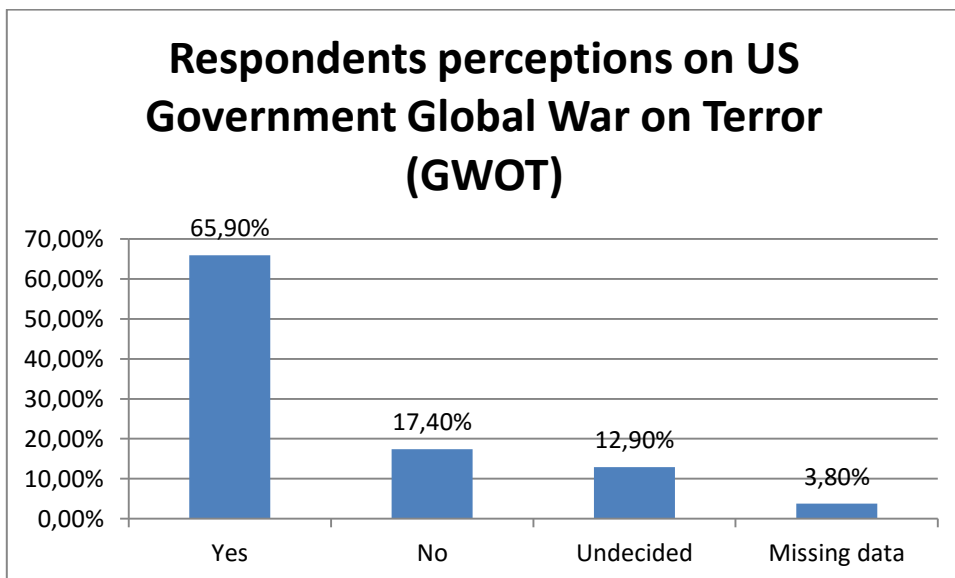


Figure 6.16 shows the respondents appraisal of US government's global war on terror (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Figure 6.16 above demonstrates justification of US government's global war on terror (GWOT). The result shows that 174 (65.9%) approved the US Government's

global war on terror while 46 (17.4%) disapproved the US led global war on terror, 34 (12.9%) were undecided and 10 (3.8%) abstained from the question.

The clustered bar chart below shows that apart from the students, lecturers and the press, majority of other specialized groups agreed that the US global war on terror (GWOT) is justified. The overwhelming majority of scholars and security experts (80%), military (78.6%), diplomats and policy makers (72%) and NGOs (68.8%) saw the global war on terror as inevitable while the press (52.6%), lecturers (50%) and students (43.3%) all agreed that the global war on terror is not justifiable.

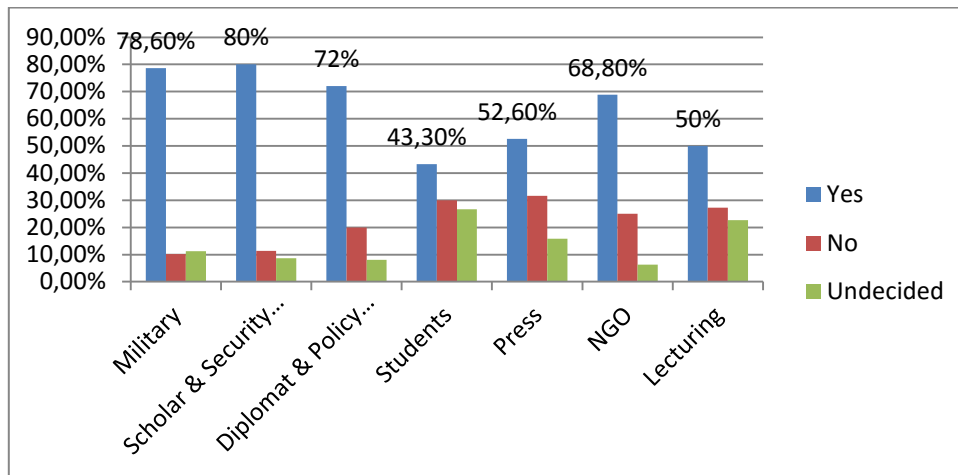


Figure 6.17 above explains the cross tabulation of the responses from various study groups (N=264). Source: Field data (2014)

Chi-Square Test			
N = 245	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	24.315	12	0.018
Likelihood Ratio	23.830	12	0.021
Linear by Linear Association	8.974	1	0.003

There is a significant difference in the occupation/specialization categories and their perceptions of whether or not the US Government Global War on Terror (GWOT) is justified. X^2 (df = 12, N=245) = 24.315, exact p = 0.018.

Among the fourteen (14) interviewees presented with the same question, six (6) respondents acknowledged the US war on terror as positive steps in the right direction to curb terrorism and radical Islam. One (1) respondent stated that the advent of international terrorism is not subject to negotiation because modern terrorism has transcended that they are no longer interested in earthly placation. Nevertheless, he faulted the approaches adopted by US in the execution of the war, citing the use of drone which is a non-discriminatory weapon that cannot separate the civilian population from terrorists. Five (5) interviewees believed that the global war on terror has aggravated the human security situation in Africa, citing the proliferation of Jihadist terrorist groups in the Sahel region and the Horn of Africa. One (1) respondent emphasized that the US global war on terror had transformed local salafist jihadist groups to al-Qaeda in the Islamic maghreb (AQIM), making it a franchise which has given birth to splinter groups such as Mokhtar Belmokhtar's Katibat, al-Murabitun, the movement for unity and jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), Boko Haram and Ansaru. This mutation has resulted in the crisis of human security in the Sahel region. Another respondent bemoaned the war on terror. He stated that the global war on terror has led to gross violation of human rights of Africans. According to him, "Nobody cares about extra-judicial killings and sometimes, while citizens are agitating for good governance and better living conditions, corrupt African leaders with US support, clamped down on them and tagged these citizen terrorists simply to avoid their responsibilities". He concluded by asserting that the amalgamation created by the notion of terrorism prevented governments in Africa and the US from addressing generic issues of human security.

6.4 Section Three: Presentation of data and analysis

6.4.1 Research Question 2: What are the implications of AFRICOM for human security in Africa?

The researcher carried out an empirical investigation of the implications of AFRICOM for human security in Africa by posing two fundamental questions to the

respondents and the interviewees respectively. The first question was to establish the motivations behind the establishment of AFRICOM.

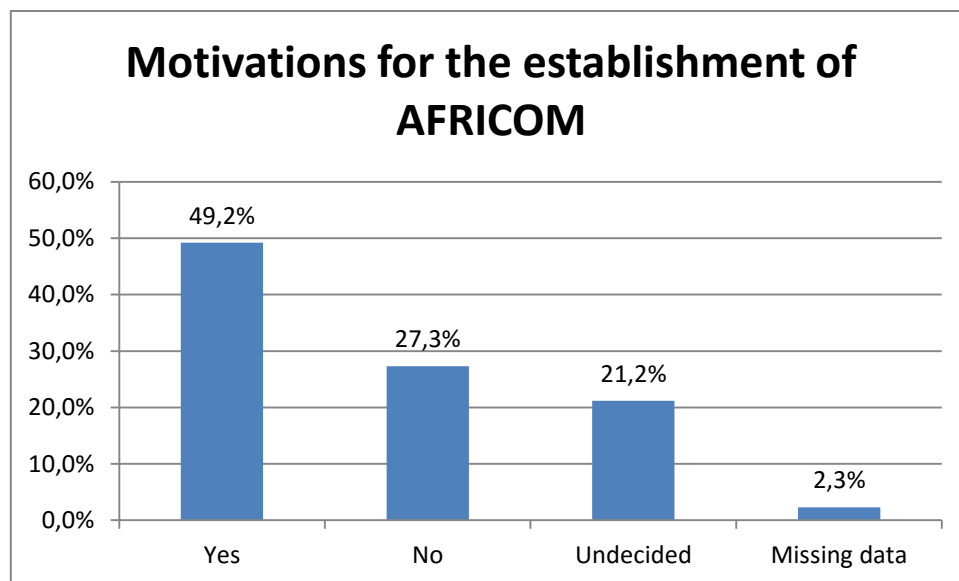


Figure 6.18 above shows reasons advanced by the respondents for the establishment of AFRICOM (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Figure 6.18 demonstrates the responses of the respondents on the motivation for the establishment of AFRICOM. Responses were as follows: 130 (49.2%) of the respondents believed that AFRICOM was established for the exploitation of African resources and to counter violent extremists whose activities would otherwise hinder the flow of these resources to the United States, 72 (27.3%) saw AFRICOM as a benign institution that will promote the human security of African people, 56 (21.2%) were undecided while 6 (2.3%) chose not to answer the question.

The clustered bar chart reveals majority of the respondents from the NGOs (70.6%), scholars and security experts (66.7%), diplomats and policy makers (60%) believed that AFRICOM was established for the exploitation of Africa’s natural resources while 45.5% of the military, 47.8% of the lecturers, 36.8% of the press and 35.7% of the students agreed with the view that AFRICOM was created for ulterior motives. Figure 19 below cross tabulates the opinion of respondents according to specialization of the motivation for the establishment of AFRICOM.

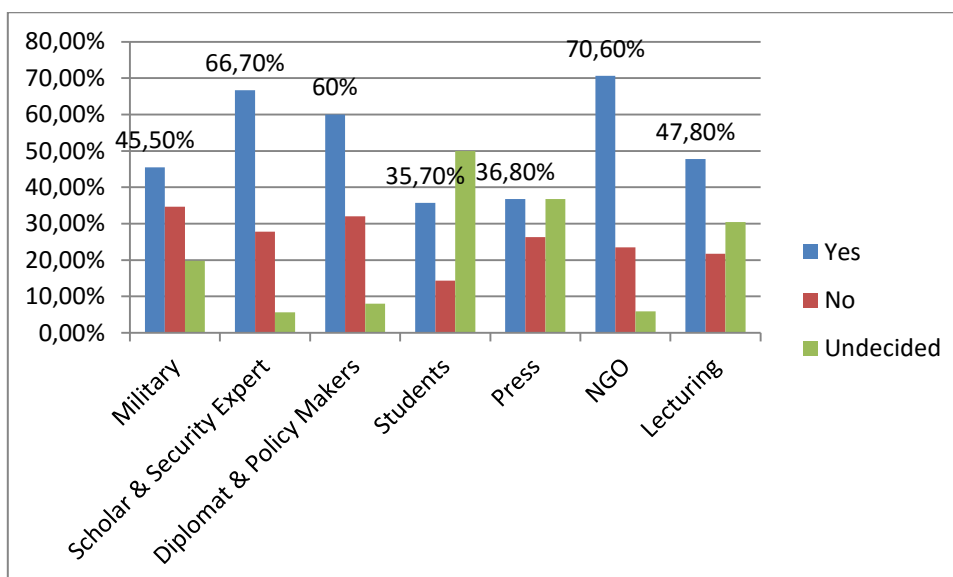


Figure 6.19 indicates groups' perceptions of motivation for AFRICOM (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Chi-Square Test			
N = 249	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	32.293	12	0.001
Likelihood Ratio	32.225	12	0.001
Linear by Linear Association	0.632	1	0.427

There is a significant difference in the occupation/specialization categories and their opinions that AFRICOM was created for the exploitation of African natural resources. X^2 (df = 12, N=249) = 32.293, exact p = 0.001.

Of the Fourteen (14) interviewees presented with the question, ten (10) strongly agreed that AFRICOM's establishment was motivated by the US desire to secure a source of strategic minerals and the need to gain a foothold in the continent. However, the convergence of US and African interests may be a coincidence but the point is that no country will ever go to a place where it doesn't have national interests. Three (3) interviewees stated that AFRICOM was established for altruistic

reasons. They argued that US strategic interests in Africa were addressed on a peripheral basis through three different commands. Creating AFRICOM to address and harmonize solely African issues is a noble gesture. One (1) interviewee stated that the US has military bases in every part of the world: hence, Africa should not be an exception considering the fact that interests have become globalized.

Further, the researcher wanted to access the level of AFRICOM acceptability among Africans therefore, the respondents were presented with this question: Is AFRICOM generally accepted by Africans?

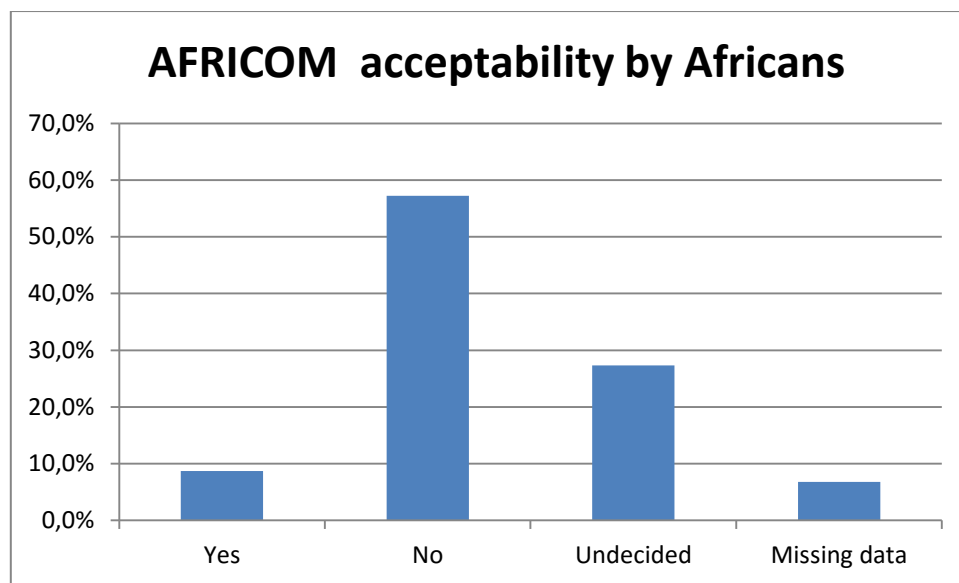


Figure 6.20 above indicates AFRICOM acceptability by African (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

The responses in figure 6.20 show that 23 (8.7%) agreed that Africans accepted the establishment of AFRICOM for Africa, 151 (57.2%) said that AFRICOM establishment in Africa was vehemently resisted while 72 (27.3%) were undecided and 18 (6.8) avoided the question.

The clustered bar chart of the groups' responses indicates that beside students (36%), members of the press (47.4%) and lecturers (52.2%) whose large population remained undecided, the responses from other specialized groups such as scholars and security experts (78.4%), NGOs (76.5%), military (62.6%) and diplomats and policy makers (60%) show that AFRICOM's level of acceptability by Africans was

very low indicating that Africans were not pleased with the establishment of a Unified Combatant Command (UCC) for Africa. See cross tabulation of groups' perception in figure 6.21 below.

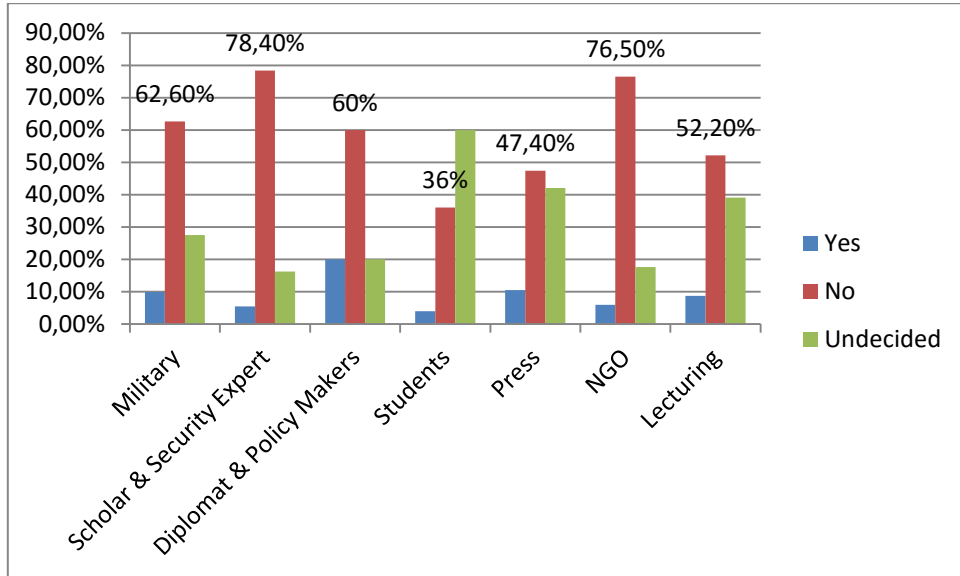


Figure 6.21 above describes different groups perceptions of AFRICOM acceptability (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Chi-Square Test			
N = 237	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	24.052	12	0.020
Likelihood Ratio	22.760	12	0.030
Linear by Linear Association	1.984	1	0.159

There is a significant difference in the occupation/specialization categories and their opinion of whether AFRICOM was generally accepted by Africans. X^2 (df = 12, N=237) = 24.052, exact p = 0.020.

From the interviewees, there was a high level of consensus among nine (9) that AFRICOM was not welcome in Africa. Reasons advanced by six (6) out of these

nine (9) were that AFRICOM is an appendage of US imperialist expansion in Africa and that Africans were not consulted before its establishment. Another reason was, that AFRICOM as a component of DoD has a war fighting orientation which will reinvent the gun-boat diplomacy of Cold War era. Two (2) interviewees saw AFRICOM as the right organisation for coordinated US efforts and mission effectiveness in Africa while the remaining three (3) argue that although AFRICOM was not welcome, the convergence of interests here is that AFRICOM will also help to deal with the security situation in this region which might otherwise, impede regional socio-economic arrangements.

The researcher wanted to know the factors that impede on the human security needs of the continent by asking the study respondents to identify the major human security pathologies that have inhibited African people from pursuing their aspirations. Respondents were also given options to choose more than one factors. Figure 22 below indicates that bad governance is seen as the major driver of human insecurity (178) followed by corruption (132), poverty (80), ethno-religious violence (55) insecurity (38), Neo-colonialism (34), weak institutional mechanism (20), poor education (19) and terrorism (20).

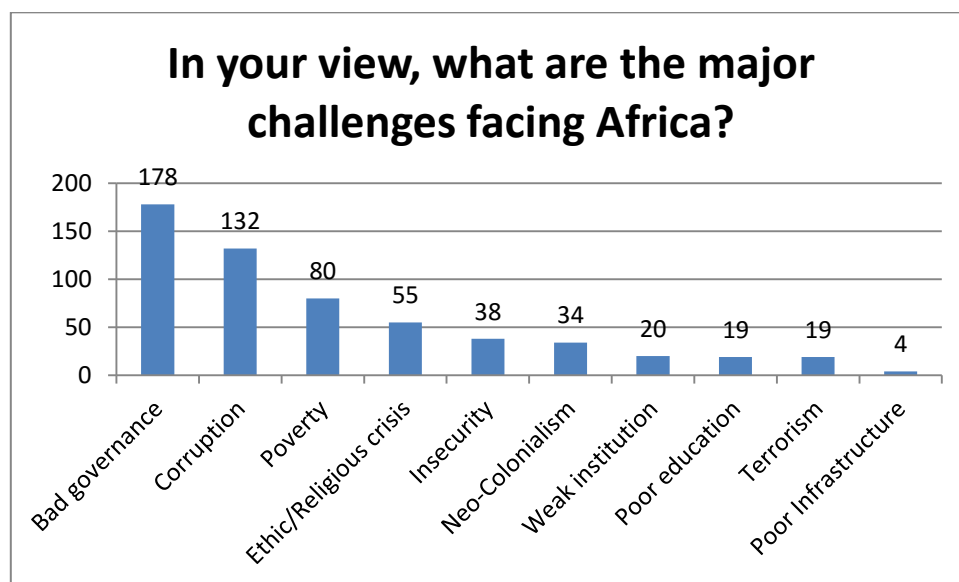


Figure 6.22 above describes the respondents' perceptions on the major human security challenges faced by Africans (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Of the fourteen (14) participants interviewed on the major human security challenges facing the continent, ten (10) suggested that the fundamental human security challenges in Africa are socio-economic challenges such as poverty, unemployment, hunger and harsh neo-liberal policies that come in form of austerity measures. Three (3) participants said that bad governance and corruption are the epicentres of human security challenges in Africa while two (2) interviewees stated that Africa lacks military professionalism. A participant commented that “African governments are dealing with their human security challenges by demilitarizing their militaries and their societies” He concluded by stating that the fusion of the idea of human security into the military de-capacitates African militaries from dealing with African security problems.

After identifying the major human security challenges facing African people, the researcher went further to find out whether AFRICOM is rightly positioned to address these challenges. Therefore, the study respondents were asked about the efficacy and the preparedness of AFRICOM to confront and address the enumerated challenges. The responses in figure 23 indicate that 13 (4.9%) agreed that AFRICOM is the solution to the human security challenges in Africa while 187 (70.8%) were of the opinion that AFRICOM is not the solution to the human security pathologies in Africa, 54 (20.5%) were undecided and 10 (3.8%) chose not to attempt the question.

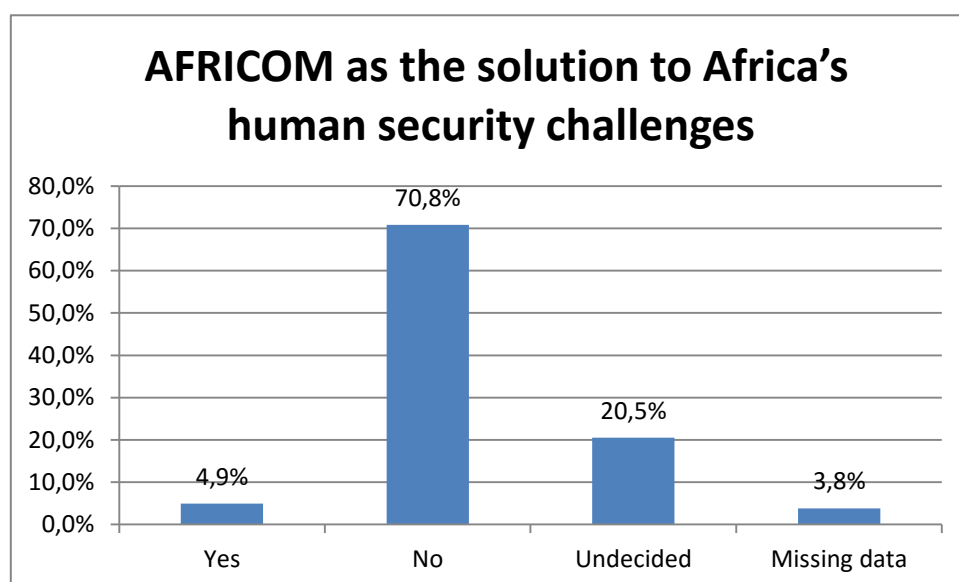


Figure 6.23 above depicts the participants responses on whether AFRICOM is the solution to African human security challenges (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

The responses were further categorised into specialization and presented in a clustered bar chart. Figure 24 below indicates that among the senior military personnel, 3 (3.1%) agreed that AFRICOM is the solution to the human security challenges in Africa while 75 (77.3%) disagreed with AFRICOM as the human security solution of Africa and 19 (19.6%) were undecided. Among scholars and security experts questioned, 31 (83.8%) stated that AFRICOM is not the solution to the human security challenges in Africa while a participant (2.7%) said that the solution lies with AFRICOM and 5 (13.5%) were undecided. When diplomats and policy makers were asked to respond to the question, 18 (75%) affirmed that Africa's human security solution lies with AFRICOM while 3 (12.5%) disagreed with the view and 3 (12.5%) were undecided. Fourteen (50%) students disagreed with AFRICOM as the possible solution to African human insecurity challenges, a student (3.6%) sees AFRICOM as the solution while 13 (46.4%) were undecided. Among the members of the press, 13 (68.4) disagreed that AFRICOM is the solution to Africa's security challenges while 1 (5.3%) sees AFRICOM as the solution and 5 (26.3%) were undecided. Thirteen (76.5%) NGOs see AFRICOM as the right institution to proffers solution to African security problems while 2 (11.8%) thought otherwise and 2 (11.8%) were undecided. Beside fifty-three respondents who were undecided representing (21.6%), the clustered bar chart shows that an overwhelming majority of the respondents - precisely 180 (73.5%) - were of the view that AFRICOM is not the solution to African human security challenges while 12 (4.9%) see AFRICOM as the solution.

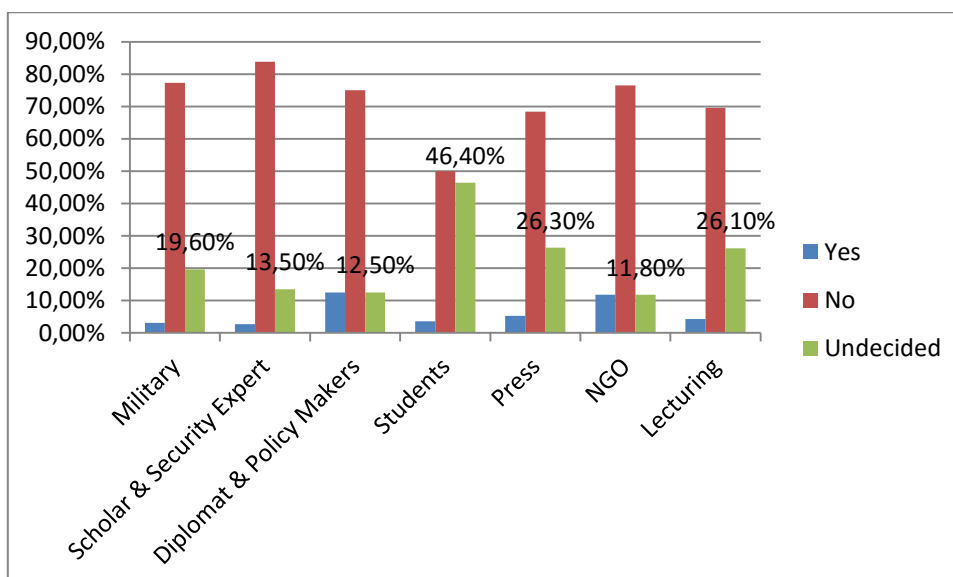


Figure 6.24 above depicts the cross tabulation of groups' responses on whether AFRICOM is the solution to the human security challenges in Africa (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Chi-Square Test			
N = 247	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	19.938	12	0.068
Likelihood Ratio	17.526	12	0.131
Linear by Linear Association	0.236	1	0.627

Of the fourteen (14) participants interviewed, twelve (12) stated categorically that AFRICOM is not the solution to the theatre of human insecurity in Africa however, seven (7) out of these twelve (12) were quick to add that AFRICOM can play a secondary role. Two (2) interviewees said that with the globalization of threats and its far-reaching consequences, AFRICOM is better equipped to respond to crisis and address human security catastrophes in Africa.

6.5 Section Four: Data presentation and analysis

6.5.1 Research Question 3: Whose security interests will AFRICOM serve?

The researcher sought to identify the nature, scope and objectives of AFRICOM activities on the continent so as to determine whose interests AFRICOM was established to serve in Africa. Respondents were asked whether the military to military training and exercises organized and sponsored by AFRICOM for African military partners are in the best interest of the continent. 109 (41%) responded positively that AFRICOM's military training and exercises with African partners are in the best interest of Africans, 73 (27.7%) expressed their fear that these training and exercises will negatively affect the continent, 72 (27.3%) were undecided while 10 (3.8%) chose not to answer the question. Those who responded negatively argued that military empowerment constitutes a serious impediment to Africa's nascent democracies. For respondents who reacted positively, it meant that the capacities of the African security forces will be enhanced to respond promptly and effectively to emergent human security threats in the continent.

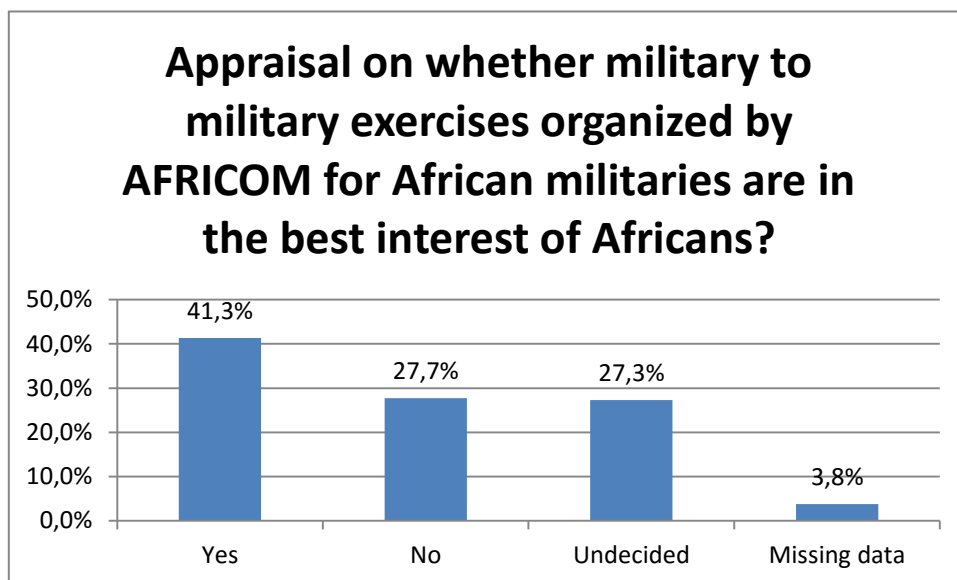


Figure 6.26 above indicates the responses of the respondents on AFRICOM's military training and exercises with African military partners (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

The clustered bar chart for groups' appraisal of AFRICOM's military-to-military training with African military partners shows that approvals from the NGOs (52.9%), diplomats and policy makers (52%) and Military (51%) were above average while scholars and security experts (45.6%), lecturers (40.9%) and press (29.4%) were below average. Students were completely against the training.

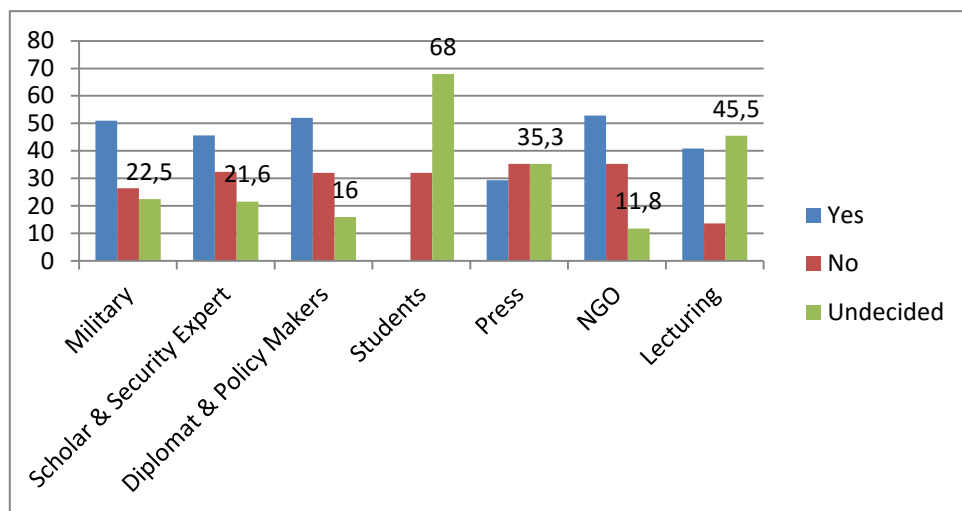


Figure 6.27 depicts the cross tabulation of groups' views on AFRICOM's military-to-military training with African military partners (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Chi-Square Test			
N = 249	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	32.293	12	0.000
Likelihood Ratio	32.225	12	0.000
Linear by Linear Association	0.632	1	0.019

There is a significant difference in the occupation/specialization categories and their perception of whether the military to military exercises organized by AFRICOM for

African militaries is in the best interest of Africans. X^2 (df = 12, N=249) = 32.293, exact p = 0.000.

Of the fourteen (14) interviewees, twelve (12) affirmed that the AFRICOM's military to military training and exercises are necessary for capacity building and upgrading of military equipment. Seven (7) out of these twelve (12) were quick to remark that in addition to the training and exercises, AFRICOM should partner with relevant US agencies to improve the living conditions of African military personnel. Two (2) respondents argued that since 2002 the US government has been investing about \$120 million every year on the capacity building of African military partners through the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP) aimed at defeating terrorist organizations by: strengthening regional counterterrorism capabilities, enhancing and institutionalizing cooperation among the region's security forces, promoting democratic governance, discrediting terrorist ideology, and reinforcing bilateral military ties with the United States. From 2006, the fund was increased to \$500 million annually with the overall goals to enhance the indigenous capacities of governments in the Pan-Sahel region of Africa (Mauritania, Mali, Chad, Burkina Faso and Niger, as well as Nigeria and Senegal) to confront the challenge posed by terrorist organizations in the region. One (1) respondent concluded by asking, "How can one explain the inability of African militaries to confront insurgencies and terrorist activities?"

Next, the researcher wanted to examine the capacity of African governments and security forces to provide human security and their readiness to mitigate threats to insecurity. Figure 6.28 below presents the respondents appraisal of African governments ability to provide human security for Africans.

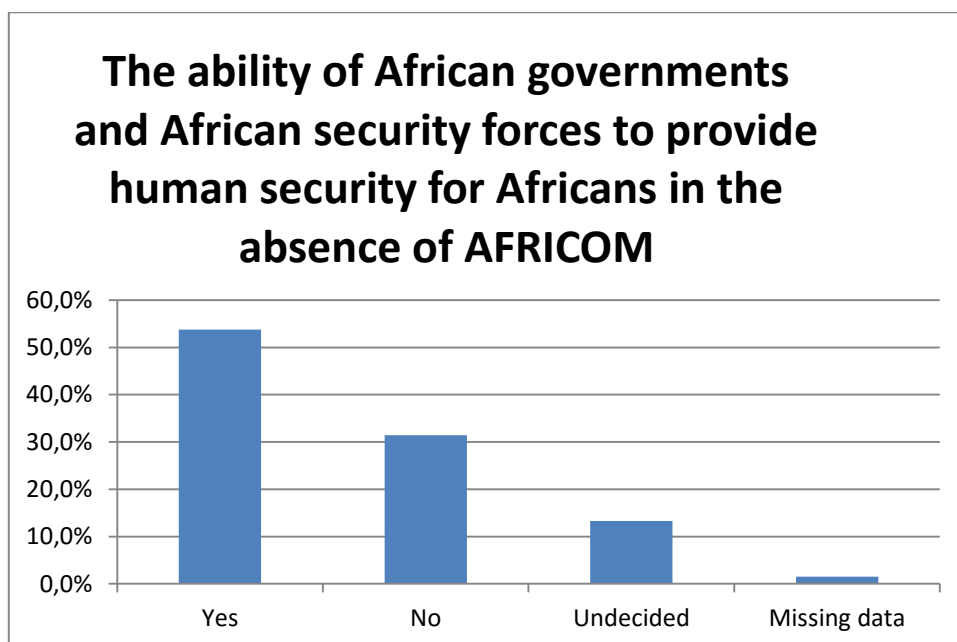


Figure 6.28: Appraisal of the ability African governments and African security forces to provide human security to Africans (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

The researcher noted that 142 (53.8%) affirmed that African governments and their security apparatuses are capable of providing human security for Africans in the absence of AFRICOM, 83 (31.4%) doubted the efficacy of African governments and their security institutions to cater for the human security needs of the continent while 35 (13.3%) were undecided and 4 (1.5%) omitted the question.

The study observed that beside members of the press (36.8%) and students (35.7%) who were critical of African governments' abilities to provide human security for Africans in the absence of AFRICOM, other specialized groups such as diplomats and policy makers (64%), military (61.8%), scholars and security experts (59.5%), NGOs (58.8%) and lecturers (47.8%) believed in the abilities of African governments to adequately provide human security in Africa in the absence of AFRICOM.

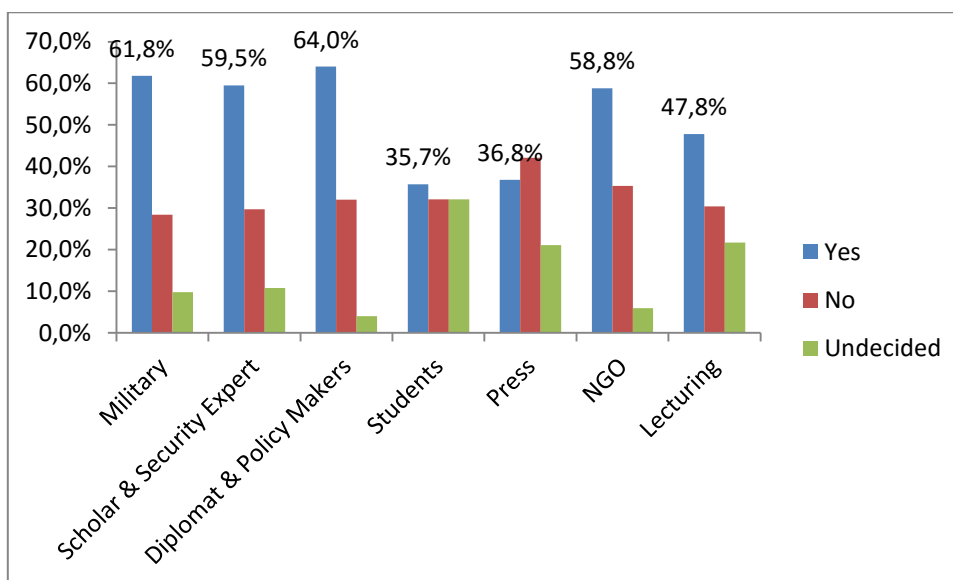


Figure 6.29 above describes different groups approval of African governments capabilities to provide human security in the absence of AFRICOM (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Chi-Square Test			
N = 249	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	18.474	12	0.102
Likelihood Ratio	17.487	12	0.132
Linear by Linear Association	5.030	1	0.025

Of fourteen (14) security specialists interrogated, thirteen (13) stated categorically that African governments and their security apparatuses lack capacities to respond to post Cold War threats and provide human security for Africans. Five (5) interviewees cited lack of funding, inability of African governments to upgrade obsolete equipment to modern standard and corruption as the bane of African security forces. One (1) respondent pointed out that South African Armed Forces, for instance, have witnessed progressive reductions in defence budgets since President Thabo Mbeki's administration while another respondent cited the inability of the Nigerian government to defeat a rag-tag Islamist terrorist group as good examples of

African governments' failure to protect lives and properties of African people. One (1) respondent said that African governments and security forces are adequately prepared and well equipped to provide human security for Africa. He, however, deplored the overbearing influence of the Western nations which has negatively affected African security forces. One (1) respondent stated emphatically, "Africans governments and military forces do have the capacities. In the past, ECOMOG ventured into Liberia and Sierra-Leone and solved complex human security problems when no one was prepared to venture into those countries and they did remarkably well regardless of the enormous challenges of insecurity problematique." Another respondent concluded by saying "I don't think that any country can fight terrorism, insurgency, and other emergent threats alone, these threats require collaborative efforts". With adequate training and proper logistics, Africans can respond to threats and mitigate them.

Further, respondents were asked if AFRICOM's activities in Africa are in line with its avowed objectives of mitigating threats and promoting human security in the continent. See figure 6.29 below for responses.

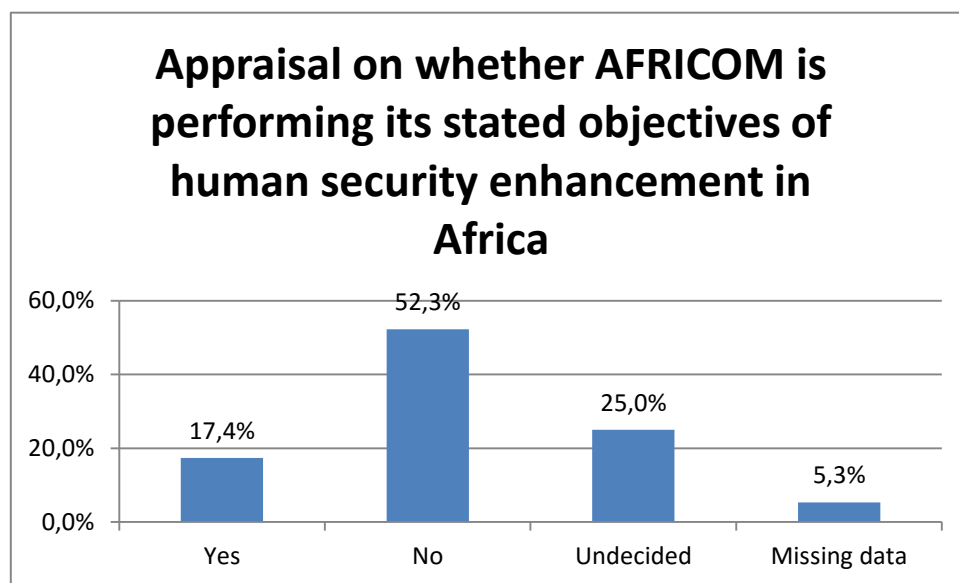


Figure 2.29 above demonstrates respondents appraisal of AFRICOM adherence to human security promotion in Africa (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

The researcher observed that 46 (17.4%) concurred that AFRICOM’s activities are in line with its stated objective of promoting human security in Africa, 138 (52.3%) felt that AFRICOM has deviated from her its avowed goal of promoting human security in Africa, 66 (25%) demonstrated no opinion while 14 (5.3%) chose not to attempt the question.

The clustered bar chart indicates that all the specialized groups under study were unanimous in affirming that AFRICOM is not performing her purported responsibility of human security enhancement in Africa, 65.2% of the diplomats and policy makers, 62.2% of scholars and security experts, 57.6% of military, 52.9% of NGOs, 50% of the press, 44% of students and 40.9% of lecturers all agreed that AFRICOM is not performing its stated role of human security enhancement. See figure 29 below for description.

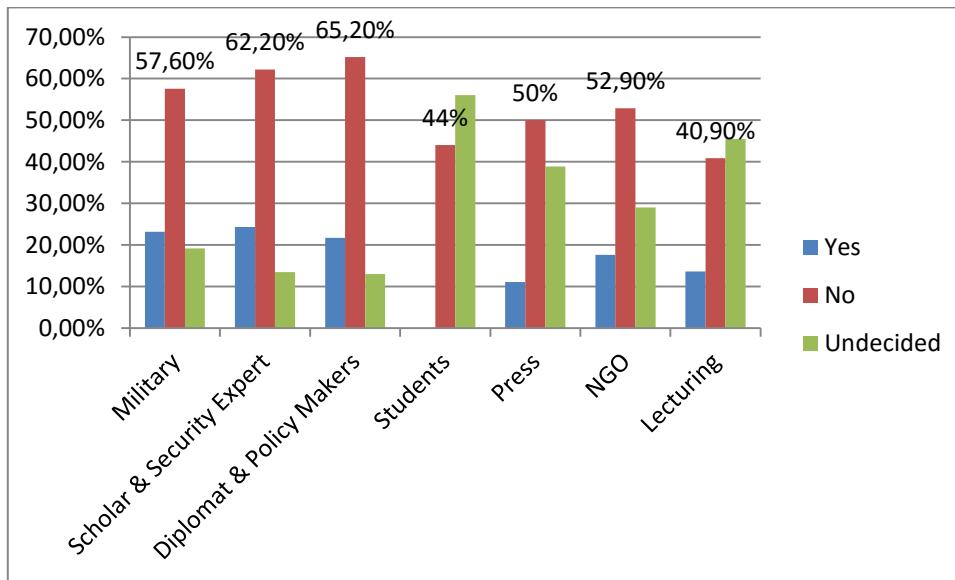


Figure 6.29 above explains different groups’ views on whether AFRICOM is performing her stated objective of human security enhancement in Africa (N=241)

Source: Field data (2014)

Chi-Square Test			
N = 241	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	28.159	12	0.005
Likelihood Ratio	31.074	12	0.002
Linear by Linear Association	11.520	1	0.001

There is a significant difference in the occupation/specialization categories and their perception on whether AFRICOM is performing its stated objectives of human security enhancement in Africa. X^2 (df = 12, N=241) = 28.159, exact p = 0.005.

Of the fourteen (14) interviewees, eleven (11) stated that AFRICOM's objective of human security promotion is defeated because it lacks capacity for such role. One (1) respondent retorted "there is no military convergence that can be adaptable in addressing the human security threats in Africa. Africans emphasize the problems of poverty, droughts, inter-groups conflicts and the problem of governance as major threats to human security but the US of course, does not look at it from that perspective". One (1) respondent blamed the Western Neo-liberal policies popularized by the US as the fundamental reason behind gross marginalization and inequality in Africa. One (1) interviewee argued that AFRICOM is a hybrid command incorporated with other US government agencies such as the State Department, Trade and Commerce, Health etc. AFRICOM was structured to plan and implement programmes and activities to addresses human security challenges. The respondent cited the involvement of AFRICOM in building schools, constructing roads, digging boreholes and providing health care delivery. Nevertheless, all the interviewees admitted that AFRICOM can be helpful to some extent in mitigating the threats to human security.

6.6 Section Five: Data presentation and analysis

6.6.1 Research Question 4: Will increased US military activities in Africa assist the AU's strategic objective of promoting peace and human security or will it contribute to instability?

In this section the researcher wanted to find out whether the increased US military activities in Africa will either assist the AU's strategic objective of promoting peace, stability and human security or undermine the AU peace initiatives. Three critical questions were posed to the respondents to determine the validity of AFRICOM's activities to the AU's objectives of promoting peace and security in the continent.

Respondents were asked whether the creation of AFRICOM has enhanced the capacity of African Union and other sub- regional organizations in Africa. Figure 17 below indicates their responses.

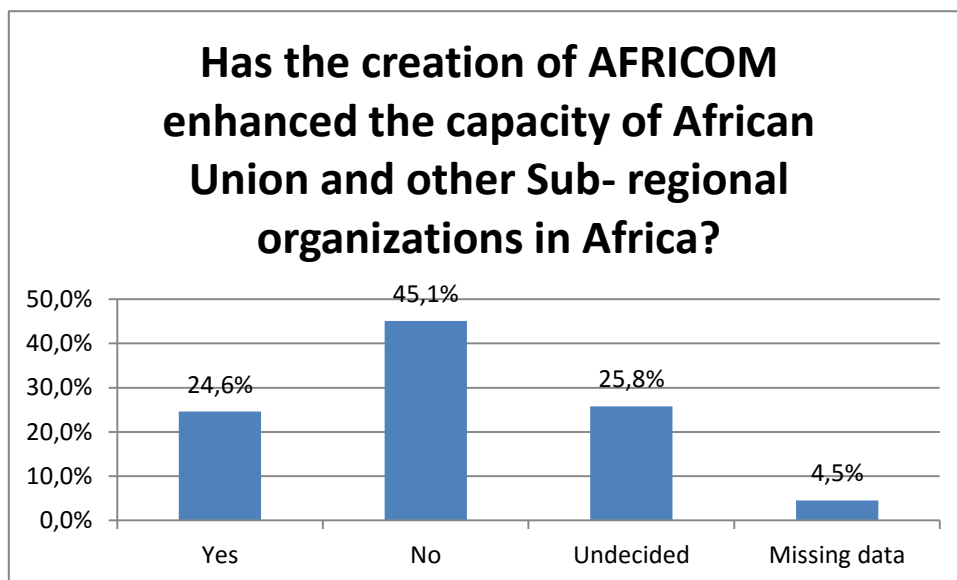


Figure 6.30 shows the appraisal of the study respondents on the impact of AFRICOM on AU's capacity enhancement in the provision of human security in Africa (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

The responses were as follows: 65 (24.6%) believed that the establishment of AFRICOM has bolstered the capacity of AU and sub-regional organizations to

provide human security for Africans, 119 (45.1%) thought otherwise that AFRICOM has undermined the capacity of AU and sub-regional organizations to provide human security in the continent, 68 (25.8%) were undecided while 12 (4.5%) abstained from the question. Figure 18 below indicates the clustered bar chart of respondents perceptions on whether the establishment of AFRICOM has enhanced the capacities of African Union (AU) and other sub-regional organizations to promote peace, stability and human security in the continent.

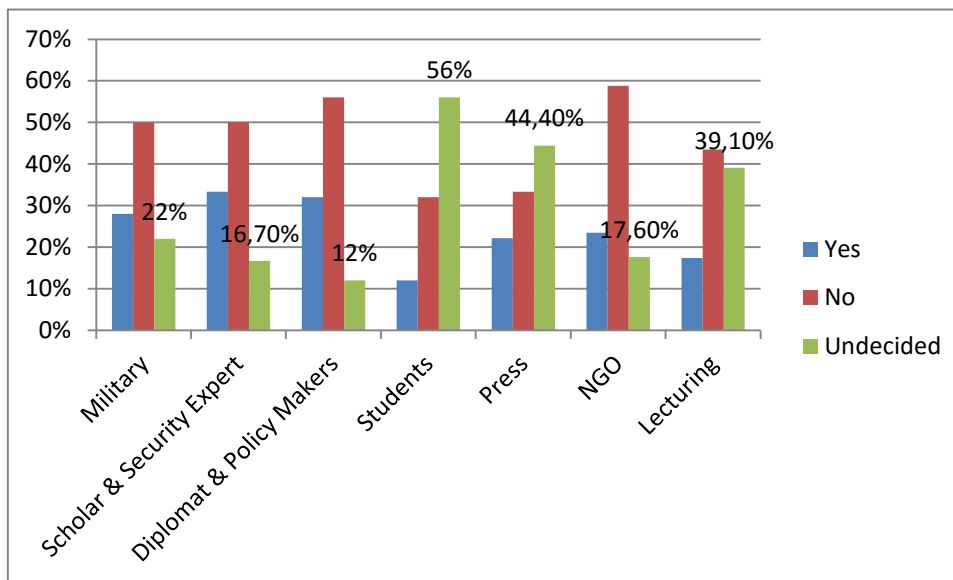


Figure 6.31 highlights the responses of the participants according to their specializations on the capability of AFRICOM to bolster African regional organization in the promotion of human security (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

With the exceptions of the students and the press whose undecided populations (56%) and (44.4%) respectively, majorities in other specialization see AFRICOM as a threat to the mandate of African regional organizations to promote peace, stability and human security in Africa. While 10 (58.8%) of the NGOs and 14 (56%) of diplomats and policy makers believed that AFRICOM will undermine the efforts of the AU, 50% of the military and approximately 44% of lecturers expressed similar view.

Chi-Square Test			
N = 241	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	23.325	12	0.025
Likelihood Ratio	22.334	12	0.034
Linear by Linear Association	5.325	1	0.021

There is a significant difference in the occupation/specialization categories and how their perception on whether the creation of AFRICOM has enhanced the capacity of African Union and other Sub- regional organizations in Africa. X^2 (df = 12, N=241) = 23.325, exact p = 0.025.

Results of the interviews indicated that seven (7) interviewees argued against the possibility of AFRICOM assisting African regional bodies to promote human security, four (4) narrated that the ECOWAS and AU experiences in Cote d'Ivoire and Libya respectively show that the US in particular and Western nations in general are working at cross purposes with the AU goal of promoting human security in Africa. Five (5) interviewees expressed their confidence in the ability of AFRICOM to support regional peace efforts. However, they suggested that it should be corroborative efforts devoid of direct interference or meddling in African affairs. One (1) respondent lamented that the US covert operations in Libya under the guise of "R2P" (Responsibility to Protect) have created instability in the Sahel region. He noted, "The AU insisted on a negotiated settlement to the Libyan debacle but the US was hell-bent on regime change and the end result is fragility of the Libyan state with overarching consequences".

The researcher wanted to find out whether the recent intervention of the US in Africa in the mode of AFRICOM is in the best interests of Africans. See figure 19 below for responses.

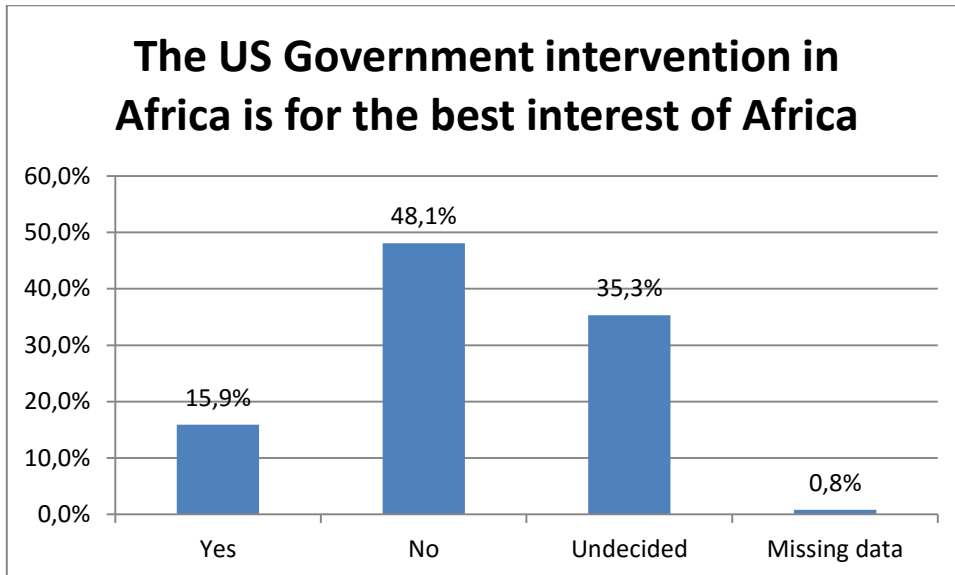


Figure 6.32 demonstrates the opinion of the respondents on whether US intervention in Africa serves the best interests of the continent (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

The responses were as follows: 42 (15.9%) felt that the US intervention in Africa serves the best interests of Africans, 127 (48.1%) see US intervention in Africa as antithetical to African interests, 93 (35.3%) were undecided while 2 (0.8%) ignored the question.

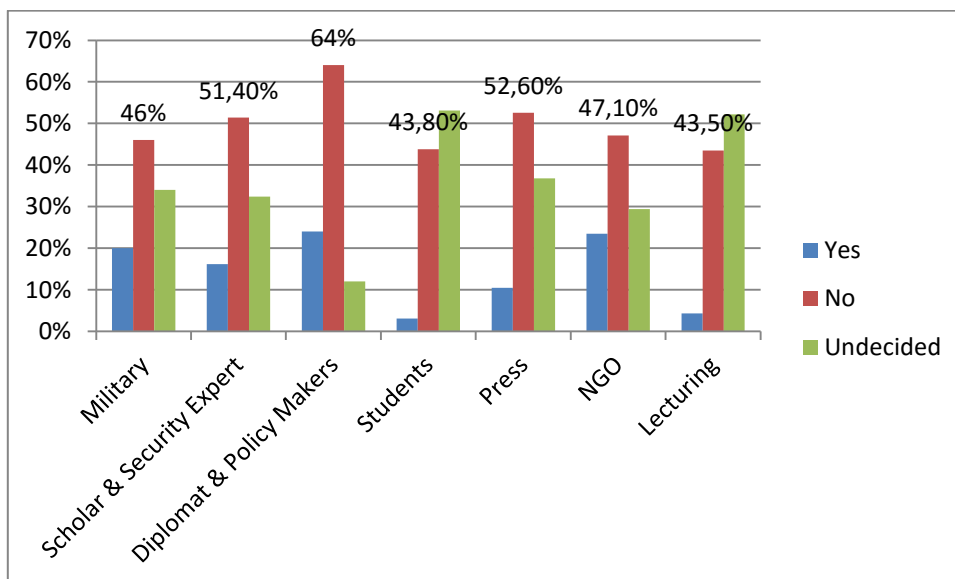


Figure 6.33 above is a clustered bar chart that shows the views of various respondents in accordance with their specialization/occupation on whether the US governments interventions in African countries are for the interest of Africans (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

The responses show that 46 (46%) of the military were against US government intervention in Africa on the ground that the intervention will exacerbate human insecurity in the continent while 20 (20%) of the military argue in favour of US interventions in Africa and 34 (34%) were undecided, 19 (51.4%) of scholars and security experts faulted the US government intervention in Africa while 6 (16.2%) of the scholars and security experts welcomed the intervention and 12 (32.4%) were undecided, 16 (64%) diplomats and policy makers see the US government's intervention as serious impediments to African progress while 6 (24%) diplomats and policy makers see the intervention as humanitarian gestures that protect the interests of Africans and 3 (12%) were undecided. Majorities of the press 10 (52.6%), students 14 (43.8%), NGOs 8 (47.1%) and lecturers 10 (43.5%) were all against US government intervention in Africa on the grounds that it will undermine the interests of Africans.

Chi-Square Test			
N = 253	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	22.123	18	0.227
Likelihood Ratio	24.988	18	0.125
Linear by Linear Association	0.179	1	0.672

Of the fourteen (14) interviewees, twelve (12) agreed that US intervention and increased involvement, particularly military commitment, may be deleterious to the

interests of Africans. And given the problems that continue in Somalia, Kenya, Mali, Libya, Sudan, the DRC and Nigeria, Africa does not appear to have benefitted from US intervention. Nonetheless, the U.S. and other Western countries may be able to make major strides toward improving the prospects for peace and stability if they can bring commercial investment in Africa. Two (2) respondents argued strongly in favour of US intervention as the panacea for human security deterioration in Africa, insisting that there are convergences of interest which the US intervention is set to address..

The respondents were further asked to appraise the UN-NATO led “Operation Odyssey Dawn” in Libya and also to determine whether the US government exercised undue influence in the intervention. Figure 21 below depicts the perception of the respondents concerning the UN-NATO intervention in Libya in 2011.

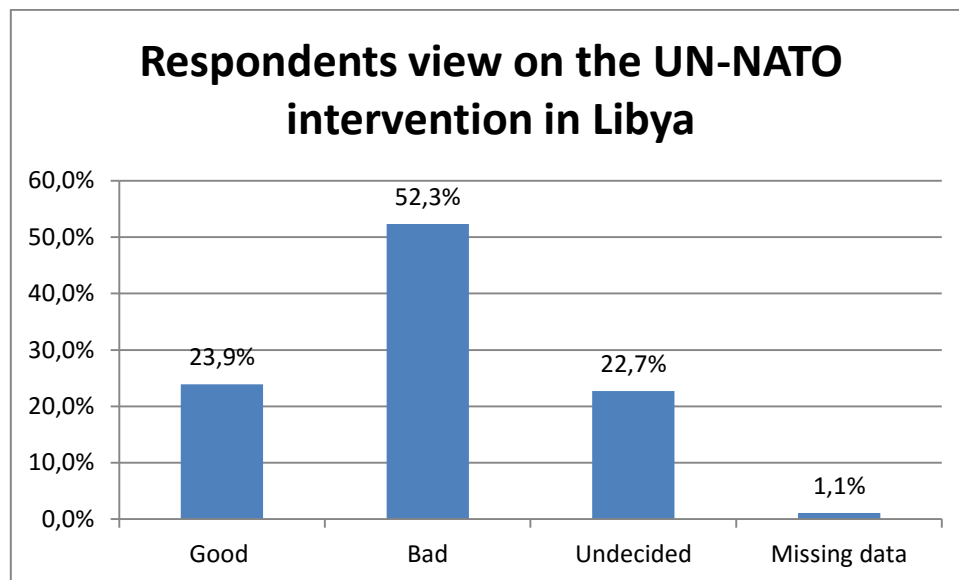


Figure 6.34 depicts respondents perception on the UN-NATO led intervention on Libya in 2011 (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

The responses were as follows: 63 (23.9%) felt that the UN-NATO intervention in Libya was good and justifiable, 138 (52.3%) believed that the UN-NATO

intervention in Libya was bad and inimical to human security enhancement in Africa, 60 (22.7%) were undecided while 3 (1.1%) chose not to attempt the question.

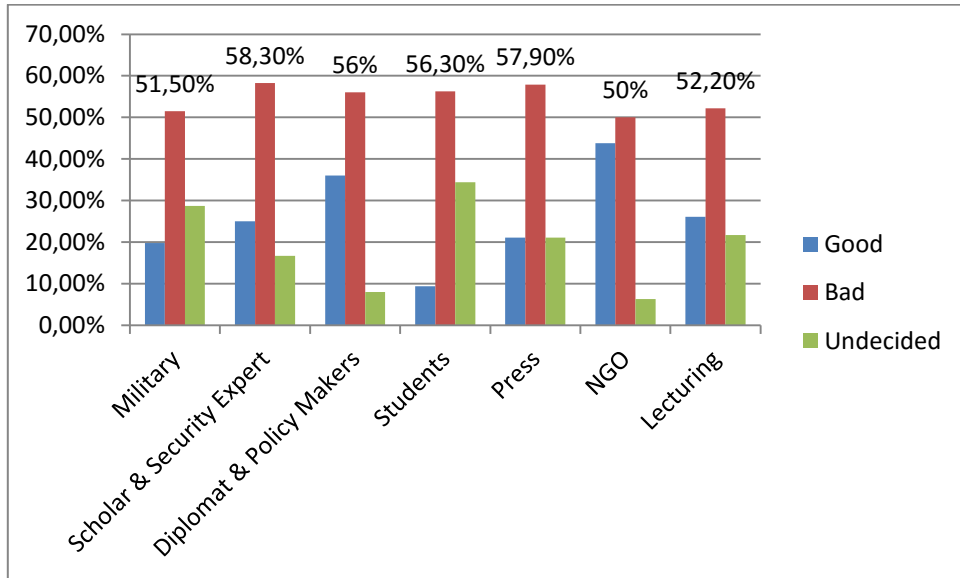


Figure 6.35 above depicts the clustered bar chart of groups views on the US-NATO intervention in Libya (N=252)

Source: Field data (2014)

The categorization of responses by specialization/occupation shows that 20 (19.8%) military officers supported the US-NATO intervention in Libya while 52 (51.5%) military officers felt that the intervention was bad and 29 (28.7%) were undecided. The responses from scholars and security experts indicate that 9 (25%) supported the US-NATO intervention in Libya while 21 (58.3%) faulted the intervention in Libya and 6 (16.7%) were undecided, 9 (36%) diplomats and policy makers said that the US-NATO intervention in Libya was good while 14 (56%) said that the intervention was a bad move and 2 (8%) were undecided. The students, press, NGOs and lecturers voted 18 (56.3%), 11 (57.9%), 8 (50%) and 12 (52.2%) respectively against the US-NATO intervention in Libya while 3 (9.4%), 4 (21.1%), 7 (43.8%) and 6 (26.1%) voted in favour of US-NATO intervention in Libya.

Chi-Square Test			
N = 252	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	16.755	12	0.159
Likelihood Ratio	17.984	12	0.116
Linear by Linear Association	1.722	1	0.189

Of the fourteen (14) interviewees, five (5) stated that the intervention was necessary to avert President Qaddafi's attempt to murder his people, citing United Nations Security Council's Resolution 1973 (2011) as the mandate of the operation. Eight (8) interviewees argued that the intervention in Libya was conjured by the US government and France under the guise of international humanitarianism masquerading under NATO so as to gain access to Libyan strategic energy resources. A respondent stated that since the demise of Qaddafi in 2011, Libya has since descended into chaos transforming the entire region into a zone of conflict. Two (2) emphasized that human insecurity in today's Libya is worse by far than that of Libya under Qaddafi and yet the US and NATO have refused to act. He concluded by saying that US governments often profess a stronger interest in Africa than their actions would imply. , they tend to express their regret when not in the White House. He cited the example of Bill Clinton calling the non-intervention in Rwanda's 1994 genocide his greatest regret as president, or Sen. Barack Obama calling for more assertiveness in the Democratic Republic of Congo, or DRC, and Sudan six to eight years ago. But, in fact, now is the time to reassess this long-standing American anathema to military involvement in Africa's terrible wars. Another respondent cited President Barack Obama address on March 28, 2011, when he spoke to the American people about Libya and why the United States (U.S.) must engage militarily as opposed to diplomatically. The U.S. led by AFRICOM (the U.S. Military Command in Africa that enforces U.S. foreign policy), initiated the bombing of Libya ostensibly to enforce a United Nations (U.N.) mandated No-Fly Zone.

The rationale for the U.S. intervention in Libya is to protect vulnerable civilians from mass slaughter by the Libyan regime. One has to question why the U.S. has pursued a military path to ‘protect’ civilians in Libya, especially considering that there is a far greater humanitarian crisis unfolding in the heart of Africa. The question generates greater concern when one considers that President Obama has had diplomatic tools at his disposal to help alleviate the human suffering in the Congo but has not used them.

The researcher further probed the respondents’ opinions of US intervention in Uganda and Central African Republic. The responses are presented in figure 20 below.

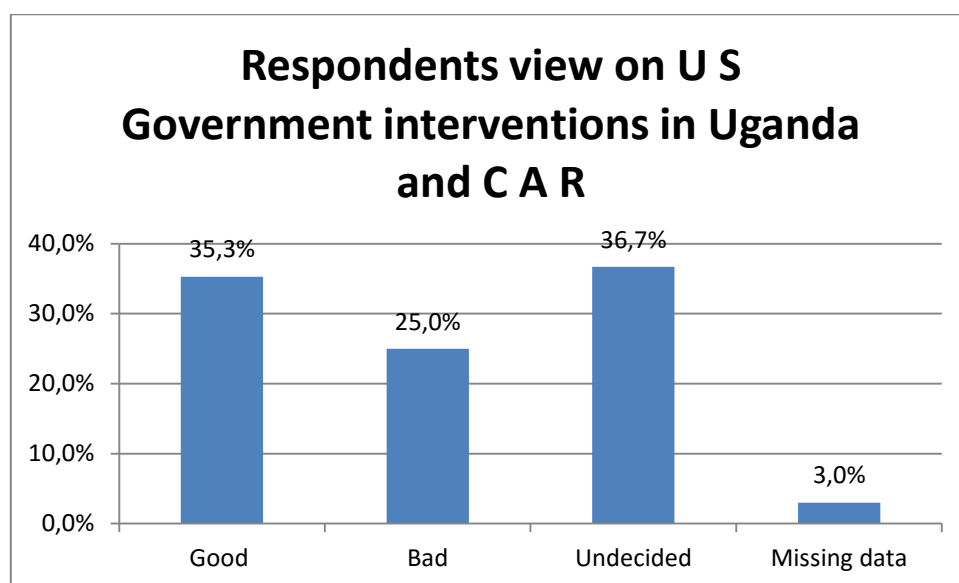
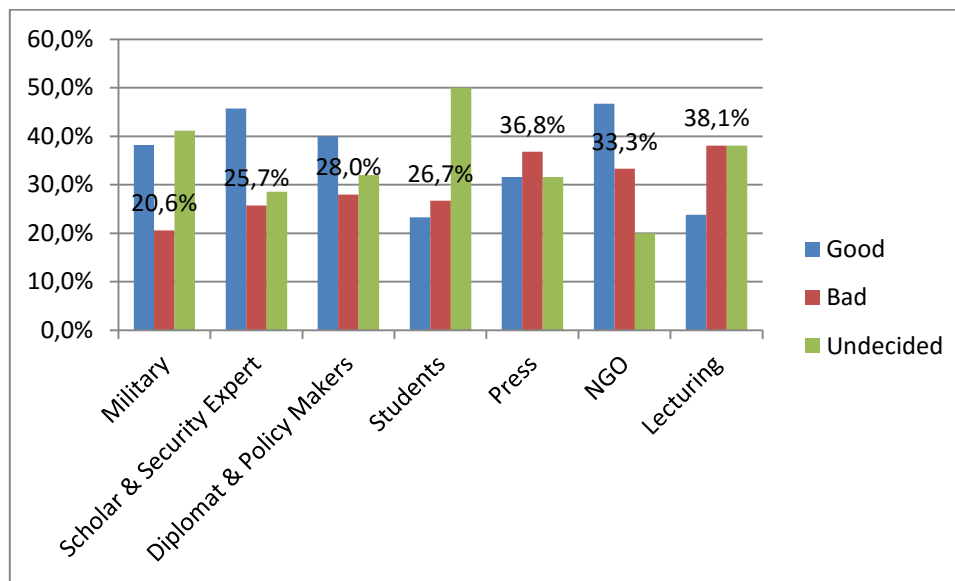


Figure 6.36 depicts respondents views of US government intervention in Uganda and CAR (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

The responses to figure 20 above were as follows: 93 (35.3%) welcomed the US government intervention in Uganda and Central African Republics as necessary for addressing the human insecurity pathologies in that region, 66 (25%) said that the interventions were bad and hence, undermine the human security of the region, 97 (36.7%) were undecided while 8 (3%) simply abstained from the question.

Figure 21 below is a clustered bar chart of specialization/occupational responses (N=264)



Source: Field data (2014)

The clustered bar chart in figure 21 above reveals that out of the 102 (100%) military personnel questioned about the implication of the US government’s intervention in Uganda and CAR, 39 (38.2%) agreed that the interventions are very good, 21 (20.6%) disagreed with the interventions in Uganda and CAR, arguing that the protracted conflict and human suffering in the region are s direct consequences of such intervention; 42 (41.2%) declined to answer the question. Sixteen (45.7%) scholars and security experts supported the US intervention in Uganda and CAR while 9 (25.7%) disapproved and 10 (28.6%) remained undecided. Ten (40%) diplomats and security experts expressed satisfaction about the US government intervention in Uganda and CAR while 7 (28%) expressed dissatisfaction with the intervention and 8 (32%) were undecided. Seven students (23.3%) expressed satisfaction with the US government’s intervention in Uganda and CAR while 8 (26.7%) disapproved of the intervention and 15 (50%) were undecided. Among the Press, 6 (31.6%) supported US military intervention in Uganda and CAR while 7 (36.8%) rejected the intervention on the grounds that they were western-oriented and do not take into cognisance the peculiarities of the conflicts in those regions; 6 (31.6%) were undecided. Seven NGOs (46.7%) expressed their support for the US

government's intervention in Uganda and CAR, citing the nefarious activities of the LRA as *raison de'tre* for such intervention; 5 (33.3%) disagreed with the intervention and 3 (20%) were undecided. Five lecturers (23.8%) supported the US intervention in Uganda and CAR and 8 (38.1%) expressed their dissatisfaction with the intervention while another 8 (38.1%) were undecided.

Chi-Square Test			
N = 247	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	11.374	12	0.497
Likelihood Ratio	11.656	12	0.474
Linear by Linear Association	0.093	1	0.761

Of the fourteen (14) interviewees, eleven (11) said that the intervention in Uganda and CAR were to counter the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and to arrest its notorious leader, Joseph Kony. Two (2) interviewees argued that the US government intervention in Uganda and CAR will have worsened the human security situation in the Great Lake region as crises of diverse magnitudes have continued unabatedly. A respondent suggested that diplomacy should be pursued instead of military engagement.

The researcher wanted to find whether the US government intervention in DRC has met the expectations of African people. Hence, the respondents were asked to appraise the level of US government involvement in DRC and its consequence for human security improvement. See figure 22 below for responses.

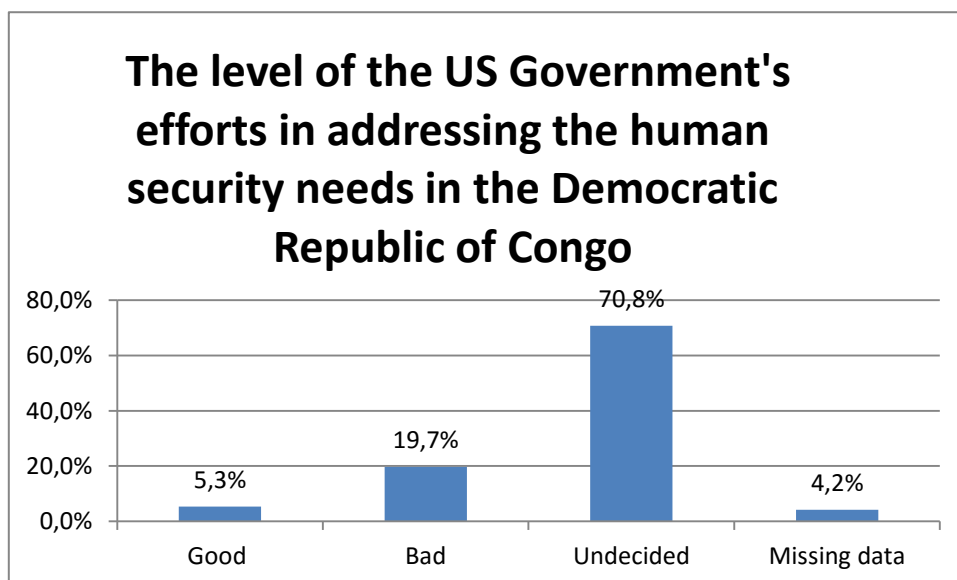


Figure 6.37 demonstrates the respondents perceptions of the US Government's efforts to ameliorate human insecurity in DRC (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

The responses were as follows: 14 (5.3%) felt that the US government has made adequate efforts to mitigate human insecurity in the DRC, 52 (19.7%) believed that the US government's efforts to address human security issues in DRC are far below the expectations of Africans, 187 (70.8%) of the study participants were undecided while 11 (4.2%) chose to ignore the question.

In figure 6.38 below the clustered bar chart shows the categorization of the responses by specialization/occupation with regard to the US government's efforts in addressing human insecurity in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Nine military personnel (9.1%) said that the US government has made adequate efforts to ameliorate human insecurity in DRC while 72 (72.7) insisted that the US government has abdicated its responsibility to protect (R2P) and alleviate human suffering in DRC and 18 (18.2%) abstained from the question. Twenty-five scholars and security experts (71.4%) blamed the US government for its inertia in Congo debacle while 10 (28.6%) were undecided. Two diplomats and policy-makers said that the US government has made appreciable efforts towards the resolution of Congo crisis while 20 (80%) expressed dissatisfaction with the US government's role in Congo

and 3 (12%) were undecided. Only one student (3.3%) supported the US government's efforts in Congo while 21 (70%) believed that the US government is part of the problem and 8 (26.7%) were undecided. Only one member of the Press approved the US government's effort in Congo while 14 (77.8%) disapproved and 3 (16.7%) were undecided. None of the NGOs and the lecturers approved of the US government's effort in DRC. Fourteen NGOs (87.5%) and sixteen lecturers (76.2%) expressed their disapproval of the US government's inaction toward the protracted conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

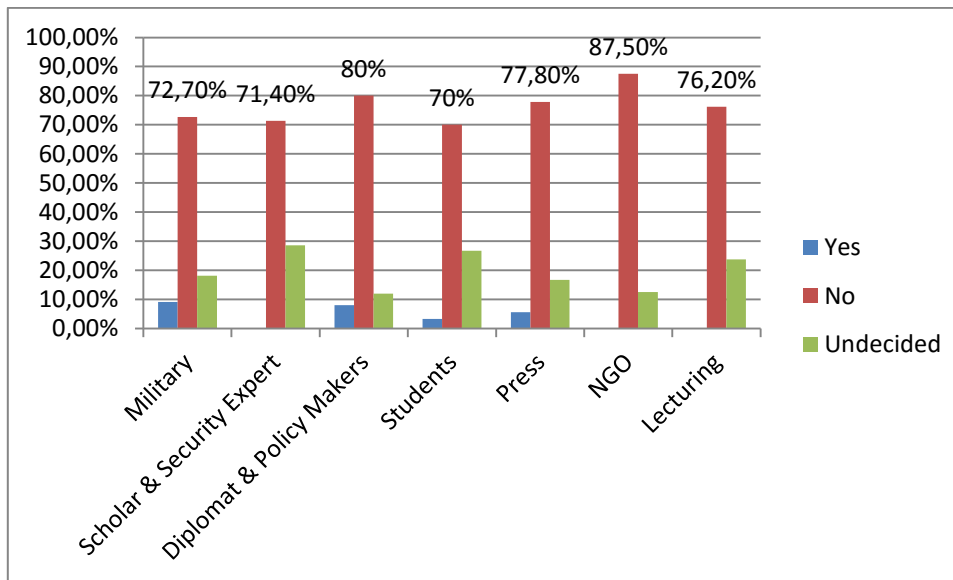


Figure 6.38 above shows the categorized specialized/occupational responses (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Chi-Square Test			
N = 244	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	11.296	12	0.504
Likelihood Ratio	14.645	12	0.261
Linear by Linear Association	0.853	1	0.356

Of the fourteen (14) interviewees, nine (9) felt that the US government has contributed to the resolution of the protracted conflicts in DRC however; more is expected from a superpower. Three (3) of the interviewees argued that the on-going conflict in DRC was triggered by Rwanda and Uganda - who are prominent US allies in the region - when they invaded Congo in 1996. One (1) interviewee retorted “The US and France intervened in Libya under the guise of moral responsibility to protect the vulnerable. The global community must question the lack of action on the part of the US and the coalition when it comes to the millions dead in the Congo”. One (1) interviewee angrily stated that “The 2008 UN Group of Experts Final Report on the Democratic Republic of Congo documented, among other things, satellite phone records for members of one of the rebel groups responsible for destabilizing the Congo, the National Congress for the Defense of the People (CNDP)”. The CNDP was in communication with the Rwandan Defense Force high military command and the Rwandan presidency. Given the body of evidence of Rwanda’s complicity in support of the CNDP which was destabilizing the Congo, global pressure had begun to be applied, but not from the US, France and Great Britain. Instead of following the lead of Sweden and Netherlands, the US pursued a backdoor deal that would result in a rapprochement between President Kabila and President Kagame while allowing Rwandan troops to enter Congolese soil once again. In essence the US backed a personal back door deal as opposed to an institutional transparent approach, which would have better served the prospects for long-term peace and stability in the region.

Another respondent argued that the U.S. has a diplomatic tool at its disposal that can make a difference in the region, the Obama Law, Public Law 109-456. This law, written by Obama and enacted in December 2006, provides the U.S. with the force of law to hold accountable Congo’s neighbours that have been destabilizing the country since 1996. It received bipartisan support in the senate and was also co-sponsored by then-Senator Hillary Clinton. This law also calls for the appointment of a special envoy to the Great Lakes region and gives the Secretary of State the authority to withhold aid from neighbouring countries that destabilize the Congo. On October 26, 2007, U.S. President George Bush met with Congolese President Joseph Kabila in the White House. Then-Senator Obama released a statement reminding President

Bush about his commitment to enforce the newly enacted U.S. law, Public Law 109-456, and stated that “It’s time the Administration stops ignoring the call by Congress to appoint a special envoy to the DRC, and strengthen the U.N. peacekeeping force which is working to stabilize the eastern part of the Congo.” Now that Barack Obama is President, neither he nor Secretary of State John Kerry, have taken steps to enforce this law. Unfortunately, President Obama has demonstrated the same lack of action on the Congo as his predecessor, George W. Bush.

The researcher further posed a question to the study respondents on their views concerning US government intervention in Somalia. Figure 24 below depicts the respondents’ perceptions.

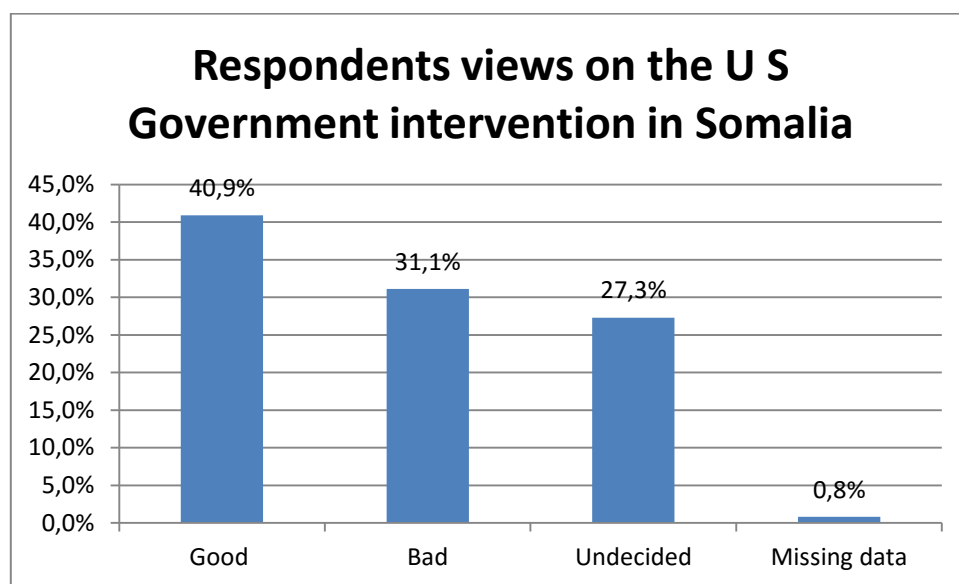


Figure 6.39 depicts the respondents’ views on the US Government intervention in Somalia (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Responses to figure 24 above were as follows: 108 (40.9%) affirmed that US intervention in Somalia was the right move to abate humanitarian catastrophes and improve human security situation in the war-torn country; 82 (31.1%) saw US intervention as the wrong move which exacerbated the existing human insecurity pathology that has bedevilled the country; 72 (27.3%) were undecided on the consequences of the intervention while 2 (0.8%) chose not to answer.

The categorization of the responses in accordance with the specialization/occupation of the study participants shows that fifty-nine military personnel (58.4%) approved the US government’s intervention in Somalia while 22 (21,8%) disapproved and 20 (19.8%) were undecided. Eighteen scholars and security experts (50%) expressed satisfaction with US involvement in addressing the human insecurity quagmire in Somalia while 10 (27.8%) were dissatisfied with such involvement and 8 (22.2%) were undecided. Ten diplomats and policy-makers (40%) supported the US intervention in Somalia while 12 (48%) were against the US intervention in Somalia and 3 (12%) were undecided. Five students (15.6%) expressed satisfaction with the US government intervention in Somalia while 9 (28.1%) disapproved of the US government involvement in Somalia and 18 (56.3%) were undecided. Eight pressmen (42.1%) expressed dissatisfaction with the US government intervention in Somalia, with another eight (42.1%) undecided, while only three (15.8%) expressed their support. Five NGOs and lecturers (29.4% and 21.7% respectively) expressed their support for the US government intervention in Somalia while 9 (52.9%) and 10 (43.5%) expressed their dissatisfaction with the intervention. Figure 25 below shows the clustered bar chart.

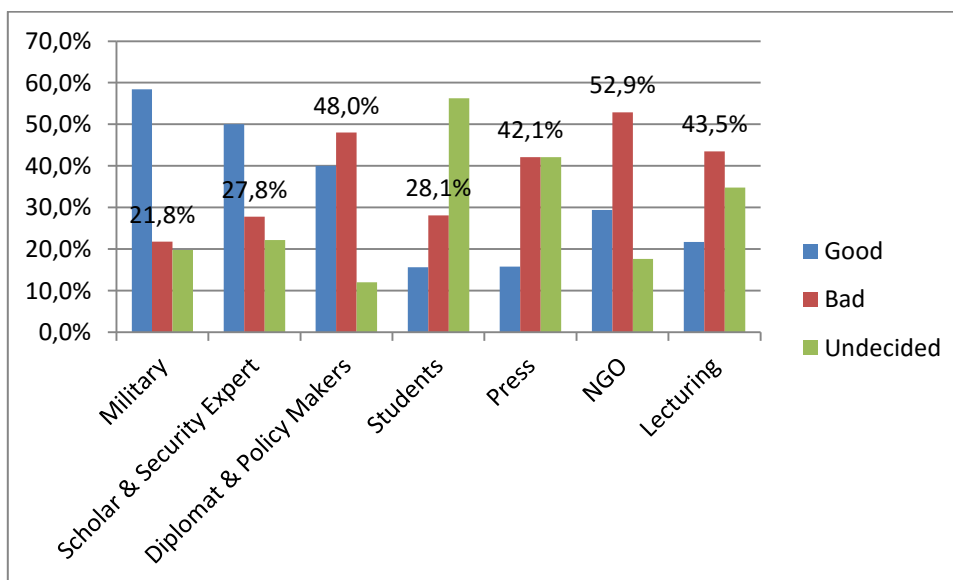


Figure 6.40 depicts the categorization of specialization/occupational responses to the US government’s intervention in Somalia (n=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Chi-Square Test			
N = 253	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	45.402	12	0.000
Likelihood Ratio	45.244	12	0.000
Linear by Linear Association	18.112	1	0.000

There is a significant difference in the occupation/specialization categories and how they perceive US government intervention in Somalia. X^2 (df = 12, N=253) = 45.402, exact p = 0.000.

Of the fourteen (14) interviewees, ten (10) concurred that the intervention was a moral gesture that should be commended. However, three (3) interviewees argued that foreign intervention in Somalia has bloody and disastrous precedents. One (1) respondent cited, as a major cause of human insecurity, the US-backed Ethiopian invasion in 2006-9 against the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) which resulted in the displacement of millions of Somalis and precipitated the rise of al-Shabaab which splintered from the moderate ICU during the course of the war. Another interviewee stated that “current developments in Somalia, however, go far beyond a domestic humanitarian problem; the country sits at a tense intersection between various competing motives and objectives”. Within the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) alone, there is substantial evidence of competing ulterior motives between participating states. Aside from the official imperative to ‘secure’ Somalia and assure the stability of the TFG, Kenya, according to one (1) respondent, has the additional aim of creating a semi-autonomous buffer zone in Jubaland, to be controlled by a Kenyan puppet regime. He continued “On the other hand, it has been speculated that part of Ethiopia’s motive in intervening in Western Somalia is to assert control over the contested Ogaden region and establish proxy regimes in the country, raising the spectre of further Balkanisation of the country”. Today, international intervention has similar high-stakes for ordinary Somalis, notwithstanding Western objectives of

‘stability’. It seems highly unlikely that stability and autonomy for Somalis will come about within historically disastrous schemes of liberal intervention.

6.7 Section Six: Data presentation and analysis

6.7.1 Research Question 5: How can AFRICOM intervention in Africa ameliorate human insecurity in Africa?

In this section the researcher critically examined the relationship between AFRICOM and human security in Africa by investigating the impact of AFRICOM programs and intervention in human security problematics in Africa.

The researcher wanted to find out whether there is a relationship between AFRICOM and human security. The respondents were asked to express their opinions on whether a relationship exists between AFRICOM and human security in Africa. See figure 6.41 below for responses.

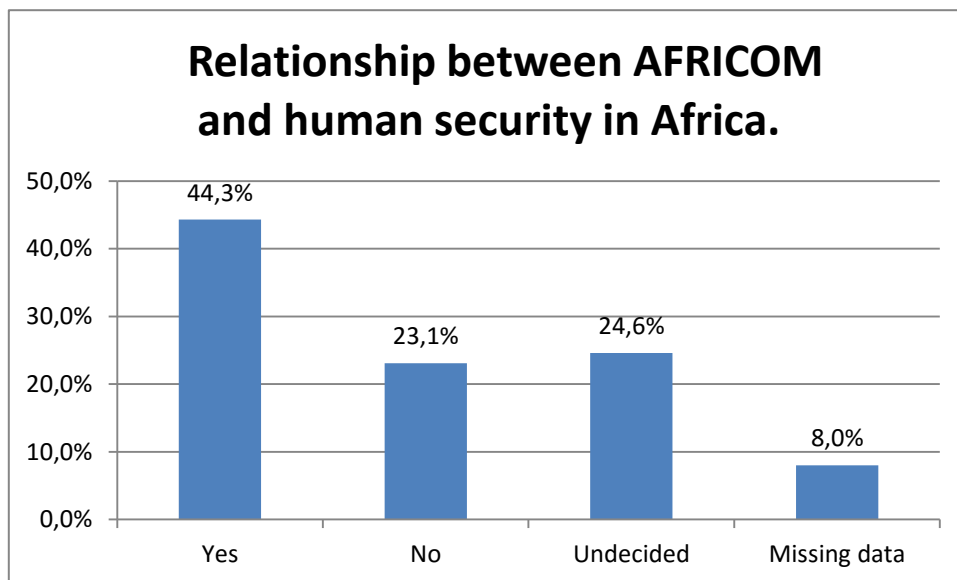


Figure 6.41 indicates the assertions of the respondents on the relationship between AFRICOM and human security in Africa (N=264)

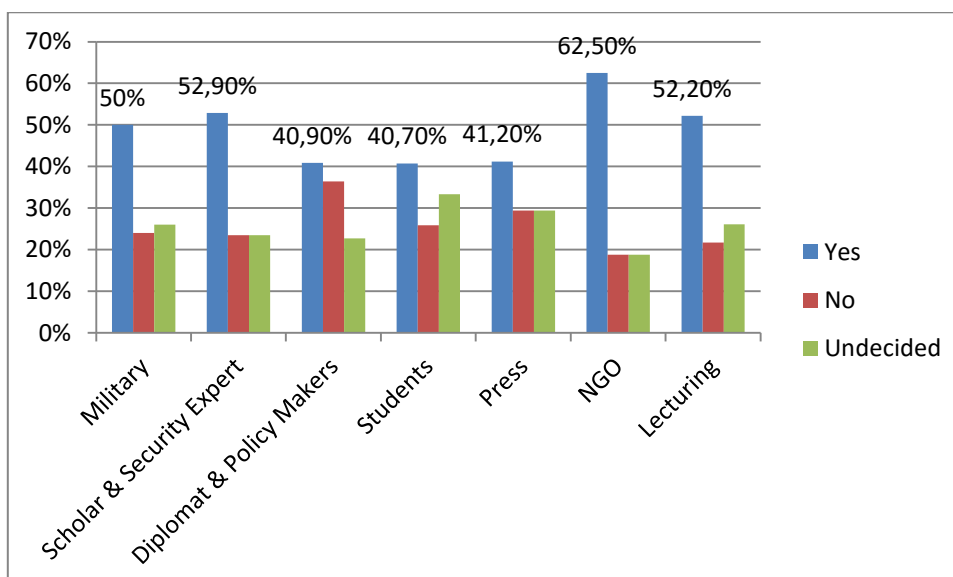
Source: Field data (2014)

The following were responses: 117 (44.3%) affirmed that there is a relationship between AFRICOM and human security in Africa, 61 (23.1%) said that no

relationship exists, 65 (24.6%) expressed no opinion while 21 (8%) ignored the question.

The responses were further categorized according to specialization/occupation. The study shows that forty-eight military personnel (50%) concurred that a relationship exists between AFRICOM and human security in Africa while 23 (24%) said that there is no relationship between AFRICOM and human security in Africa and 25 (26%) were undecided whether relationship exists or not. Eighteen scholars and security experts (52.9%) agreed that a relationship exists while 8 (23.5%) disagreed with the existence of any relationship between AFRICOM and human security in Africa and another 8 (23.5%) were undecided. When policy-makers and diplomats were consulted by the researcher, 9 (40.9%) believed that a relationship exists while 8 (36.4%) said that there is no basis for relational existence and 5 (22.7%) were undecided. Eleven students (40.7%) said that a relationship exists while 7 (25.9%) doubted the possibility of any relationship and 9 (33.3%) were undecided. Seven members of the press (41.2%) affirmed that a relationship exists while 5 (29.4%) were negative on the possibility of any relationship between human security in Africa and the existence of AFRICOM and another 5 (29.4%) were undecided. Ten NGOs (62.5%) affirmed the existence of a relationship, while 3 (18.8%) see no possibility for a relationship and another 3 (18.8%) were undecided. Twelve lecturers (52.2%) see the existence of a relationship between AFRICOM and human security in Africa while 5 (21.7%) expressed doubts and 6 (26.1%) were undecided.

Figure 6.42 below is a clustered bar chart that demonstrates the-specialization/occupational responses of the study participants (N=264)



Source: Field data (2014)

Chi-Square Test			
N = 235	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	4.473	12	0.973
Likelihood Ratio	4.351	12	0.976
Linear by Linear Association	0.001	1	0.978

Among fourteen (14) security experts interviewed, ten (10) agreed that a relationship does exist between AFRICOM and human security in Africa; three (3) out of these ten (10) added that AFRICOM’s role in the human security agenda of Africa remains secondary considering the fact that socio-economic problems constitute the major impediments to human security enhancement in Africa. One (1) participant stated that a serious relationship exists between AFRICOM and human security in Africa. This participant cited the Command’s military-to-military capacity building and engagement with African partners as necessary for human security promotion in Africa while many of AFRICOM’s programs such as (MEDCAP, Partner Military HIV/AIDS, Pandemic Response, and VETCAP) focus on human security related issues; they are directed at the African military forces. One (1) respondent said that

even though AFRICOM may not be addressing human security issues in the broader population it is, however, building the African military's capacity to address and prevent instability and conflict. Hence it is serving both continental and US security interests. Two (2) interviewees insisted that there is no relationship between a Unified Combatant Command (UCC) in the mode of AFRICOM and human security in Africa. One participant said that the only relationship that could exist will be for AFRICOM to turn African soil into a battlefield.

The researcher probed further to establish whether there are links between UN approved NATO intervention in Libya in 2011, in which the US government and AFRICOM in particular played a pivotal role, and the human security crisis in the Sahel region. Below are the analyses of the responses, the presentation of the bar chart, the clustered bar chart, chi-square and the opinions of the interviewees.

Figure 6.43 below shows the participants' responses on how the UN/NATO intervention in Libya has fuelled insecurity and instability in the Sahel region.

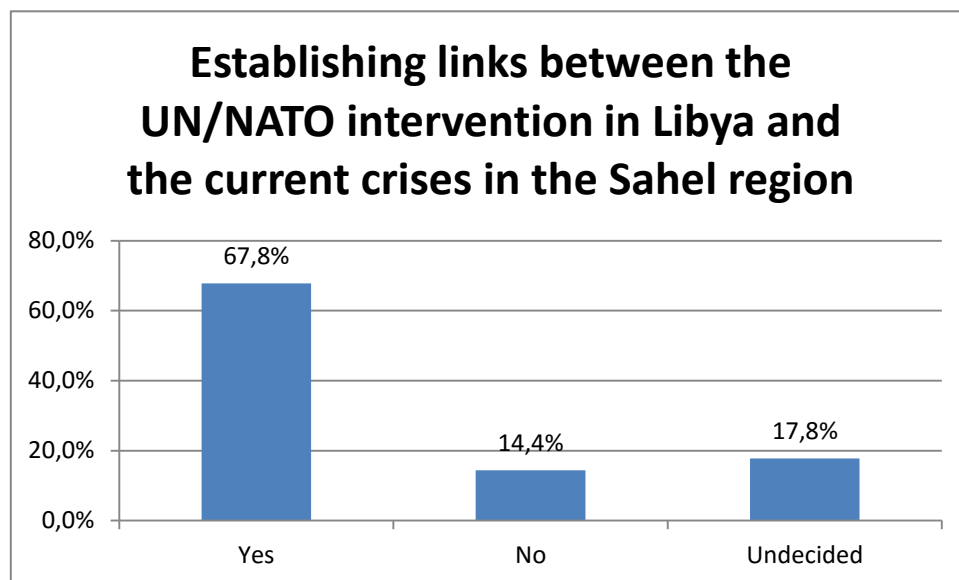


Figure 6.43 shows the views of the study respondents on the links between UN-NATO intervention in Libya and the crisis in the Sahel region (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Figure 28 indicates the following responses: 179 (67.8%) saw the escalated crisis in the Sahel as the resultant effect of the UN-NATO intervention in Libya, 38 (14.4%) felt that the crisis in the Sahel is unconnected to the 2011 UN-NATO intervention in Libya while 47 (17.8%) were undecided on the impact of the intervention.

The specialization/occupational responses indicate the following: Sixty-nine military personnel (67.6%) agreed that the UN/NATO intervention in Libya was the reason for the crisis of human security in the Sahel while 18 (17.6%) felt that the intervention had nothing to do with the current crisis in the Sahel and 15 (14.7%) were undecided. Twenty-nine scholars and security experts (78.4%) said that the present human security quagmire in the Sahel was the outcome of the UN/NATO intervention while 3 (8.1%) argue that there was no correlation between the human security crisis in the Sahel and the UN/NATO intervention and 5 (13.5%) were undecided. Eighteen diplomats and policy-makers (72%) traced the Sahel crisis to the UN/NATO intervention and 3 (12%) were undecided. Fifteen students (46.9%) said that the crisis in Sahel is incumbent on NATO intervention while 7 (21.9%) thought otherwise and 10 (31.3%) were undecided. Thirteen NGOs (76.5%) and seventeen lecturers (73.9%) respectively suggested that the UN/NATO intervention was to a large extent responsible for the deterioration of human security in the Sahel region while an NGO and a lecturer argue that the intervention was not responsible for the deplorable human security condition in the Sahel.

Table 6.3 shows the occupational responses of the study participants on the links between the UN/NATO intervention in Libya and the human security crises in the Sahel region (N=264)

Links between the UN/NATO intervention in Libya and the current crises in the Sahel region?	Yes		No		Undecided		Total	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Military	69	67.6	18	17.6	15	14.7	102	100
Scholar & Security Expert	29	78.4	3	8.1	5	13.5	37	100
Diplomat & Policy Makers	18	72	4	16	3	12	25	100
Students	15	46.9	7	21.9	10	31.3	32	100
Press	10	52.6	3	15.8	6	31.6	19	100
NGO	13	76.5	1	5.9	3	17.6	17	100
Lecturing	17	73.9	1	4.3	5	21.7	23	100
Within group	171	67.1	37	14.5	47	18.4	255	100

Source (Field data, 2014).

Chi-Square Test			
N = 255	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	21.804	18	0.241
Likelihood Ratio	21.655	18	0.248
Linear by Linear Association	0.123	1	0.726

Of the fourteen (14) interviewees, twelve (12) agreed that UN-NATO intervention in Libya was the major driver of human insecurity in the Sahel, citing the invasion of Mali by the Tuaregs, the strengthening of Boko Haram insurgency, the increased al-shabaab attacks in Somalia and Kenya as spill-over effects of that intervention. Four (4) of the interviewees said the intervention produced tens of thousands of refugees

in Niger, Chad, and the countries of North Africa, as well as some in Europe, creating further strain on food-insecure communities and governments with limited resources. One interviewee said that the US government orchestrated the intervention and that it led to the exacerbation of anti-Washington sentiments in communities far beyond the proverbial “Arab street” for example, many people strongly disagreed with NATO’s decision to intervene. Another participant said that the economic damage stemming from the loss of remittances from workers in Libya to communities south of the Sahara formed part of the deplorable human security situation in the Sahel. One respondent argued “Had Qadhafi remained in power, a Tuareg rebellion may well still have broken out in Mali at some point, but events did not have to play out in this way and to take the particularly chaotic form they did”.

A respondent argued forcefully that the intervention against Qadhafi was a political mistake and he questioned the legal basis within the American system for authorizing American involvement in the Libyan intervention. He noted that the intervention exemplifies a double standard which generates world-wide cynicism about US motives in general. One can accept these arguments or not; I believe the political argument stands on its own.

One respondent stated “Although political correctness might prevent them from saying so, I imagine some who supported the intervention in Libya feel that the regional consequences matter little. Mali, though formerly upheld as a model of ‘African democracy,’ is usually seen as geopolitically peripheral, as are Niger and Chad”. He continued:

Whatever chaos results there, supporters may still feel the intervention was worthwhile. And I believe that some American elites, even if they express concern about ‘anti-Americanism’ overseas, would not substantially adjust major policy decisions to take into account how those decisions might affect perceptions of Washington in Kano, or Nairobi, or Jakarta. The political consequences of the intervention that I cite will not necessarily trouble such thinkers and that probably warrants a post of its own.

Finally there is the moral argument. To say that the intervention was a mistake opens me up to accusations that I am an apologist for Qadhafi, for dictators, for violence against civilians. I am not. Those accusers I would point back to the question of double standards, to situations past and present when Washington dismissed calls for intervention. Those who use the language of absolute morality in American politics are often relativists cloaking their specific interests and preferences in a mantle of righteousness –

I look elsewhere for the sources of my moral vision. And I would point the accusers to the consequences. We have heard, with Iraq and with Libya, that interventions would be neat and straightforward. The aftermath of interventions has been anything but. I do not believe that the intervention in Libya was primarily motivated by Western thirst for Libyan oil but a serious analysis of the consequences of the intervention must take into account the fact that many people around the world believe that was the primary motivation. Perceptions matter even if one disagrees with them.

The researcher wanted to extrapolate the relationship between the establishments of AFRICOM and increased terrorist activities in Africa. Therefore, responses were elicited to determine this finding. See figure 6.44 below.

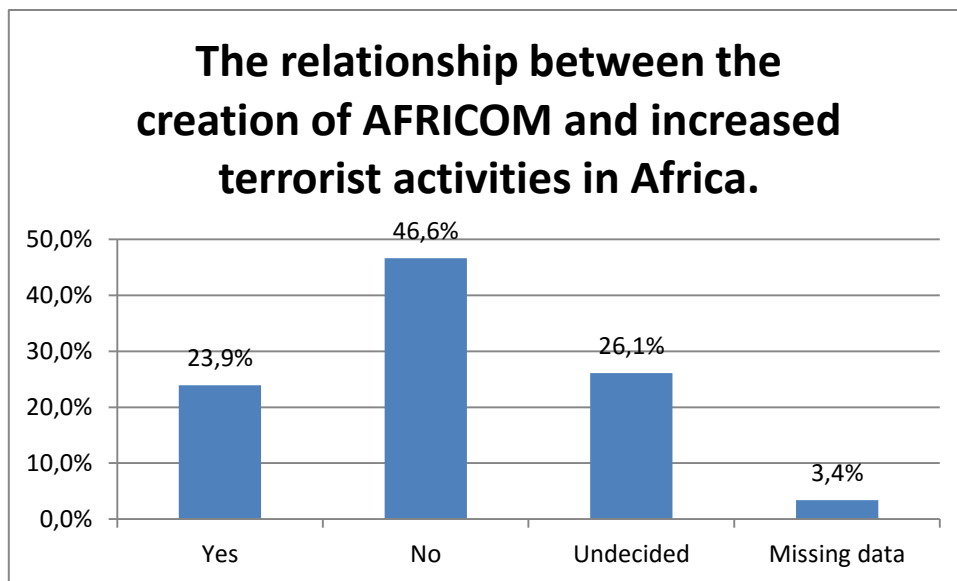


Figure 6.44 represents perceptions of the study respondents on the relationship between AFRICOM and increased terrorist activities in the continent (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Responses to figure 6.44 were as follows: 63 (23.9%) said that the increased terrorist activities in Africa are a result of AFRICOM establishments in Africa, 123 (46.6%) said that the increased terrorist activities in Africa are unconnected to the establishment of AFRICOM, while 69 (26.1%) were undecided and 9 (3.4%) chose not to attempt the question.

The clustered bar chart in figure 6.45 indicates the responses of different specializations under the study.

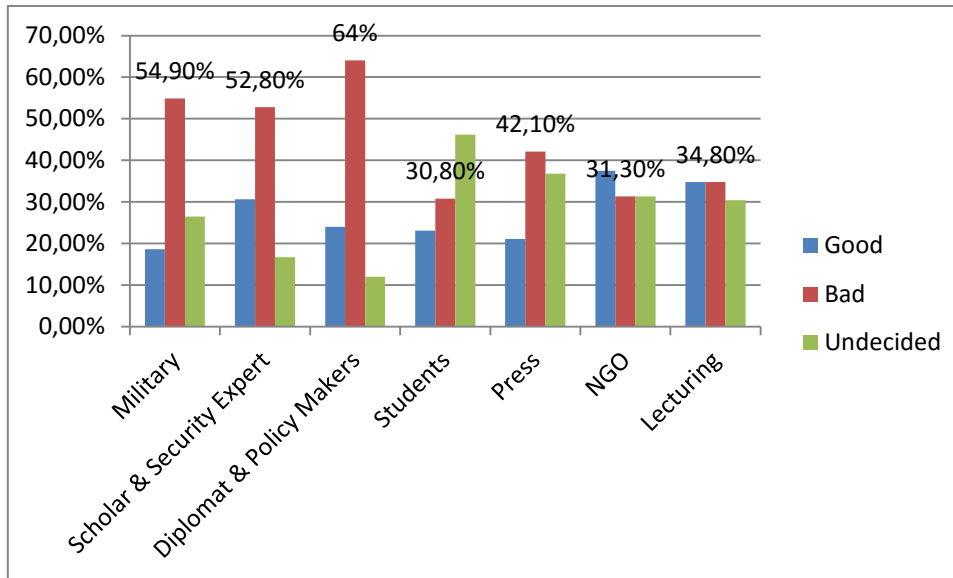


Figure 6.45 above indicates the occupational responses on the correlation between the creation of AFRICOM and increased terrorist activities in Africa (N=264)

Source: Field data (2014)

Chi-Square Test			
N = 247	Value	df	Sig
Pearson Chi-Square	18.065	12	0.114
Likelihood Ratio	18.324	12	0.106
Linear by Linear Association	0.046	1	0.831

The result from the clustered bar chart in figure 6.45 above shows the following: Nineteen military personnel (18.6%) believed that the theatres of human insecurities in the continent were engendered by the establishment of AFRICOM in Africa while 56 (54.9%) argued that terrorist activities were pervasive in Africa before the establishment of AFRICOM and 27 (26.5%) were undecided. Eleven scholars and security experts (30.6%) see a correlation between increased terrorist activities in Africa and the establishment of a unified combatant command (UCC) for Africa,

while 19 (52.8%) said that there is no linkage between the increased terrorist activities in Africa and the establishment of AFRICOM and 6 (16.7%) were undecided. Six diplomats and policy-makers (24%) agreed that the increased terrorist activities in Africa were as a result of the establishment of AFRICOM while 16 (64%) argued that terrorism is ubiquitous in Africa even before the advent of AFRICOM, citing incessant tribal wars and ethnic conflicts as acts of terrorism. 12 (46.2%) students were undecided while 8 (30.8%) said that there is no relationship between the creation of AFRICOM and increased terrorist activities in Africa. However, 6 (23.1%) argued that the increased terrorist activities in the continent were engendered by the establishment of AFRICOM. Six members of the press (21.1%) associated the increased terrorist activities in Africa with the advent of AFRICOM while 8 (42.1%) said that there is no linkage and 7 (36.8%) were undecided. Six NGOs (37.5%) said that the establishment of AFRICOM heralded the increase of terrorism in Africa while 5 (31.3%) maintained that there is no relationship between increased acts of terrorism in the continent and the establishment of AFRICOM; another 5 (31.3%) were undecided. Eight lecturers (34.8%) affirmed that AFRICOM is responsible for the increased terrorist activities in Africa while 8 (34.8%) argue that AFRICOM is not responsible for increased terrorism in Africa and 7 (30.4%) were undecided.

Of the fourteen (14) security experts interviewed, one (1) was of the strong opinion that the establishment of AFRICOM triggers violent “blowback” in the continent. For example, “the decision by the US government to maintain an enormous, permanent military presence in Camp Lemoire, Djibouti and drone base in Niger is now widely viewed as a major source of virulent anti-Americanism in the Horn of Africa and Sahel region”. Seven (7) interviewees were of the view that US military presence is a major driver of insecurity in the continent. Two respondents argued that the US troops sent to Sahel to hunt down (AQIM) have worsened the situation there: at the end of the day there was proliferation of Jihadist terrorist groups in the Sahel from Ansaredeen to MUJAW to Boko Haram and host of others. To think that military solution will ensure the security of Africans is erroneous. Five (5) interviewees said that terrorism has been in existence in Africa even before the

establishment of AFRICOM citing diverse conflict situations in Africa as acts of terrorism.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter presented analyses of the field data from the questionnaires distributed to the study respondents and the interviews. The responses from the study participants show that the US government established AFRICOM as a vehicle to secure strategic minerals from Africa and to counter violent extremism which is likely to undermine the US national security interests if unabated. However, the study equally shows that contrary to popular opinion, many Africans are not hostile to AFRICOM: most respondents and interviewees agreed that African governments and militaries lack the capacity to address the pathology of human insecurity in the continent. However, they were quick to add that a western oriented security paradigm in the mode of AFRICOM can at most play a secondary and supportive role such as capacity building and the provision of necessary logistics. Most of the respondents and interviewees argue that the fundamental requirements for human security enhancement in Africa are good governance and improved trading opportunities in global market.

In the next chapter the study will present summary, findings, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION, SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the study, findings and recommendations of the study, based on the data presentation, interpretation and analysis in the last chapter. The chapter is conceptually organized based on the research questions. The overall summary of the findings and recommendations regarding research questions one, two, three, four and five are presented. Despite the differences in answers elicited from the study's respondents and interviewees, the findings contained material that was pertinent to the research questions. The purpose of the study was to investigate the set objectives, activities, prospects and challenges of AFRICOM for human (in) security in Africa. Hence, the study sought: (1) to critically evaluate United States national security policy and strategy in Africa, (2) to determine the place of AFRICOM in US National Security Strategy towards Africa, (3) to determine the nature and scope of AFRICOM activities on the continent, (4) to establish the likely effect of AFRICOM's activities on human security in Africa and, (5) to critically examine the relationship between AFRICOM and human security in Africa. The final chapter discusses the contributions of the study to policy, practice and theory. It also maps out future research directions. It begins with a summary of chapters

7.2 Summaries

Chapter one provided the context of the study through a discussion of the following aspects: the increasing strategic geo-political and economic significance of Africa to the USA and other parts of the globe. This growing importance is reflected in the US intensifying competition with China and other countries for access to African resources and influence in this region. The subsequent creation of a unified combatant command (UCC) under the auspices of bringing peace, security, democracy and economic growth to Africans belied the fact that AFRICOM as a component of DoD was created in response to Africa's strategic imperatives to the US, namely, its natural resource wealth, its burgeoning population, expanding markets, the ungoverned space which affords terrorist organizations the freedom to

recruit and China's growing influence. The chapter discussed the avalanche of criticism that accompanied the creation of AFRICOM and its implications for human (in) security in Africa. The statement of the problem is anchored on the question of whether it is possible for AFRICOM, a component of DoD that is both state-centric and militaristic in nature, to improve human security conditions in Africa, bearing in mind that human security emerged to address and possibly ameliorate the inadequacies and the pathologies of the traditional security conceptualization which AFRICOM reflects. The research objectives, research questions, hypotheses, significance of the study and delimitations of the study are all factored into this chapter. Likewise, the chapter briefly discussed research methodology and methods employed in the study. The study combined both quantitative and qualitative methods. In order to obtain good measures of validity and reliability, two data collection methods were employed. Questionnaires and interview schedule were used to collect data. The elements of analysis were military officers, scholars and security experts, diplomats and policy makers, students, members of the press, NGOs and lecturers. The data collected was analysed using descriptive statistics supported by SPSS for quantitative data, and thematic analysis for qualitative data. The method and procedures used are explained in more depth in chapter one. The aim of this introductory chapter was to provide the background of the study and set the stage for the formulation of the research questions and the organization of the study.

Chapter two reviewed the extant literature on security, Africa, US foreign relations toward Africa and the creation of USAFRICOM. Security is seen as a multidimensional concept, comprising various dimensions such as physical security, health security, political security, food security etc. All aspects of security are, however, tightly connected to each other and have various implications for the overall security situation. The chapter conceptualized and contextualized security in its different ramifications, tracing the evolutionary trends in security from the primordial era to the contemporary period. The chapter examined the transformation of security from its dual dominant approaches namely: the realist state-centric paradigm which privileged the state as a major actor, container and provider of security based on the assumptions that a state possesses a will to survive and a will to power. Security is seen as a derivative of power in pursuance of national interests.

However, the idealist approach maintains that security is beyond the realist notions of armies, gun and war. The Westphalia trajectory of historical development and the post 1945 European evolution gave impetus and prominence to the statist conceptualization of security. Hence, security has been equated with state security or national security. The state-centred security concept rests on two basic premises: first, that most threats come from the outside, and second, these threats are primarily of a military nature, and thus, call for military solutions (Ayoob, 1995:5). However, the drastic decline in inter-state wars, the rise of religious extremism, state sponsored terrorism, the sharp increase in intra-state conflicts and the emergence of globalization which have engendered the withering of state powers and the erosion of national sovereignties have made it impossible for states to meet the demands for security from other elements within their territorial jurisdictions.

More so, the assumption that individual states are comparatively invulnerable to the emergence of crises in neighbouring or strategically important regions has been flawed. The quest for security arrangements that will adequately address the post-Cold War threats has led to diverse conceptualizations such as international security which underpin the primary responsibilities of states as major actors in the international system to provide security to their respective population, common security which seeks to mitigate the security dilemma by organizing security policies in coordination with others to maximize mutual as opposed to unilateral security arrangements. Against this background, the pronouncements on reinventing security have found a common chord with the idea of human security as enunciated by the Commission on Global Governance and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). In 1994, the UNDP called for a broadening of the traditional-militarist concentration on state security to embrace the dimension of human security and the security of the planet. Human security recognizes that global security extends beyond the protection of borders, ruling elites and exclusive state interests to include the protection of the people, whereby extreme socio-economic needs, disease, systemic crime, gross marginalization and massive oppression may all constitute central threats to security (Boot and Vale, 1995: 296-297).

More radical, revolutionary and significant than is available in most underpinnings of human security is their insistence on understanding insecurity and achieving security

as complex, holistic processes that require not merely the amelioration of particular needs, or defence of human beings against discrete threats contained in time and place, but on-going structural transformation based on ideas of emancipation, social justice and human progress. However, a country like Canada, which is one of the major exponents of human security, has evinced a strong predilection for co-option of human security to statist agenda as primacy of providing the metaphor for national identity and international citizenship. Human beings, especially in Africa, remain vulnerable to a compendium of security threats, practices and processes. For example: poor governance, politically oppressive regimes, civil conflict, terrorism, global economy, malnutrition, health hazards, corruption, human rights abuse, gender violence, and discrimination, environmental degradation and natural calamities. Securing these objects (human beings) requires collaborative efforts.

The chapter also emphasized the uniqueness of Africa's security problems which differ remarkably from the Western oriented security calculus. The security problems faced by most African countries are largely bound up with processes of state-building (Ayoob, 1995:21). These processes are generally confined to internal debates on the legitimacy of the ruling regimes, since ruling elites tend to secure their powers by repression rather than by provision of political and socio-economic services which could foster social integration and stability (Aza and Moon cited in Debiel, 2004:2). Hence, the application of the realist historically conditioned definition of security to the analysis of Africa's situation created major intellectual and conceptual problems. While Africans emphasized the problems of poverty, gross marginalization in global trades, political and institutional under-development, the Western security challenges are predicated on cybercrimes and super power rivalries. Africa's integration into the global economy is a necessary step in the march toward stability throughout the continent. Economic reform is one of the most critical priorities if Africa human security records are to be improved. The chapter agrees that the concept of security has been much contested today. Various security conceptualizations have informed national policy and global nuances. The static focus on security has shifted towards a broadening of security to include environmental, political, economic, health and social consideration in addition to the militaristic conceptualization.

Chapter two further reviewed the catalogue of threats in Africa which engendered the creation of AFRICOM and the avalanche of criticism generated by the US command both from Africans and non-Africans. The creation of AFRICOM represents a shift from the US large scale invasions of the Third World countries to a more diplomatic and economic pressuring and posturing. From its inception, AFRICOM has faced an identity crisis. Its purported humanitarian mandate was a guise to promote American interests through military, diplomatic and economic means. The command's mission statement reads: "AFRICOM, in concert with other US government agencies and international partners, conducts sustained security engagement through military-to-military programs, military sponsored activities, and other military operations as directed to promote a stable and secure African environment in support of US foreign policy"¹⁵⁴. AFRICOM reflects security threats as perceived by American leaders, and aims to prevent Africa from becoming a haven for international terrorist organizations. Regardless of the seemingly lofty declarative purposes of AFRICOM, many African heads of state responded with trepidation, expressing their feelings that an increased US military presence on the continent will further escalate tension between nations in Africa and hinder sovereignty.

Nearly all African leaders have been sceptical about the establishment of the military command on African soil. Moreover, several African states have vehemently criticized the plan to locate AFRICOM in Africa. This refusal by African countries to host AFRICOM despite belated US diplomatic overtures occasioned a temporary change of plan with respect to its location. Hence, it is presently situated in Stuttgart, Germany. The chapter closed with the extrapolation of political realism, securitization theory and human security paradigm as the frameworks of analysis. These theories were used in the study's analysis because of their interconnectedness and analytical relevance to the study. Political realism justifies the asymmetric and lopsided relationship between the US government and African governments which engendered the imposition of AFRICOM on Africans without adequate consultation with the AU and sub-regional organizations. Securitization theory asserts that successfully securitized subjects receive disproportionate amounts of attention and resources compared to unsuccessfully securitized subjects, thus causing more real

¹⁵⁴<http://www.africom.mil/what-we-do>

human damage. The theory describes the process of state actors transforming subjects into matters of 'security': an extreme version of politicization that enables extraordinary means to be used in the name of security. Many human security challenges in Africa have been securitized. These issues do not necessarily represent issues that are essential to the objective survival of a state, but rather represent issues where someone was successful in constructing an issue into an existential problem. Securitization studies aim to understand "who securitizes (securitizing actor), on what issues (threats), for whom (referent object), why, with what results, and not least, under what conditions. Human security challenges such as poverty, HIV/AIDS, ethno-religious crises, religious extremism and ungoverned spaces have been successfully securitized in many African countries thereby legitimizing extraordinary means to solve these perceived problems. These means include declaring a state of emergency or martial law, mobilizing the military or undue interference in other sovereign territories. Furthermore, these successfully labelled security problems have insulated these subjects and made them to be considered as illegitimate subjects for political or academic debate.

On the other hand, human security paradigm emphasizes the elimination of unjust social relations, including unequal gender relations and the reformulation of international relations in terms of the "multiple insecurities" stemming from environmental degradation, structural violence and poverty, rather than the abstract threats to the integrity of states, their interests and core values.

Chapter three examined the causes and consequences of human (in) security in Africa. Western colonialism laid the foundation for the human (in) security pathologies in Africa. The major impact of colonialism in African is that it brought about the under-development of African territories in many different ways. It is usually argued in favour of colonialism that it brought western education and hence western civilization to the shores of Africa which by implication is a positive contribution towards African development. This argument will appear to be true on the surface level or superficially, but if it is subjected to critical analysis, it will reveal the hollowness or emptiness of colonial education which is partially responsible for the Africa's underdevelopment. The colonial education was not rooted in African culture and therefore could not foster any meaningful development

within the African environment because it had no organic linkage. Furthermore, colonial education was essentially literary; it had no technological base and therefore was antithetical to real or industrial development. The poor technological base of most of the present day African states, which has been responsible for their underdevelopment, stems from their poor foundation of education laid by the colonialists. Colonial education essentially aimed at training clerks, interpreters, produce inspectors, artisans, etc., which facilitated the exploitation of Africa's rich resources. Colonial education brought about distortion and disarticulation in African indigenous pattern of education which was rooted in African technology. This has aptly been shown in the unsuccessful attempt at the so-called technological transfer, which is more of a myth than a reality. Another important impact of colonialism was the disarticulation of African economies. Colonialism distorted African patterns of economic development in many different ways. There were disarticulations in production of goods, markets, traders, transport, provision of social amenities and patterns of urbanization etc. The colonialists introduced a pattern of international division of labour which was to the disadvantage of Africans.

They assigned to Africa the role of production of raw materials and primary products for use by their industries at home. Africans were not allowed or encouraged to go into manufacturing. The only industries Africans were encouraged to build were those that would facilitate in the processing of the raw materials for export. African raw materials were bought at a very low price while manufactured goods from abroad were sold at expensive prices. This situation accounted for the impoverishment of most Africans. There was also disarticulation in the type of goods produced by Africans. The colonialists compelled Africans to concentrate on the production of goods meant for export. Africans were not encouraged to produce goods required by the local population. This made many Africans abandon the production of food items required to feed the teeming and growing population. The outcome was food shortage and escalation in food prices. The present day situation where Africans now import their food is a carry-over from colonialism. The point being stressed here is that colonialism distorted the satisfaction of local needs in terms of food production and other requirements in preference to production and satisfaction of foreign needs especially the industries. Poverty in Africa can be

originally traced to the colonial dispensations when the continent was raped of her vital human and material resources. Colonialism linked and ensured the continuing linkage of African political economies as appendages to Western interests thereby perpetuating the sustained dependence of African states.

It integrated African trade and economy prematurely into the world market and international trade. It is a known fact that before a local economy fully integrates itself into the world economy or trade, it must have developed adequately its internal dynamics and forces of production. The consequences of premature integration is that such economy will be hijacked by the more advanced ones; and the vagaries in international trade will make the country concerned a perpetual debtor. Furthermore, premature integration cannot absorb shocks from the international market and will never enjoy trade balance or comparative advantage. The export-import orientation pattern of African economy introduced by colonialism does not allow for accelerator and multiplier effects necessary for economic advancement and development. Colonialism also brought about disarticulation in the provision of social amenities and the urbanization pattern in Africa. Most of the few social amenities provided during the colonial period were concentrated at a place. This made most people migrate from the rural areas where these amenities were virtually non-existent to colonial urban centres where they could be found. The consequence of this was the struggle for and over-use of these amenities and the attendant overcrowding of the urban areas and the problems of urbanization. The consequent problems of disarticulation of provision of amenities and urbanization include rural urban migration, overcrowding, filthy and slum environments, poor hygienic conditions, spread of epidemic disease, social vices, tribal and ethnic problems etc. The management of the above problems created by colonial distortion and disarticulation of amenities and urbanization has remained a single most important problem confronting African states today.

Another important impact of colonialism in Africa was the emergence and institutionalization of classes and class struggle in the socio-economic and political life of the people. Colonialism aided a clear emergence and development of classes in Africa. These classes include comprador bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, proletariat and the peasant. The African petty bourgeoisie serve as the conveyor belt through

which the colonialists exploited and siphoned the economy of African countries. The indigenous elites were nurtured by the political culture of the colonial state and had been accustomed to identifying the state as the only purveyor of financial resources and favours. Instead of changing colonial institutions, laws and values for the better, African ruling elites and leaders entrenched deeply compromised governance systems. The newly independent governments were often highly centralized and strongly dominated by one political leader and his political, ethnic or regional faction.

Colonialism laid the seeds of political crisis when it disrupted pre-colonial political structures that worked for Africans for centuries and imposed alien system, reshaping the map of Africa across pre-existing ethnic groups, states and kingdoms. It caused widespread social disruption and displacement. African states were artificial creations and many are too small to be viable. Western multi-party democracy imposed by colonial powers divided the country into ethnic interests. The end of colonialism entrenched neo-colonialism. Powerful countries and transnational economic institutions become aggressively involved in the exploitation of the less powerful countries. In this sense, 'Neo-colonialism' implies a form of contemporary, economic Imperialism. In other words, powerful nations behave like colonial powers, and this behaviour is likened to colonialism in a post-colonial world. In lieu of direct military -political control, neo-colonialist powers are said to employ economic, financial, and trade policies to dominate less powerful countries. Those who subscribe to the concept maintain this amount to a de facto control over less powerful nations (see Immanuel Wallerstein's World Systems Theory cited in Offiong, 2001:71-73).

Both former colonial powers and other economically powerful states maintain a continuing presence in the economies of former colonies, especially where it concerns raw materials. Stronger nations are thus charged with interfering in the governance and economics of weaker nations to maintain the flow of raw materials at prices and under conditions which unduly benefit developed nations and transnational corporations. African countries suffered severe economic imbalances due to deteriorating terms of trade, commodity prices and debt burden which led to structural adjustment and stabilization programs. Intellectuals such as Kwame

Nkrumah (1965) and Jean-Paul Sartre (1964) argue that neo-colonialism historically supplemented (and later supplanted) colonialism. Scholars point to the fact that Africa today pays more money every year in debt service payments to the IMF and World Bank than it receives in loans from them, thereby often depriving the inhabitants of these countries from actual necessities. This dependency, they maintain, allows the IMF and World Bank to impose neo-liberal Structural Adjustment Plans upon these nations. SAPs, largely consisting of privatization program, results in deteriorating health, education, an inability to develop infrastructure, and in general, lower living standards (Bradshaw and Huang, 1991:335-342). This point is well echoed by the United Nations Secretary-General's Special Economic Adviser, Professor Jeffrey Sachs, who heatedly demanded that the entire African debt (approximately \$200 billion) be forgiven outright and recommended that African nations simply stop paying if the World Bank and IMF do not reciprocate¹⁵⁵. The effects of these neo-liberal policies are loss of employment as a result of winding down of local industries and acute poverty which has created crises of human security in many African countries.

Chapter four scrutinized the human security challenges in selected African countries and the AU response to these challenges. Some countries in the Sahel region and the Horn of Africa where human (in) security and political instability have been pervasive were reviewed. Countries such as Mali, Nigeria and Libya were explored in the Sahel while countries like Somalia, Sudan/South Sudan and Central African Republic were also explored. As pointed out in chapter three, human (in) security plays a central role in the security-crisis situation in the Sahel region. The current challenges in Sahel region are tightly connected to human and political security, both as a cause and a consequence of the regional and national instability. We can find common trends among all countries in focus. Mali, Nigeria and Libya are all facing internal political instability and bad leadership, which is further complicated by a lack of democratic traditions, colonial history, and experiences of repressive military regimes. While we can certainly look on democratization of Sahel from many different aspects, the current undemocratic situation mixed with strong pressure

¹⁵⁵See: Andrew England, Africa's poorest "should refuse to pay the debt," The Financial Times. Retrieved May 15, 2013

towards more inclusive government, certainly adds to the instability of the region. As for the security point of view, political changes have indeed brought new aspects of threats and many new actors.

While the countries have become more inclusive to some extent, political change also presented new opportunities for various ethnic groups, following their own goals and interests. However, taking into consideration everything stated before, the replacement of military dictators by elected civilians was not all that citizens wanted. They wanted, above all, a government that would prove to be better than military rule; one that would respect their rights while continuing to provide security.

The Human Security Situation in Mali

The current conflict Mali is not new. Northern Mali is originally the homeland of the Tuaregs, a people whose position in the Sahel was turned upside down by French colonialism. The Tuaregs who once controlled the inter-Saharan trade routes and saw themselves as ‘masters of the desert’ suddenly became minorities in several new states, and in Mali in particular, a minority ruled by the population they previously had viewed as inferior and historically had directed slave raids towards. The Tuareg problem is a Gordian knot, and ever since Mali became an independent state, the Tuaregs have recurrently rebelled. The first Tuareg rebellion took place in the early 1960s, the second in the early 1990s, and as the National Pact of 1992 failed to produce tangible results on the ground, a new rebellion emerged in 2006. This was relatively small until armed Tuaregs, many of whom had lived in Libya for years, started to return to Mali following the fall of the Gaddafi regime. Their arrival gave the rebellion new momentum and yet another Tuareg rebel movement was formed, the Movement for the National Liberation of Azawad (MNLA). Whereas Tuareg separatism previously had been a facade for other demands concerning power and positions, MNLA declared full independence of Azawad. The issue was no longer increased access to the spoils of the Malian state, but to break away.

Human Insecurity in Nigeria

In Nigeria, Boko Haram’s seven year old insurgency has pitted neighbour against neighbour, cost more than 18,000 lives, displaced more than half a million, destroyed hundreds of schools and government buildings and devastated an already ravaged

economy in the North East, one of Nigeria's poorest regions. It overstretches federal security services, with no end in sight, spills over to other parts of the north and risks reaching Niger and Cameroon, weak countries poorly equipped to combat a radical Islamist armed group tapping into real governance, corruption, impunity and underdevelopment grievances shared by most people in the region. Boko Haram is both a serious challenge and a manifestation of more profound threats to Nigeria's security. Unless the federal and state governments, and the region, develop and implement comprehensive plans to tackle not only insecurity but also the injustices that drive much of the troubles, Boko Haram, or groups like it, will continue to destabilise large parts of the country. Yet, the government's response is largely military, and political will to do more than that appears entirely lacking. Most Nigerians are poorer today than they were at independence in 1960, victims of the resource curse and rampant, entrenched corruption. Agriculture, once the economy's mainstay is struggling. In many parts of the country, the government is unable to provide security, good roads, water, health, reliable power and education. The situation is particularly dire in the far north. Frustration and alienation drive many to join 'self-help' ethnic, religious, community or civic groups, some of which are hostile to the state. It is in this environment that the group called Boko Haram (usually translated loosely as "Western education is forbidden") by outsiders emerged. It is an Islamic sect that believes corrupt, false Muslims control northern Nigeria. The group and fellow travellers want to remedy this by establishing an Islamic state in the north with strict adherence to Sharia (Islamic law).

The Human Security Crisis in Libya

The worsening situation in the Sahel region can be attributed to the collapse of Gaddafi's regime. The influx of refugees from Libya to the neighbouring countries created humanitarian challenges to the Sahel states. The Libyan economy under Gaddafi's regime was very strong and therefore supported some the Sahel states such as Chad, Mali and Niger that were threatened by drought, poor harvest and state fragility. In addition, Libya had considerable investments in these countries which provided gainful employments for their citizens and ameliorated human security challenges. The strong Libyan economy had also attracted workers from these countries. Following the demise of the Gaddafi government and the escalation of

instability, the number of returnees from Libya to Niger, Chad, Mali and Nigeria created instability in the region because labour migration to Libya acts as a key source of income for the development of neighbouring communities. The loss of remittances has had an especially adverse effect on these countries, particularly in light of their looming food crises. The influx of traumatized and impoverished returnees has not only disturbed social structures in receiving countries, but has also impacted the humanitarian situation in countries that already face food and nutrition crises, poverty, unemployment, limited access to social services, weak state institutions, diseases and effects of natural disasters such as drought (George,2012:4).

In addition to returnees, large quantities of weapons and ammunition smuggled out of Libya are being used to create instabilities and insecurity in neighbouring counties. These weapons reinforced the military capabilities of Salafist separatist groups and Boko Haram. Unsecured weapons storage facilities that were previously guarded by the Libyan government are the main source of the outflow. The unhindered movement of these weapons across state borders by former fighters who were either members of the Libyan army or mercenaries participating in the Libyan conflict, has led to the proliferation of arms, to the benefit of arms traffickers and terrorist and other armed groups operating in the region (Stohl,2012:4).

The state of Human Security in Somalia

In Somalia, the human security crisis is ever changing. The country experienced a civil war in the 1980s and state collapse, clan factionalism and warlordism in the 1990s. Over the last ten years the conflict has metamorphosed from clan rivalry to a conflict between Islamic insurgents and the Transitional Federal Government. Conflict has also arisen between Somalia and Ethiopia over Ogadem region and other border issues. It has been a complicated and mutating crisis involving various external actors. State collapse in the early 1990s was a result of various internal and external factors. Internally, a civil war was instigated in 1988 by the attacks of the Somali National Movement which resulted in the death of tens of thousands and the displacement of over six-hundred-thousand Somalis. Moreover, the central government was divided and weak. Externally, the European colonial powers had left

a state divided into five regions: wars with neighbouring countries had a damaging effect on Somalia. Additionally, Somalia's collapse accelerated during the closing stages of the Cold War: as Somalia's importance to the West lessened, so did the foreign aid which was sustaining the country. Due to the culmination of these multiple factors, state collapse was imminent; however, it was the removal of Siad Barre, the long standing leader of Somalia, by the United Somali Congress (USC) in 1991, which engendered state collapse and its consequential anarchy and violence.

The early 1990s were marked by clan-based warfare due to factions trying to gain control of towns and assets; filling the vacuum of power which yielded from the collapse of the central government. The warfare caused the displacement of over a million people and devastating disruptions to food supplies, which resulted in a fatal famine that caused around 250,000 deaths. The Somali crisis gained the attention of the international community in 1992, when the UN negotiated a ceasefire between Ali Mahdi Mohammed and General Mohammed Farah Aideed, the two main belligerents in Mogadishu. The UN operation (UNOSOM), which was supported by the US forces, was important in turning the attention of the world to the crisis and in saving lives by securing food supplies for those most vulnerable to starvation. It was also crucial for it facilitated some local agreements which improved security, led to the reopening of the airport of Mogadishu and pumped huge resources into the economy. However, the mission was unsuccessful in bringing peace to the country and in ending the famine. The mission has also been criticized for fuelling the war economy and for becoming embroiled in the conflict with General Aideed, which resulted in the notorious shooting down of the US black Hawk helicopter in Mogadishu and the deaths of eighteen US soldiers leading to the withdrawal of the US forces.

The departure of the UN mission to Somalia in 1995 resulted in the continuation of clan rivalry which had been partially frozen during their presence. People turned to traditional institutions to end violent confrontation and to establish a transitional step to developing trans-regional polities. The most successful of these traditional processes took place in secessionist Somaliland; however, in 1998 the Puntland Federal State of Somalia also became autonomous. In southern Somalia a variety of institutions took form such as Sharia courts and district councils which provided

‘governance without government’. The Somalis took full advantage of the lack of global deregulation of trade to establish successful businesses, especially in the field of telecommunications, and to conduct money transfers. The Somali participation in “Salafi commercial networks, and an increase in Islamic charitable funding, spurred the growth of Islamic organizations including welfare charities, Sharia courts and Islamist movements¹⁵⁶”.

The international community began to refocus on Somalia in the new millennium. The Djibouti government hosted a peace conference in 2000 which led to the Arta agreement that produced a transitional government. This government employed a consociate structure which included the four major clans proportionally into the government. However, soon after the conference the transitional government became associated with the powerful Mogadishu clans and the business class, comprising mostly Wahhabi Islamists, which led many to speculate about the government’s links with the militant Islamists. Subsequently an opposing coalition called the Somali Restoration and Reconciliation Council (SRRC) was formed and led by Abdullahi Yusuf.

IGAD, who had earlier supported some of the peace-making efforts in Somalia, decided in 2002 to reconcile the transitional government and the SRRC. The transitional government was succeeded by The Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in 2004, which saw Somalia’s power shift from Mogadishu, the Hawiye clan and Islamists to the federalist Darood coalition, backed by Ethiopia, with Abdullahi Yusuf chosen as the new transitional president. In the same way as the previous transitional government the TFG failed to be a government of national unity. Indeed, the power was concentrated in a narrow clan coalition and Yusuf’s decision to immediately request military backing from the African Union (AU) to help him establish his authority alienated the constituency in Mogadishu. On the other hand, had Yusuf not requested military force from the AU the TFG would not have survived the rise of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU).

The ICU gained public support due to its establishment of security in Mogadishu and it threatened the TFG by providing an alternative political system which was better

¹⁵⁶ <http://www.hscentre.org/opinion/the-mutating-crisis-in-somalia-2/>

able to provide public services to the community than the TFG. As mediation efforts by the Arab League were unsuccessful, the Ethiopian military, with Western backing, entered Somalia in 2006. They pushed the ICU out of Mogadishu and in its stead installed the TFG who had lost control of the capital. In 2007 AU peacekeepers were deployed to Mogadishu to shield the government's institutions. The next few years were followed by resistance from the militant youth movement of the ICU who felt resentment because of the imposition of a victor's peace; this insurgency contributed to further economic downturn and major internal displacement. Notably, this resulted in the radicalization of a new generation of Somalis.

In 2008, when UN mediated talks between the TFG and the Alliance for the Liberation of Somali (ARS), a timeline for Ethiopian withdrawal was agreed, Yusuf resigned and Sheikh Ahmed took his position as president. "The withdrawal of Ethiopian forces and the establishment of a new 'unitary' TFG created an opportunity to establish a moderate Islamist government in Somalia that had considerable backing from Somalis and the international community" (Bradbury and Kleinman, 2010). However, nine months later Somalia was in even greater turmoil than before because Al Shabaab, under the leadership of Ahmed Godane, denounced the agreement signed in Djibouti as betrayal by the ARS and declared its support for al Qaeda in 2010. The TFG, even with foreign backing from Kenya, has been incapable of combating Al Shabaab forces that control much of south central Somalia. Ultimately, the military occupation, rising jihadism and violent insurgency has reversed the incremental political and economic progress which was achieved in 2008. The crisis in Somalia has undergone a series of metamorphoses creating deplorable human security conditions in the last three decades and although periods of progress have occurred it seems that Somalia is as far away from peace and development as it was after the collapse of the central government in the early 1990s. Therefore, in order for any peace-making attempt to be fruitful, unlike some of the interventions thus far, it is imperative to understand this complex history and the present state of affairs.

Human Security in Sudan/South Sudan

In Sudan/South Sudan, two decades of civil war until 2005 brought destruction and human displacement, disrupted markets and caused a lack of investment in infrastructure. By 2012, only four per cent of South Sudan's land was being cultivated. During the civil war, armed groups used starvation as a weapon of war. In 1998, 100,000 people died in Bahr El Ghazal in a famine caused by failing rains compounded by conflict – or more precisely the intentional destruction of agriculture and markets, diversion of food aid, denial of humanitarian access, and armed groups holding the population hostage.

In 2005, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was meant to end all such atrocities. It ended the north–south war, but left many deep tensions unresolved, including within what became South Sudan. Before and after independence in 2011, the new country's leaders and the international donor community focused on building the new state and its institutions, and repairing relations between South Sudan and Sudan. Far less priority was given to resolving local conflicts and ingrained animosities, tackling the proliferation of arms, or providing basic services for all of South Sudan's people. As a result, some groups felt they lacked a stake in the 'peace' or independence that had been won. In 2011, South Sudan was still one of the poorest nations in the world. The battle against poverty and food insecurity was always going to be immensely difficult and long. South Sudan's new government did not prioritize much-needed investment in agriculture, infrastructure (such as roads and storage facilities), and basic services. In 2013, it spent only six per cent of its budget on health and education, and just 0.7 per cent on agriculture. It spent 55 per cent on security and law enforcement. Despite this, 2013 saw the highest agricultural production for some years, though more than a third of the population still did not have enough to eat. Indeed, before conflict erupted in December 2013, South Sudan was making progress – albeit fragile and uneven – against hunger. In 2012, crop production in the traditional sector was six per cent above the five-year average, while it was 22 per cent above this average in 2013. The pervasive hunger and poverty created a human security crisis and escalated the conflicts between different ethnic nationalities.

Human Insecurity in Central African Republic

Since gaining independence from France over 50 years ago, the Central African Republic has been plagued with instability that has seen 8 presidential coups in its short history. The most recent conflict began when fighting broke out in the country in December 2012 when Séléka rebels launched an offensive against then President François Bozizé. The conflict escalated further when the rebels successfully ousted the president and took control of the capital Bangui on 24 March 2013. The Séléka fighters placed their leader, Michel Djotodia, at the head of the new transitional government; however, Djotodia has since disbanded the Séléka and attempted to integrate them into the national army. Internal armed conflict has existed in the country since at least March 2014 and there have been reports of widespread breaches of international humanitarian law and human rights abuses engendering human security crisis.

In addition to this, there are widespread reports of violence against civilians, including sexual violence against women and children, torture, illegal arrests and detentions and looting. Due to the on-going fighting and instability, the transitional authorities are unable to do anything to stop these atrocities. Fighting has been mostly concentrated in the capital of Bangui, but in recent months, conflict has escalated to more rural areas as well. In the small population of 4.6 million, there are very few that have been unaffected by the conflict. Humanitarian aid is slow in coming, as even aid workers have been subject to attack. The scale of devastation is staggering and cannot continue to be ignored. A report from the UN Secretary General dated the 15th of November claimed that over 400,000 persons are internally displaced and a further 66,000 have officially registered as refugees in neighbouring countries in the past year. Since then, Amnesty report that there are now 614,000 people internally displaced – a further 200,000 persons in the space of a month. The Secretary General's report also claims that over 1.1 million people are food insecure. There is a real fear that the CAR is facing a human security crisis of unimaginable proportion as its agriculture industry makes up 53% of its GDP and has been largely ruined by this conflict (McKenna, 2013).

The conflict in the CAR first began to attract international attention in October 2013 when the UN approved a peacekeeping mission to protect UN workers in the country. However, by this point, the conflict was already well advanced and there had been peacekeepers on the ground for many months. MICOPAX, run by the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) has had 400 soldiers on the ground in the CAR to help consolidate peace in the country. In addition to this, France has had troops stationed at the airport in Bangui to protect its interests in its former colony. A few months later, the African Union announced plans to deploy a peacekeeping force of up to 3,600 soldiers in CAR under the name MISCA (McKenna, 2013). This led to the UN Security Council issuing a resolution on 10th October 2013, in which, among other things, it asked the Secretary General to prepare a report looking at the possibility of international support for MISCA. The office of Ban Ki-moon published this report on 15th November expressing support for MISCA and indeed the possibility of establishing a UN-led peacekeeping force if the situation so requires.

On December 5th 2013, the UN Security Council authorised the AU peacekeeping mission MISCA under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The force is authorised to use all necessary measures to protect its mandate, which includes protection of civilians and restoration of security in the country. The force is initially deployed for a period of 12 months from the 19th of December; when it is due to take over from MICOPAX. The AU has since agreed to boost the number of peacekeepers to 6,000 and France sent a further 1,600 troops following the clashes in Bangui at the start of December.

The major concern in CAR is that the racial tensions could escalate and spread to neighbouring countries, or, indeed, result in genocide within the Republic. As Deputy Secretary General Jan Eliasson recently said, “The CAR is becoming a breeding ground for extremists and armed groups in a region that is already suffering from conflict and instability... If this situation is left to fester, it may degenerate into a religious and ethnic conflict with longstanding consequences, a relentless civil war that could easily spill-over into neighbouring countries¹⁵⁷.” There is a concern that

¹⁵⁷ <http://www.un.org/sg/dsg/statements/index.asp?nid=471>

the peacekeepers have taken too long to come and will not be able to do enough to prevent it worsening, as it clearly has in the past few months. The Séléka rebels who seized power in March have consistently attacked Christian communities and churches, which have led to Christians forming self-defence militias known as the anti-Balaka forces to retaliate against them. In addition to this, there is evidence of Uganda's Lord's Resistance Army operating in the country. The fighting between these two factions is showing no sign of letting up and as Peter Bouckhaert from Human Rights Watch said this week, "the brutal killings in the Central African Republic are creating a cycle of murder and reprisal that threatens to spin out of control... the UN Security Council needs to act quickly to bring this evolving catastrophe to a halt" (Human Rights Watch, December 18, 2013). There is a real danger that the ethnic and religious tensions will escalate and as long as the two factions continue to fight, the human security situation on the ground will continue to worsen. MISCA is undoubtedly a positive step forward in hopefully preventing the Central African Republic from becoming a failed state like Somalia, but the outlook still appears bleak. The people of the Central African Republic have desperately needed the help of the international community for months and it seems like only now has it remembered that they exist.

The AU's RESPONSES TO HUMAN SECURITY CHALLENGES IN AFRICA

The guiding principles for the AU's responses to the human (in) security quagmire that bedevill the continent were the Lomé Declaration on Unconstitutional Changes in Government (2000) and the Constitutive Act of the African Union (2002), which prohibited unconstitutional changes in government. The drafters had not foreseen the possibility of democratic uprisings, although these had occurred in Sudan (1964 and 1985) and non-violent demonstrations and civil society mobilization had hastened the democratization of many African countries after 1990. But the AU did not use these principles to buttress the status quo, but rather to stress the democratic nature of the uprisings and the continuities with the democratization wave in sub-Saharan Africa of the late 1980s and early 1990s. While the AU, like other international players, did not anticipate these developments, it nonetheless reacted creatively. Indeed, the AU exhibited the necessary flexibility, basing its response not on a dogmatic interpretation of the existing texts, but rather on the need to contribute to

the attainment of the overall AU objective of consolidating democracy and promoting human security in the continent.

In Sudanese civil war, the African Union force in Darfur was radically inadequate to the task of protecting civilians and humanitarian operations. Nor can the AU begin to provide the security that will allow for a resumption of meaningful agricultural production in Darfur, leaving millions entirely dependent upon international food aid. The African Union failed to demonstrate either the military capacity or the political will necessary to protect Darfur's acutely vulnerable civilian populations and critical humanitarian operations. Most conspicuously, the AU has not demanded of Khartoum an explicit mandate for civilian protection, but has suggested instead that its forces will create a de facto mandate. While this has proved true on a very limited scale, with heroic measures on the part of some AU officers, too many officers and troops are without sufficient motivation. As a result, the epidemic of rape and sexual violence continues throughout Darfur; smaller-scale but immensely threatening violence (including "banditry") abounds; insecurity continues to displace as many as 3 million Darfuris; and humanitarian organizations are forced ever closer to withdrawing in the face of intolerable risks to their operations.

In Libya, as in other countries affected by the 'Arab Spring', the AU based its action on the need to contribute to the achievement of the overall objectives sought by the union, namely peace, stability, democratic governance, respect for human rights, justice, prosperity and unity. The African leaders welcomed the developments in Tunisia and Egypt, stressing that they provided an opportunity for member states to renew their commitment to the AU agenda for democracy and governance, to inject additional momentum to efforts being exerted in this regard and to implement socio-economic reforms adapted to each national situation. For a number of reasons, the democratic revolution in Libya followed a different path from those of Tunisia and Egypt. From the very start, the AU made it clear that any solution to the crisis had to be based on the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the Libyan people for democracy, respect for human rights and good governance. The AU strived to secure a Libyan consensus on the establishment of inclusive transitional institutions that would manage the country until such a time that election are held. This clearly implied Colonel Qaddafi's relinquishing power to those new institutions. The AU's

ultimate objective was to avoid war. As a regional organisation, diplomacy is the main weapon and the use of force is always a last resort when all other options have been exhausted (Ping, 2011). While the Arab world, Europe and the United States tended to view the 2011 Libyan uprising as a turbulent version of Tunisia's democratic uprising, sub-Saharan African leaders saw the contest between Gaddafi and his rivals as a variant of the Chadian wars, threatening lawless mercenaries that could easily spill across borders (de Waal, 2013).

African leaders found Gaddafi erratic, egotistical and frequently offensive, but many were leery of forcible regime change, fearing that what followed could be worse. Warnings about possible fallout from the Libyan conflict were repeated in statements by the African Union Peace and Security Council from March 2011 onwards (ibid). The AU consistently spoke of an "inclusive transition" to democracy in Libya, meaning a process in which Gaddafi would step aside peaceably. Meanwhile, the U.S., France and Britain were following a different track, and driving UN policy. A week later, the UN Security Council met to consider the escalating crisis and especially the threat to Benghazi. The three African countries on the Security Council (Gabon, Nigeria and South Africa) all voted for Resolution 1973. If just one had abstained the resolution would not have passed. The resolution refers to the AU efforts in its preamble section, including calling for a ceasefire and noting the decision of the AU "to send its ad hoc High Level Committee to Libya with the aim of facilitating dialogue to lead to the political reforms necessary to find a peaceful and sustainable solution." But the operative provisions of Resolution 1973 were different entirely (de Waal, 2012).

Among the countries under review, the absence of true national integration among these countries in the Sahel and Horn of African regions constitute favourable grounds for identity-based demands that, depending on the circumstances and the evolution of the balance of power between the state and the groups contesting the state, can be minimal or extreme (Asefa, 2009). The countries in these regions are populated by Muslim and Christian. These countries are fundamentally faced with two types of threats namely, rebellions of identity and rebellions of autonomy or secession. These identity-oriented demands were further exacerbated by reaction against the processes of economic and cultural standardization that accompany

globalization. We can find common trends among all the countries in focus. They are all facing internal political instability and bad leadership, which is further complicated by a lack of democratic traditions, colonial history, and experiences of repressive military regimes. While we can certainly look on democratization of these countries from many different aspects, from the security point of view, political changes have indeed brought new aspects of threats and many new actors

Chapter Five (5) deals with United States foreign policy in Africa and the emergence of AFRICOM. US foreign policy is generally based on real politik analysis of US interests. U.S. foreign policy objectives in Africa have long been carried out by multiple U.S. government agencies. The primary actors are DoS; USAID; DoD; and country ambassadors. Other agencies include: Departments of Health and Human Services; Justice; Treasury; Energy; Commerce; Agriculture; Homeland Security (DHS); Trade and Development Agency (TDA); National Institute for Health (NIH); Centres for Disease Control (CDC); and Millennium Challenge Corporation. The DoD, DoS and USAID are the three main elements of US foreign policy apparatus. DoS oversees several programs that relate to the promotion of democracy, narcotics control and international law enforcement, terrorism, weapons proliferation, and non-UN peacekeeping operations, including oversight of PEPFAR through the U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator. “USAID is responsible for most of the bilateral development assistance, including economic growth, global health, and democracy programs, [and] Title II of P.L. 480 food assistance¹⁵⁸”. DoD is responsible for foreign military financing and training programs, support for international peacekeeping operations, healthcare, and humanitarian assistance, among others.

These US foreign policy programs are not codified in a single document but mostly bilateral in nature (country specific). All programs are under the policy guidance of DoS and, in some cases, under its direct authority, the diverse and sometimes related objectives of the many implementing aid agencies operating within the African environment raises questions on whether these agencies are working at cross-

¹⁵⁸ Foreign aid: an introduction to United States programs and policy.. (n.d.) >The Free Library. (2014). Retrieved Jul 30 2015 from <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Foreign+aid%3a+an+introduction+to+United+States+programs+and+policy.-a0212326831>

purposes or duplicating each other's work. Africa has very often been treated as a low priority foreign policy backwater compared to the time, effort and resources dedicated to many other regions considered by Washington to be of greater concern even though the US/Africa relationship dates back to the slave trade and the associated repatriation of emancipated slaves by 'Colonization Societies' to the African West coast commencing in 1815 to Sierra Leone. The US was late getting involved in African government's affairs. The US Department of States did not have an African desk until Kennedy administration. During the de-colonization process, the US government's position regarding the growing African independent movements was ambiguous at best. The thrust of US policy then was to avoid any serious political commitment anywhere in Africa especially commitment that will result to confrontation with her European allies. In the 1970s, US foreign policy toward Africa was shaped by Cold War rivalries with the former Soviet Union. The US was especially concerned about preventing the former Soviet Union from gaining a foothold in the newly emerging independent African states and the desire to secure the preservation of Western political ideas and institutions. The US typically gave preference to those African states believed to lean toward the West rather than toward the communist world. At the end of the Cold War in 1991, the perceived risk of communism spreading into Africa became less threatening and the US drastically reduced the amount of attention it paid to Africa. During the decade between the end of the Cold War and September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, US foreign policy toward Africa was fundamentally altered by four major events which triggered the global war on terror (GWOT).

The first major event was the US involvement in "Operation Restore Hope" which was launched in December 1992. The mandate of the mission was to avert human security catastrophes by providing humanitarian aid to Somalia people. However, an attempt by the US special operation forces to capture Somali opposition leader General Mohamed Farrah Aidid ended tragically after the battle of Mogadishu that left 18 American Soldiers dead and 73 wounded. This led the US to withdraw all of its troops from Somalia. The second major event was the 1994 Hutu led government genocide on its Tutsi minority leaving 800,000 people dead. The United States did not intervene militarily in the conflict even though it was known that terrible acts

were being committed. The US inaction was attributed to its failure in Somalia. The simultaneous bombing of the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam in 1998 which left over two hundred people dead and as many as 5,000 wounded was the third major event. This led the US military strike a pharmaceutical factory in Sudan that was believed to be making ingredients for chemical weapons. More significantly the strike revealed that the US believed that Africans had links to larger terrorist networks across the Middle East and that African countries serve as a recruiting ground for terrorists, that young, angry marginalized and anti-American youths could be mobilized against US interests. Following the tragic events of September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, the Bush administration launched the global war on terror which encapsulated Operation Enduring Freedom (Horn of Africa) and Operation Enduring Freedom (Trans-Sahara).

The global war on terror is focussed on combating terrorism and violent extremism. The US perception is that al-Qa'ida has syndicated its ideology and violence, its affiliates and adherents in Africa and Arabian Peninsula have become increasingly networked and adaptable in their recruiting, training, financing and operations. Violent extremist organizations, insurgents and criminal organizations are exploiting weak governance and under-governed spaces and remain determined to harm the United States, her partners and allies. Hence, the creation of a Unified Combatant Command (UCC) in the mode of AFRICOM is to protect American interests in Africa. AFRICOM protects and advances vital US national security interests in Africa, including the protecting the security of the global economic system, preventing catastrophic attacks on the homeland, protecting American citizens abroad (AFRICOM Posture Statement, 2011).

The United States African Command initiates programs and conducts military-to-military training and exercises that built defence institutional and operational capabilities and strengthen strategic partnerships. AFRICOM utilizes operations and security cooperation engagements to foster multilateral cooperation and build capacities of African partners (DoD Authorization, 2013).

7.3 Summary of Research findings

(i). The findings of the study revealed that colonial legacy was the architect of human security pathologies in the continent. Human (in) security challenges existed in pre-colonial African society, however, the intensities were low and the means of resolving them were localized and adequate.

(ii). The balkanization of Africa by Western imperialist countries is a major source of conflict in Africa as state boundaries were arbitrarily demarcated without recourse to diverse ethnic nationalities that were yoked together. A number of African countries have at different times since independence been in conflict with each other over common boundaries. These conflicts have centred on trans-boundary minorities, trans-boundary resources, unclear frontiers, and the contestation or difficulty of implementing existing colonial and post-colonial boundary agreements (Nguendi-Kome, 2012:3).

(iii). The vulnerabilities and human security pathologies in Africa were further aggravated during the Cold War era as proxy wars were openly fought and supported by the two super-powers. While some obnoxious regimes and rebels were funded and supported, some promising African leaders were overthrown and in extreme cases, killed. Threats and risks which hardly emanate from Africa nevertheless had decisive implications in shaping politics, economies and society while violations of rights and political instability were intricately woven around a framework of security founded on the dominant global geo-political rivalry.

The Cold War security framework bifurcated the world in an east-west divide into which Africa, Asia and Latin America were often induced. The assimilation of Africa's security problematique within the east-west divide provided an expressive platform for domestic groups and individuals outside the state to air their grievances while African regimes found the framework convenient for visiting oppression on opponents. Regimes that tried to take independent lines also found their hold on power becoming precarious. (Abutudu 2005:104). The incorporation of African states into the east-west security networks provided an automatic conflict relationship among countries which hardly had any historical or material basis for such antagonism.

(iv). The Western oriented security permutation has failed to either address or ameliorate the emerging threats in Africa as its applications at various times and in many circumstances have proved inadequate for solving the insecurity quagmire in the continent. The crises facing many African states are built on an accumulation of intersecting issues including race, class, nation, deprivation, socio-economic needs, and gender among others.

(v). In Africa, there is no clear demarcation between national security and human security as many governments' emphasis is not security of their peoples. . For them, state security translates to the preservation of their persons, privileges, perquisites, and system of rule, which guarantees all their benefits. Many African leaders and politicians pay more attention to the perquisites of office than the human security of their peoples, hence, the referent object of security is neither the state nor the citizens but the personalities of the leaders as opposition in domestic politics and criticisms of public policies become "threats" to national security.

(vi). The African military that is constitutionally empowered to act as unbiased umpire and to protect the territorial integrity of African state has more often than not exhibits its strength in repressing the same citizens that it was constituted to protect. Even though the logic and theory of its existence claim protection of the citizens from external attack as their basis, history and contemporary evidence point to the logic and practice of their existence as the brutalization and repression of the citizenry in the name of national security thereby giving credence to the import of securitization theory in the analogy of this study. In the hands of authoritarian rulers bent on perpetuating themselves in office, the military has been used to silence the opposition and subjugate the people. With the support of the armed forces African rulers are impatient with dialogue and consensus formation as a strategy of policymaking and implementation. Therefore, the consequence of the dominant Western security construct in Africa is the transformation of the state into a source of citizen insecurity.

(vii). Hence, the overbearing Western state-centric security conceptualization of Africans has engendered the destruction of the state and the perpetuation of the reign of terror and chaos. The people are bewildered and afraid due to acute deprivation

and marginalization. They are confused, alienated and helpless. And have no one to turn to and nowhere to go to find much needed safety and security. The state which was ostensibly created for the good and the wellbeing of the citizens and their cherished values, has failed woefully as it has turned from protector to violator of their security using the guise of national security to justify its impunity.

(viii). The unilateralism of African governments in policymaking, the activities of the multinational corporations, particularly oil trans-nationals that seem to exploit and pollute the environment with impunity and treat the protests and interests of local communities with heavy handedness, trans-border criminality that involves the activities of small arms and drug traffickers, smugglers are some of the dangers that threaten the human security of African peoples.

(ix). However, the most important threat to the human security of Africans is the arrogance of the African government, its penchant to project state power as personal and group power, its hostility to dialogue in preference for dictation in the governmental process and its partisanship in the implementation of policies. This governmental posture inevitably creates a critical mass of alienated and desperate enemies who confront the government in various ways including, in the final analysis, with arms with its attendant human security consequences.

(x). Almost all armed conflicts occurring in Africa are intra-state in nature rather than inter-state. These armed conflicts involve militias, armed civilians and guerrillas, separatist movement contesting the autonomy of the state as well as soldiers. Small arms are the major cause of battle deaths and according to Nnoli (2006:238), as many as 90% of the casualties are civilians, who die largely from the hunger and disease which occur as a result.

(xi). The inability of most African leaders to provide effective leadership, allocate resources equitably and manage social conflict has significantly weakened state structures both territorially and institutionally thereby creating the crisis of ungoverned space. This crisis is further exacerbated by serious environmental challenges that threaten sustainable development in the continent with far-reaching adverse impact on human health, food security, economic activity, physical infrastructure, natural resources as well as national and global security.

(xii). The skewed neo-liberal policies, lopsided trade regimes and economic partnership agreements (EPAs) of the Western-dominated international economic system are other factors that have undermined the human security of Africans. The EPAs represent unequal and, ipso facto, exploitative trade relations. EPAs have served the interests of the West to the detriment of African local industries, and have thus exacerbated poverty in Africa combined with the rash of IMF/World Bank intrusion by way of structural adjustment programmes. The severity of deprivation engendered by the imposition and enforcement of structural adjustment programmes compounded the weakness of African states. The sharp drops in living standard of African people as a result of SAPs and the mass hunger that followed increased the number of the marginalized and excluded them from life supporting economic activities providing a steady supply of the poor for recruitment as terrorists and foot soldiers. More so, those who protest their increasing misery were visited with state repression. The acute deprivation heightened competition among the dominant elites for dwindling state's resources and this situation has invariably led to eruption of violence and human security deterioration.

(xiii). Despite the forgoing scenario, Africa has never been central to US foreign policy. The United States government has vacillated from the policy of 'selective engagement' in the Cold War era (when it selectively engaged those countries where it felt that US national interests were at stake) to the policy of 'disengagement', at least on the short run. However, with the event of 9/11, the rise and spread of international terrorist threats, the US government has dithered from the policy of disengagement to 'global war on terror' (GWOT). The overall thrust of the policy is to combat terrorism and violent extremism. At the same time, Africa has dramatically shifted in the US policy radar. The continent's ascendancy in strategic value is as a result of various discoveries of strategic energy resources. These discoveries have elicited a dramatic change in the United States' Africa policy from 'benign neglect' to an increasing interest. During a press conference preceding his 2008 Africa trip, President Bush expressed the strategic change in unequivocal terms: "Africa is also increasingly vital to our strategic interests. We have seen that conditions on the other side of the world can have a direct impact on our own security" (Bush cited in Mboup et al, 2009:89).

The most visible manifestation of that dramatic shift has been the creation of a combatant command dedicated to Africa. AFRICOM, unfortunately, faced widespread mistrust on the continent. The cacophony of voices on the location, actual character and mandate of the command is quite remarkable. Media headlines across the continent reflected Africans' reluctance towards the new command. From its inception, AFRICOM has faced a crisis of identity. Its purported mandate is to promote American interests through military, diplomatic, and economic means. The command's mission statement reads: "AFRICOM, in concert with other U.S. government agencies and international partners, conducts sustained security engagement through military-to-military programs, military sponsored activities, and other military operations as directed to promote a stable and secure African environment in support of U.S. foreign policy."

The US policymakers enthused that AFRICOM will not only enhance the efforts to bring peace and security to the people of Africa, it will also "promote our common goals of development, health, education, democracy, and economic growth in Africa." This depiction of the continent as being increasingly relevant to US geo-strategic imperative is presumptuous. AFRICOM's dual nature is exposed upon an examination of U.S. economic interests on the continent. The interpretation of economic chalice the US attaches to AFRICOM is richly laced with the suggestion that America has suddenly been moved, out of philosophical inspiration, to meet Africa's disease, poverty and misery. Within the US policymaking circle, the assumptions are that Africa as a whole is vulnerable as a breeding ground and incubation site for international terrorist groups and that international terrorism thrives amidst poverty and underdevelopment which are prevalent in present day Africa. The US government cites the growing number of failed or failing states, large terrain of ungoverned and under-governed space, non-transparent and faulty institutional structures, endemic corruption and poor governance as justifications for the imposition of a US military command on Africans. These scenarios were captured in 2002 National Security Strategy of the United States when it declared that:

...weak states can pose great threat to our national interests as strong states. Poverty does not make poor

people terrorists and murderers. Yet, poverty, weak institutions, and corruption can make weak states vulnerable to terrorist networks and drug cartels within their borders.....In Africa, promise and opportunity sit side by side with disease, war and desperate poverty. This threatens both a core value of the United States-preserving human dignity and our strategic priority-combating terror, American interests and American principles, therefore, lead in the same direction: we will work others for an African continent that lives in liberty, peace and growing prosperity (NSS, 2002).

These theatres of insecurity that pervade the continent will obstruct the exploitation and exploration of African mineral resources if unabated. As of 2006, U.S. imports of African oil reached 921 million barrels, just under 20 percent of total U.S. consumption; this figure surpassed oil imports from the Middle East, meaning Africa is the largest source for U.S. oil outside the American continents. Additionally, U.S. imports from Africa grew by 51 percent since 2000, while imports from the Middle East fell by about five percent. The third prong of AFRICOM's mission, humanitarian aid and development, is the most complex. AFRICOM is the first American military command to include other U.S. government agencies in the DoD planning process. Aside from the need to counter violent extremism and secure strategic mineral resources, the US government is threatened by the increasing participation of China in Africa.

(xiv). China has clear political as well as economic objectives in Africa. Since 2001, China's pursuit in the continent has rapidly expanded into the economic arena, focusing on Africa's rich natural resources to fuel China's domestic economic growth. China's growing economic presence in Africa is hardly altruistic and is guided by the principle of "mutual benefits" to both sides. Under the framework of "resources for development," Beijing mobilizes its vast state financial resources to invest broadly in infrastructure projects across Africa and extract natural resources in return (Yun, 2013).

A second factor in China's Africa policy is that it is not solely focused on access to natural resources. The need for such access is of course at the top of its economic agenda. It has thus made major loans to oil producing Angola, bought control of two major copper mines in Zambia, and sought oil and mineral concessions or resource-

related trade agreements across the continent. Angola is now its largest sources of imported oil. China owns some 40% of Sudan's major oil company and is investing in pipelines and other support for the industry. China is a major importer of African timber, often at serious cost to the environment. But today there are at least 800 Chinese companies operating in Africa, with Chinese government support, and they range across the economy. It seems clear that China sees in Africa broad economic potential. It sees Africa as potentially a source of food imports that would lessen dependence on western countries. China is not deterred from investments and other activities in countries accused of major human rights violations, such as Sudan and Zimbabwe, limiting the potential for UN sanctions and other international pressures on those regimes (Yun, 2013).

In international forum, China has more consistent support from the African bloc than does the United States. Commercially, China uses practices that disadvantage U.S. companies. For example, China often will combine a bid for oil or mineral concessions with promises of some aid projects, a practice which the U.S. is forbidden to do under rules of the Development Advisory Committee of the OECD, to which China does not belong. China also undermines some practices and principles of other donors (Jane, 2012). For example, against World Bank rules, China has African countries collateralize its loans with commitments of future oil or other mineral exports. Given that African states are uncomfortable with trade liberalizations, privatization and democratization requirements of the United States, many African governments view Beijing consensus as practical path to the continent's development.

(xv). There is no rationale for the establishment of a unified combatant command for developmental and humanitarian assistance in the Africa considering the fact that previous US established programmes such as ACOTA and TSCTI provide a sound vehicle for achieving AFRICOM's purported objectives. The usefulness of these programmes begs the following questions: (a). Can a component of DoD in the mode of AFRICOM be truly as benign and contributory (socially and economically) as suggested by the United States' declaration about AFRICOM? (b). Why impose a combatant command structure on the putative beneficiaries without due consultation with them? (c). Similarly, if the actual concern is to counter violent extremism and

deny terrorist organizations ungoverned space in Africa, why not seek to address the root causes of African predicaments instead of giving them peripheral attention? (d). How can AFRICOM pursue US national interests, while at the same time safeguarding both the strategic and human security interests of African people? (e). And finally, how do African security challenges impact on the United States and what are the commensurate levels of strategic and military intervention to address these?

(xvi). Many African governments welcome the United States intention to bring peace, security and development to the people of Africa, citing that the combinations of these three factors facilitate the promotion of human security. Nevertheless, the security that is promoted by the US is narrowly defined, and peace becomes an illusion, even when conflict appears to have been resolved as exemplified by the Libya debacle.

In retrospect, the US/NATO intervention in Libya was an abject failure, judged even by its own standards. Libya has not only failed to evolve into a democracy; it has devolved into a failed state. Rather than helping the United States combat terrorism, as Qaddafi did during his last decade in power, Libya now serves as a safe haven for militias affiliated with both al Qaeda and the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS). The Libya intervention has harmed other U.S. interests as well: undermining nuclear non-proliferation, chilling Russian cooperation at the UN, and fuelling Syria's civil war. On the other hand, the pattern of powerful countries turning a blind eye on the human rights records of those in control of the countries where their economic and strategic interests are at stake, fuels the beliefs in imperialist-type intents.

(xvii). The official rhetoric on AFRICOM seems to suggest that the US is no longer guided by a pursuit of its strategic-military interests; instead 'soft power' is seen as an integral part of foreign policy calculation. However, there continues to be a lacuna between promise and practice in US policy. The US intervention in Libya (Operation Odyssey Dawn) in 2011, albeit in consultation with other countries to avert humanitarian catastrophe, clearly demonstrated to some critics that despite the public

commitment to the promotion of human security in Africa under R2P doctrine, American involvement was driven mostly by geo-strategic imperatives.

(xviii). The responses from the interviews and the questionnaires show that many African countries are collaborating with AFRICOM especially on military-military training, exercises and operations. However, the human security dilemma in Africa requires multidimensional solution as the challenges cannot be mitigated militarily though the military can form part of its solutions. At present, African military lacks the capacity to respond adequately to the human security quagmire in the continent and given the emergence of new threats and the escalation of old conflicts that threaten to engulf various African regions in humanitarian crises as well as political imbroglios, the US military presence appears to be unavoidable.

7.4 Recommendations

No doubt the human (in)security in many African states is at crisis stage and therefore, comprehensive engagement is needed.

(i). The intrusion of colonialism and arbitrary boundary demarcation which have created flash point for conflicts can be resolved by the AU through regional integration. The traditional use of hard power in addressing the human security challenges in Africa cannot yield positive results since the root causes of the problems stemmed from socio-economic conditions of dislocation, deprivation, exclusion and by the benign neglect and scrounging relationship that historically enabled, coddled and protected corrupt and self-centred leaders to do their bidding throughout the continent. What looks like a national security question today, may in fact tomorrow prove to be rooted in changing economies, environments and societal evolution.

(ii). The integration of Africa's security into the "East- West Security Calculus" should be revisited as Africa's security challenges differ remarkably from Western security challenges. There is urgent need for the reconceptualization of African security considering the fact many threats in Africa emanate from the inability of the state managers to equitably allocate resources for the common good of the citizens. Africans should rather be projected as the referent objects of security instead of the state.

(iii). African militaries should be highly professionalized and their roles should be clearly articulated to address the contemporary challenges facing the continent. Significant steps have been taken in this regard at the regional level to develop normative instruments to prevent military intervention in the political processes of African states. These include frameworks, such as the African Union's (AU) "Common African Defence and Security Policy," the "Framework for an African Union Response to Unconstitutional Changes," the Southern African Development Community's "Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation," and the Economic Community of West African States' (ECOWAS) "Draft Code of Conduct for Armed and Security Forces." The evolution of these explicit regional standards reflects a growing recognition of the need to improve the institutional culture of militaries on the continent. If upheld, these standards will have far-reaching implications for Africa's political development.

(iv). There should be a synergy between the government, civil society organizations and the informed public in the formulation and implementation of public policies and elected government officials should be held responsible for their actions and inactions. While acknowledging the strides taken by the AU in the establishment of NEPAD, African Peer Review Mechanism and African Union Stand-by force, these organs do not hold African leaders accountable for offences committed while in office and the regional and sub-regional organizations are constrained by enormous challenges to respond effectively and timeously in addressing humanitarian crises in Africa. The capacity of regional security apparatus in addressing the human security challenges in the continent is stressed despite the political consequences of globalization.

(v). Institutional capacities should be enhanced through strict adherence to the rules of law, respect for the right of citizens, equality before the law and leaders should be compelled to be accountable to the citizens. Africa faces the future with much trepidation. Although a lot of hopes and expectations are invested in the current process of democratic change and its capacity to engineer good governance, however, the possible outcome of the process remains uncertain and open to conjecture. What is clear from the historical experiences of other countries and regions of the world is that democracy and good governance are not given; rather

they are products of the concrete political struggles waged by the dominated groups in the society.

Africa's increased strategic value and the unprecedented importance that it gives to it with regard to tangible United States' interests offer an opportunity for recasting their relationship into a transparent, principled, and mutually beneficial partnership. Many observers believe that Africans would readily welcome a strategic partnership with the United States, if the mistrust accumulated since the end of the Cold War is eliminated and if they have the conviction that this partnership would be beneficial for them as well. A new era in the relations between Africa and the United States is feasible, but it requires a strategy that considers both perspectives and works actively at identifying and eradicating motives of reluctance and mistrust. As Richard L. Armitage and Joseph S. Nye, Jr. declared before the United States Congress:

America should have higher ambitions than being popular, but foreign opinion matters to U.S. decision-making. A good reputation fosters goodwill and brings acceptance for unpopular ventures. Helping other nations and individuals achieve their aspirations is the best way to strengthen America's reputation abroad (Armitage and Nye Jr., 2007:12).

(vi). To improve and extend the frontiers of human security records in Africa, it is imperative for the United States government to engage those inhibitive foreign policy directives that foul up the atmosphere in its relations with Africa. There is an urgent need to move from market fundamentalism and unilateral militarism to recognition of interdependence with African countries and there should be sustained multilateral cooperation. The global war on terror has created unintended consequences as anti-American sentiments and hatred in many African countries especially in countries with dominant Muslim population has increased. The US government should of necessity disengage from its extreme of pre-emptive doctrine and narrow military responses to understanding that concerted collaboration with African Union and the sub-regional organizations is the panacea for increased common security.

(vii). There should be a paradigm shift from focusing exclusively on violent enemies to paying attention to less conventional threats that negatively impact on the human security of African people such as epidemics, climate change, natural disasters,

economic disequilibrium, marginalization, deprivation and exclusion. Such shift will therefore necessitate an interrogation of the sources of insecurity of African states, institutions, businesses and citizens' experience. The US government should rethink the idea of its values as the centrepiece of its foreign policy in Africa because such a pursuit is of little or no use in countries with highly mobilized ideological and religious extremism.

(viii). In responding to the current waves of terrorism and radical Islamism in the Sahel and Horn of Africa, it is germane to have a lucid grasp of the agential and structural (dis)contents that informed its emergence. The militarist approach toward violent extremism, insurgency and political jihadism ignores the essentialist, psychological and political perspectives of the problem. This has so far obscured a nuanced and holistic engagement of the threats. The US government should diversify its military spending in Africa to accommodate diplomatic initiatives and humanitarian gestures. Development assistance, aid and humanitarian assistance should revert back to the DoS and USAID while AFRICOM should continue with security operations.

(ix). The US government should establish a collaborative framework with African regional, sub-regional organizations and civil society organizations for broader dialogue rather than to privilege expansion through AFRICOM. The US government and AFRICOM in particular should embrace and support the concept of 'African solutions to African problems'. African countries do want to partnership with the United States government and other members of the international communities to address the enormous human security challenges that pervade the continent and to enhance their human resource capacities and acquire equipment to combat emerging threats that have undermined the wellbeing of African people.

(x). Peacekeeping operations require a civilian, developmental approach that recognises the complex links between poverty, humiliation, despair and violence. Underlying and unresolved social, economic and political issues simmering in many African countries call for concerted efforts to prevent an escalation of violence. AFRICOM should begin a broader dialogue with civil society organizations in Africa and various stakeholders including members of academia instead of limiting

the engagement with the state leaders and military personnel. There should be collaborative partnership between the US government and African governments to address the root causes of terrorism and violence. This approach should transcend building African states' security capacities to incorporate good governance, effective strategies to eradicate poverty and deliberate partnership between civil society organizations, peace keeping community and international partners.

(xi). There is need to link peacekeeping operations in African conflict zones with post-war planning. The death of Gaddafi in Libya signalled the withdrawal of US/NATO without linking external support to national development planning.

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