



## US APPROACH TO SECURITY IN AFRICA AND THE CIVIL-MILITARY BALANCE

Bouchat, Clarence J. *The Causes of Instability in Nigeria and Implications for the United States*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College Press, 2013. <http://publications.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/2235.pdf>

“Understanding the political economy of Nigeria is needed to reveal the root causes of its many ethnic, religious, economic, and political problems and address them for the long term. The pressures now weighing on Nigeria could literally fracture the state along deep fault lines if rampant corruption and partisanship continues. The United States, in a mutually important partnership with Nigeria, should assist in specific but indirect ways to help Nigerians overcome their political economy problems, which could serve both the interests of the United States and Nigeria. Within such assistance, the role of the U.S. military is particularly delicate, but needed through focused aid to specific programs and sharing of expertise, all best managed through employing units that are regionally aligned to Nigeria or West Africa.”

Kindl, Martin. “African Security Futures: Threats, Partnership, and International Engagement for the New U.S. Administration.” *PRISM* 6, no. 4 (2017): 14-31. <http://cco.ndu.edu/PRISM-6-4/Article/1171812/african-security-futures-threats-partnerships-and-international-engagement-for/>

Mason, M. Chris. “Is Nation-Building a Myth? Nation-Building is an Oxymoron,” *Parameters* 46, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 67-79. [http://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/parameters/issues/Spring\\_2016/10\\_Mason.pdf](http://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/parameters/issues/Spring_2016/10_Mason.pdf)

“Nations are not built. They form almost imperceptibly from within over long spans of historical time. Since the end of World War II, no country that was not a nation has ever won a counterinsurgency or suppressed a civil war. Field Manual 3-24 Counterinsurgency is wrong because it is premised on the false assumption that support for an existing government can be increased during a civil war/insurgency as a result of the counterinsurgents’ actions. There is no historical evidence to support this assumption.”

Naish, Dominic. “Security and Conflict Management in the African Borderlands: A People-Centered Approach,” *Conflict Trends* 1 (2017). <http://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/security-conflict-management-african-borderlands/>

Ryan, Philip J. *The 3-D Planning Process: Does it Work?* Strategy Research Project. Carlisle Barrack, PA: Army War College, 2016. <http://publications.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/936.pdf>

“The 3D (Diplomacy, Development, and Defense) Planning Process is a novel concept meant to fuse together critical aspects of our nation’s whole of government approach to international affairs. Despite a bevy of key strategic documents, U.S. Foreign Policy lacks focus, structure, and accountability across the interagency to

make it effective and efficient. From the local through the regional to the national level, issues of poor coordination, boundary confusion, and bureaucratic competition grow worse the higher one gets in the relations between the Department of State, U.S. Agency for International Development, and the Department of Defense. American Foreign Policy requires effective synchronization of the different parts of government. This effort would involve national-level leadership and a comprehensive review of interagency collaboration, organization, and policies to address some of the obvious problems with the current approach.”

Snyder, Stephen J. *Stability Operations Challenges*. Strategy Research Project. Carlisle Barracks, PA: Army War College, 2014. <http://publications.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/952.pdf>

“This paper identifies six challenges facing U.S. stability operations. These include issues of policy, leadership, civil affairs force structure, assessment, joint coalition operations and resource scarcity. The identified challenges stem from both the findings of the Special Investigator for operations in Iraq and Afghanistan and from personal observations from deployments as a civil affairs operator and planner. These challenges are framed against current U.S. policy, and department of defense, department of state and interagency capabilities. Potential remedies for each of the six challenges is provided, as well as suggestions for the way ahead for U.S. stability operations.”

Tieku, Thomas Kwasi. *Governing Africa: 3D Analysis of the African Union's Performance*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2016. <http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/969856633>

“The African Union (AU) is the leading international organization on the African continent. Established in 2001, it consists of fifty-four members, a ten-member Commission, political organs, such as the Assembly, Pan-African Parliament, and a body where civil society groups are represented. The AU seeks the political and socio-economic integration of the African continent and has emerged as a key player in international politics. Since its creation, the AU has tackled a wide range of issues, including health epidemics (Ebola), undemocratic change of governments, gender inequality, wars, poverty and climate change. It has also led military interventions in Burundi, Comoros, Sudan, and Somalia and adopted key legal instruments to prevent transnational terrorism, bad governance, human rights abuses, corruption and promoted economic development. *Governing Africa* shows how the AU has faced these challenges by providing a comprehensive and critical examination of AU's performance and role, explaining the innovative and homegrown solutions it has developed in the last decade. Going beyond the traditional security-centric discussion of AU, it analyzes other equally important issues that the AU has dealt with, such as human rights and democracy promotion. For those interested in global studies, the 3D model advanced in this book provides excellent theoretical model for studying IOs anywhere in the world. The first book to deal with the AU as a multi-dimensional, dynamic political organization, *Governing Africa* takes stock of AU's successes and failures in its first decade.”

Williams, Paul D. “Continuity and Change in War and Conflict in Africa,” *PRISM* 6, no. 4 (2017). <http://cco.ndu.edu/PRISM-6-4/Article/1171839/continuity-and-change-in-war-and-conflict-in-africa/>

## AFRICOM / U.S. INVOLVEMENT

Brown, David E. *AFRICOM at 5 Years: The Maturation of a New U.S. Combatant Command*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute. U.S. Army War College, 2013. <https://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/download.cfm?q=1164>

“Created in 2007, the new U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM) has matured greatly over the last 5 years, overcoming much of the initial resistance from African stakeholders and the U.S. interagency about a ‘militarization’ of U.S. foreign policy in Africa. This Letort Paper describes the geostrategic, operational, and intellectual changes that explain why AFRICOM was created, debunks three negative myths about AFRICOM’s current operations, and raises five issues important to AFRICOM’s future, including the need to carry out a ‘right-sizing’ exercise at AFRICOM during a time of severe budget constraints and a real risk for the United States of ‘strategic insolvency.’ ”

Chalfin, Julie E., and Linda Thomas-Greenfield. “The Security Governance Initiative,” *PRISM* 6, no. 4 (May 2017). <http://cco.ndu.edu/PRISM-6-4/Article/1171855/the-security-governance-initiative/>

Dunn, Brian J. “The AFRICOM [US Africa Command] Queen.” *Military Review* 96, no. 3 (May-June 2016): 50-61. [http://usacac.army.mil/CAC2/MilitaryReview/Archives/English/MilitaryReview\\_20160630\\_art011.pdf](http://usacac.army.mil/CAC2/MilitaryReview/Archives/English/MilitaryReview_20160630_art011.pdf)

“The third-place winner of the 2015 General William E. DePuy Special Topics Writing Competition advocates using civilian ships as naval platforms to project U.S. Army and partner assets around the African continent. Just as the fictional “African Queen” was converted for a military mission, civilian ships could provide a relatively simple solution to U.S. Africa Command’s amphibious shipping shortage.”

Harrington, Joseph P. “U.S. Army Africa: Building a Network, Fighting Violence,” *Army Green Book 2016-17*. (October 2016): 191-194. <https://www.army.mil/article/175471> ; <https://www.ausa.org/publications-and-news>

Knopf, Kate Almqvist. “Friend or Foe? US Counterterrorism Strategy in Africa,” Center for Global Development, Feb 5, 2013. <https://www.cgdev.org/blog/friend-or-foe-us-counterterrorism-strategy-africa>

Metelits, Claire. “Challenging U.S. Security Assessments of Africa.” *African Security* 9, no. 2 (April-June 2016): 89-109. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2016.1175876>

“For decades, Africa lay at the periphery of US security policy. Attention to the continent intensified after the 9/11 terrorist attacks amid claims that East Africa and the Sahel had become hubs of terrorist activity. Despite this shift, U.S. analysts and policymakers continue to frame security threats in Africa using a traditional, Cold War-influenced paradigm. Commonly used indicators are based on mainstream security studies, which provides a narrow view of security. Using Critical Security Studies, this article provides a broader and more inclusive assessment of security threats in Africa.”

Neethling, Theo. "South Africa and AFRICOM: Reflections on a Lukewarm Relationship." *South African Journal of International Affairs* 22, no. 1 (2015): 111-129.

“The United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) was established in 2007 as a military and diplomatic entity and is intended to assist African states and military actors to address their security needs. At the same time, AFRICOM is clearly an extension of US strategic interests on the African continent. The challenge for the US Department of Defense is to project AFRICOM as a cooperative and willing partner. This implies a partner that offers needed services and resources, and supports African security and military priorities with no presumption of having a privileged role in defining the African future. However, one of AFRICOM's main challenges relates to the point that it has not been able to secure a firm partnership with South Africa as a key player on the continent: South Africa has continuously taken a lukewarm, if not cold, approach towards AFRICOM since its formation. The main aim of this article is to examine and discuss South Africa's political–

military relations with AFRICOM and to assess the underlying reasons currently inhibiting AFRICOM from achieving a fully productive relationship with the South African government.”

Pham, J. Peter. “The Development of the United States Africa Command and Its Role in America’s Africa Policy under George W. Bush and Barack Obama,” *Atlantic Council*, January 6, 2015.

[http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/images/files/Africa/20150107\\_The\\_Development\\_of\\_AFRICOM.pdf](http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/images/files/Africa/20150107_The_Development_of_AFRICOM.pdf)

“The announcement in early 2007 of the decision to create the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) generated considerable controversy, not only in Africa, but also within the United States. Seven years into its existence, it is possible to tentatively reexamine the premises underlying the establishment of AFRICOM as well as its activities to date, measuring them against both the promises held out by the command’s proponents and the fears raised concerning it by critics. The conclusion is that, notwithstanding the contrary by certain U.S. officials, American interests were indeed the primary motivation for the command’s launch. Nonetheless, it has turned out that in pursuit of those strategic objectives—both during the remainder of the George W. Bush administration and, subsequently, in the first six years of Barack Obama’s presidency—AFRICOM’s activities have been largely an extension of ongoing U.S. security cooperation with the African states involved, and perhaps improved delivery of these efforts’ services, rather than the vanguard of some new militarized foreign policy. While a number of questions linger, AFRICOM seems to be progressively finding its niche within both U.S. policy and Africa’s own security architecture.”

Tella, Oluwaseun. "AFRICOM: Hard or Soft Power Initiative?" *African Security Review* 25, no. 4 (2016): 393-406.

“The United States (US) Africa Command (AFRICOM) was launched in 2007, ostensibly to foster African security. Rather than focusing on traditional military operations, AFRICOM also embraces non-military activities such as humanitarian aid and African development. This begs the question as to what type of power (hard or soft) the US intends to wield through AFRICOM. Several US official statements have emphasised the soft power attributes of this military project. To this end, this article seeks to respond to two fundamental questions. First, is AFRICOM a soft power project? Second, how, if at all, has AFRICOM enhanced perceptions of the US in Africa? The article concludes that sceptical and negative perceptions of AFRICOM inhibit its soft-power objective of winning the hearts and minds of the African people.”

## PEACE OPERATIONS

Akonor, Kwame. "UN Peace Operations in Africa: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow." In *UN Peacekeeping in Africa*, pp. 13-34. Springer International Publishing, 2017. <http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/967154299>

“This chapter offers a critical examination of UN peacekeeping operations in Africa. It provides a historical and contemporary narrative of UN peacekeeping operations in Africa, paying particular attention to the factors that impact the effectiveness and prospects for successful peacekeeping in Africa. An appraisal on the Libyan crisis in 2011 which put to test the UN’s emerging norm of the international community’s Responsibility to Protect (R2P) civilians from mass atrocities is examined to illustrate the complexities within which peace operations in Africa are expected to respond. The relationship between Africa and the UN system, as well as the capacity constraints facing African peacekeeping efforts, during and after the Cold War, is highlighted.”

Boutellis, Arthur, and Paul D. Williams. *Peace Operations, the African Union, and the United Nations: Toward More Effective Partnerships*. New York: International Peace Institute, 2013.  
<https://www.ipinst.org/2013/04/peace-operations-the-african-union-and-the-united-nations-toward-more-effective-partnerships>

“This paper analyzes the recent history of relations between the UN Security Council and the Peace and Security Council of the African Union (AU) with respect to peace operations. Collaboration in this area was born out of the comparative advantages of both institutions, but it has suffered from several problems, including the AU’s weak bureaucratic, logistical, and financial capabilities. This has resulted in an unequal partnership where the AU’s major peace operations remain dependent on the UN and other partners for support. Nevertheless, peace operations in Africa are once again in high demand with possible new deployments in the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mali, and Sudan. UN deployments in Africa remain steady with approximately 80 percent of all blue helmets deployed on the continent, although the UN is currently debating whether to deploy another large UN multidimensional peace operation to Mali. African Union deployments have also increased to an all-time high, largely due to AU-UN collaboration in the Somalia and Mali theaters.”

Brosig, Malte, and Norman Sempijja. “What Peacekeeping Leaves Behind: Evaluating the Effects of Multi-Dimensional Peace Operations in Africa,” *Conflict, Security & Development* 17, no. 1 (2017): 21-52.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2017.1261447>

“Peacekeeping today has become ever more complex reaching deep into conflict affected societies aiming to facilitate social, economic and political transformative processes in order to establish sustainable peace. However, most quantitative studies evaluate mission effectiveness only in terms of conflict abatement. This leaves a substantial assessment gap. Therefore this study explores the effects of multi-dimensional peacekeeping by using 12 governance indicators. The article finds that its ambitious goals have largely not been fulfilled. Although there are measureable effects on national security and political participation, in other areas such as personal safety, human development or public management the impact is minimal or non-existent. In order to explain variation across cases and indicators we are testing four intervening variables: the type of peacekeeping mission, the amount of resources allocated, the relative size of civilian and police units per missions and the relationship between personal safety and governance indicators.”

de Coning, Cedric, Linnéa Gelot, and John Karlsrud., eds. *The Future of African Peace Operations: From the Janjaweed to Boko Haram*. London: Zed Books, 2016. <http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/944346372>

“Facing threats ranging from Islamist insurgencies to the Ebola pandemic, African regional actors are playing an increasingly vital role in safeguarding peace and stability across the continent. But while the African Union has demonstrated its ability to deploy forces on short notice and in difficult circumstances, the challenges posed by increasingly complex conflict zones have revealed a widening divide between the theory and practice of peacekeeping. With the AU's African Standby Force becoming fully operational in 2016, this timely and much-needed work argues that responding to these challenges will require a new and distinctively African model of peacekeeping, as well as a radical revision of the current African security framework. The first book to provide a comprehensive overview and analysis of African peace operations, *The Future of African Peace Operations* gives a long overdue assessment of the ways which peacekeeping on the continent has evolved over the past decade. It will be a vital resource for policy makers, researchers and all those seeking solutions and insights into the immense security challenges which Africa is facing today.”

Hampton, Daniel. "Creating Sustainable Peacekeeping Capability in Africa." Africa Center for Strategic Studies, April 30, 2014. <http://africacenter.org/publication/creating-sustainable-peacekeeping-capability-in-africa/>

"Nearly half of all uniformed peacekeepers are African and countries like Ghana, Rwanda, Senegal, and South Africa have provided troops to UN and AU missions almost continuously over the past decade. Despite such vast experience, African peacekeepers are often reliant on international partners for training before they can deploy on these missions. Institutionalizing a capacity-building model within African defense forces is a more sustainable approach that maintains a higher level of readiness to respond to emerging crises and contingencies on the continent."

*Peace, Justice, and Reconciliation in Africa: Opportunities and Challenges in the Fight against Impunity.* International Peace Institute, 2013. <https://www.ipinst.org/2013/01/peace-justice-and-reconciliation-in-africa>

"Ending impunity and promoting justice and reconciliation reflect core objectives underpinning the African Union. Amid renewed debate about justice and peace on the African continent, this report investigates the issue of impunity and its relationship with peace, justice, reconciliation, and healing. Contributing to efforts by African and international actors to address these issues, the International Peace Institute and the African Union commissioned a paper from Dr. Comfort Ero, then Director of the South Africa Office of the International Center for Transitional Justice, and Dr. Gilbert Khadiagala, Professor of International Relations at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa. IPI and the AU then convened an expert workshop in Monrovia, Liberia, in May 2009 to consider the consultants' report, make recommendations for improving it, and propose recommendations for the AU Panel of the Wise."

Williams, Paul D. "Peace Operations in Africa: Lessons Learned Since 2000," *Africa Security Brief*, July 31, 2013. <http://africacenter.org/publication/peace-operations-in-africa-lessons-learned-since-2000/>

"More than 50 peace operations have deployed in Africa since 2000, including multiple African-led or hybrid African Union/United Nations initiatives. The frequency of these deployments underscores the ongoing importance of these operations in the playbook of regional and multilateral bodies to prevent conflict, protect civilians, and enforce ceasefires and peace agreements. Recent operations have featured increasingly ambitious goals and complex institutional partnerships. The achievements and shortcomings of these operations offer vital lessons for optimizing this increasingly central but still evolving tool for addressing conflict and instability."

Williams, Paul D. *Enhancing U.S. Support for Peace Operations in Africa*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2015. <https://www.cfr.org/report/enhancing-us-support-peace-operations-africa>

## REGIONAL SECURITY ARCHITECTURE

Akokpari, John. "South Africa and the African Union's Peace and Security Architecture: Old Responsibilities and New Challenges." *Brazilian Journal* 1, no. 2 (2016): 28. <http://www.seer.ufrgs.br/rbea/article/viewFile/70556/40035#page=28>

Arthur, Peter. "Promoting Security in Africa through Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and the African Union's African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)." *Insight on Africa* 9, no. 1 (2017): 1-21.

"The last two decades have seen African countries adopt a new security approach through the activities of regional economic communities (RECs) and the African Union's (AU) African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). This article argues that despite progress in conflict prevention and the promotion of peace, defence and security through the APSA and RECs, challenges do remain. In particular, factors such as financial costs involved, the inadequate funds available for peace and security missions, conflicting interests and lack of agreement, poor co-ordination and inadequate human and logistics capacity have constrained the ability of African countries to achieve their peace and security agenda. Thus, for peace and security efforts being undertaken by the AU and RECs to be effective, the actors involved should have not only the requisite capacity but also political will and commitment, and cooperation among members and with the international community should remain crucial to the process."

*Implementing Peace and Security Architecture (III): West Africa*. Africa Report No. 234. Belgium: International Crisis Group, April 14, 2016. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/implementing-peace-and-security-architecture-iii-west-africa#>

"The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), now in its 41st year, has a formidable record, both in its efforts to enhance regional economic integration, its initial mandate, and to promote peace in a particularly turbulent region. Still, the organisation has demonstrated shortcomings requiring significant institutional change. Reform is essential to give the organisation new impetus, and is ever more urgent as insecurity worsens throughout the Sahel and Lake Chad regions – crisis zones extending beyond ECOWAS's geographic area and where it has limited impact and influence."

Jordaan, Evert. "Collective Security in Africa: The Tension between Theory and Practice." *Strategic Review for Southern Africa* 39, no. 1 (2017). [http://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/85/Strategic%20Review/Vol%2039\(1\)/pp-160-184-e-jordaan.zp121534.pdf](http://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/85/Strategic%20Review/Vol%2039(1)/pp-160-184-e-jordaan.zp121534.pdf)

"The promotion of peace and security in Africa necessitates security cooperation between states and collective security remains a way to pursue it. This paper explores the changed meaning and application of the concept of collective security within the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) to deal with both interstate and intrastate security concerns within the African Union (AU). Since the AU has made clear commitments to collective security, the aim is to determine to what extent the AU subscribed to collective security and applied it in terms of coercion, which includes interventions. While dealing with genocide, war crimes and extended presidential terms remains problematic, the AU has taken an assertive stand with the use of coercion in cases of unconstitutional changes of government. The article highlights the tension between the theory and practice of collective security in Africa."

Siegle, Joseph. "Security Sector Reform in Times of Democratic Reversal," *Security and Peace* (2015). <http://africacenter.org/spotlight/ssr-in-times-of-democratic-reversal/>; <http://www.nomos-elibrary.de/index.php?dokid=385378&tid=1086680>

Sousa, Ricardo Real P. "United Nations Security Council Primacy Over Military Interventions in Africa and the African Peace and Security Architecture," in Moita, Luís and Pinto, Luís Valença (Coord.) *Espaços económicos e espaços de segurança*. Lisboa (519-572): UAL; OBSERVARE (2017). <http://hdl.handle.net/11144/3037>

## SECURITY COOPERATION

Chafer, Tony. "France in Mali: Towards a New Africa Strategy?" *International Journal of Francophone Studies* 19, no. 2 (2016): 119-141. [https://doi.org/10.1386/ijfs.19.2.119\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/ijfs.19.2.119_1)

"This article addresses the question whether the French military intervention in Mali in 2013 (Operation Serval) and the follow-up Operation Barkhane are evidence of a new French military strategy in Africa. The first part briefly sets out the chronology of events that led to the French intervention. The decision-making process in Paris that led to the decision to intervene and the sequence of events following the intervention is then examined, in order to show that this raised important questions about the viability of the key principles – partnership, 'Africanization' and 'Europeanization' – that informed and underpinned France's Africa policy from the late 1990s. It is argued that Operation Serval and the follow-on operation, Barkhane, need to be understood, first, in the context of the importance attached to Africa as a privileged arena for the projection of French power overseas. Second, they must be understood in the geopolitical context of the neo-liberal post-Cold War international order, within which France, as a major western power and permanent member of the UNSC, feels it has a responsibility to undertake certain actions. Third, they should also be understood against the background of the failure to reform the institutional architecture of Africa policymaking, in particular the roles of the Ministry of Defence and the 'Africa cell' at the Elysée Palace, which have traditionally played a pivotal role in Africa policy. Finally, the article argues that a new Africa strategy did emerge under President Hollande, albeit in an unplanned and incremental manner, but that the resulting policy is some distance from representing a renovated, or 'normalized', Africa policy based on a new partnership with Africa."

Fleming, David. *Security Cooperation Activities: Strengthening a Partner Military and Its Governing Institutions*. Fort Leavenworth, KS: U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 2016. <http://www.dtic.mil/docs/citations/AD1021969>

"Determining the right mix of military to civilian aid to strengthen partner militaries and their governing institutions will challenge operational artists in the future. Military planners who broaden their fields of study to include a partner nation's military, government, and economic capabilities approach the problem with a holistic understanding. Recently, the United States concluded two wars, planned to reduce the size of the US Armed Forces, and planned to increase reliance on allied partners abroad. In the future, US military and foreign allies will expand partnerships while maintaining a global presence through security cooperation activities. Security cooperation activities train and equip partner militaries, while security sector reform increases a government's ability to manage its security forces. US efforts that empower security forces without strengthening that government's ability to control brings unintended consequences like coups d'état. Using comparative observations across two cases of US security cooperation, Vietnam 1961-1963 and Mali 2002-2012, this monograph supports the hypothesis that military aid without targeted civilian aid strengthens a military and threatens its government in times of crisis."

Franke, Benedikt. *Security Cooperation in Africa: A Reappraisal*. (Boulder: First Forum Press, 2009). <http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/929734904>

"Benedikt Franke assesses the peace and security architecture that is taking shape under the nominal leadership of the African Union, analyzing the emerging structures and trends and also rethinking prevailing notions and theoretical assumptions about interstate security relations."



Griffiths, Robert J. *U.S. Security Cooperation with Africa: Political and Policy Challenges*. Routledge, 2016.  
<http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/980846708>

“As Africa’s strategic importance has increased over the past decade and a half, United States security cooperation with the continent has expanded. The most visible dimension of this increased engagement was the establishment of the U.S. Military Command for Africa (AFRICOM). Some critics are skeptical of AFRICOM’s purpose and see the militarization of U.S. Africa policy while others question its effectiveness. Recognizing the link between development and security, AFRICOM represents a departure from the traditional organization of military commands because of its holistic approach and the involvement of the Department of State as well as other U.S. government stakeholders. Nevertheless, AFRICOM’s effort to combine security and development faces formidable conceptual and operational challenges in trying to ensure both American and African security interests. The human security perspective’s emphasis on issues that go beyond traditional state-centered security to include protecting individuals from threats of hunger, disease, crime, environmental degradation, and political repression as well as focusing on social and economic justice is an important component of security policy. At the same time, the threat of violent extremism heavily influences U.S. security cooperation with Africa. In this examination of the context of U.S.-African security relations, Robert J. Griffiths outlines the nature of the African state, traces the contours of African conflict, surveys the post-independence history of U.S. involvement on the continent, and discusses policy organization and implementation and the impact of U.S. experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan on the U.S.-Africa security relationship. Africa’s continuing geostrategic significance, the influence of China and other emerging markets in the region, and America’s other global engagements, especially in light of U.S. fiscal realities, demonstrate the complexity of U.S.-African security cooperation.”

Haroche, Pierre. "Interdependence, Asymmetric Crises, and European Defence Cooperation." *European Security* 26, no. 2 (2017): 226-252. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2017.1294579>

“Although international crises are often believed to represent windows of opportunity to strengthen European defence cooperation, recent crises have not seemed to produce a clear convergence of European Union (EU) member states’ security interests. This article seeks to address this puzzle by arguing that European defence cooperation is a response to crises that place European states in a situation of military interdependence. Conversely, asymmetric crises, i.e. crises that affect European states unevenly, encourage those states to maintain their autonomy of action. This theoretical argument is supported by two case studies: the failure of the European Defence Community in the early 1950s and the current difficulties experienced by the EU’s military operations. These two cases illustrate a striking continuity in that, because of (neo)colonial ties in particular, European states are often unevenly affected by international crises, which tends to make defence cooperation less effective.”

Hartmayer, Michael, and Evan Trinkle. *Security Cooperation in Africa: Call from the Front*. Center for Army Lessons Learned (October 24, 2016).  
[http://usacac.army.mil/organizations/mccoe/call/publication/NFTF\\_SCinAfrica](http://usacac.army.mil/organizations/mccoe/call/publication/NFTF_SCinAfrica)

Hultman, Lisa, and Dursun Peksen. "Successful or Counterproductive Coercion? The Effect of International Sanctions on Conflict Intensity," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61, no. 6 (2017): 1315-1339.  
<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0022002715603453>

"Despite the frequent use of economic and military-specific sanctions against countries affected by civil conflicts, little is known about the possible impact that these coercive tools have on conflict dynamics. This article examines how threats and imposition of international sanctions affect the intensity of civil conflict violence. We formulate and test two competing views on the possible effect of economic and military-specific sanctions on conflict dynamics by combining data on fatalities in battle-related violence in all internal armed conflicts in Africa from 1989 to 2005 with data on economic sanctions and arms embargoes. The results indicate that threats of economic sanction and arms embargo are likely to increase the intensity of conflict violence. Similarly, imposed economic sanctions are likely to contribute to the escalation of conflict violence. Imposed arms embargoes, on the other hand, are likely to reduce conflict violence. We conclude that international sanctions appear to be counterproductive policy tools in mitigating the human cost of civil conflicts unless they are in the form of imposed arms embargoes attempting to limit the military capacity of the warring parties."

Swedlund, Haley J. "Is China Eroding the Bargaining Power of Traditional Donors in Africa?" *International Affairs* 93, no. 2 (March 2017): 389-408.

"In this article, the author explores whether the growing presence of Chinese financial assistance is decreasing the bargaining power of traditional donors vis-à-vis African governments. The article relies on data from an original survey of high-ranking donor officials working in multiple African countries, as well as case-studies of Chinese engagement in three diverse African country contexts: Ghana, Uganda and Tanzania. It finds that claims of a 'silent revolution' in development cooperation due to China's increased involvement in the region are overstated. Among donor officials, there is far from consensus that China is decreasing the bargaining power of their agency. On the contrary, evidence from Ghana, Tanzania and Uganda suggests that traditional development aid continues to play an important role and that, in practice, China rarely directly competes with traditional donors. There are, however, two important caveats to this claim. First, when China and traditional donors do directly compete—for example, on infrastructure projects—many recipient governments prefer assistance from China. Second, given China's interest in expanding markets and acquiring natural resources, countries receiving higher amounts of Chinese official finance are likely to have lower rates of aid dependence. As a result, financing from China is likely to be correlated with a decline in the bargaining power of traditional donors, even if it is not causing such a decline."

## SECURITY FORCE ASSISTANT BRIGADES

Harkness, Kristen A. "Security Assistance in Africa: The Case for More," *Parameters* 45, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 13-24. [http://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/parameters/Issues/Summer\\_2015/5\\_Harkness.pdf](http://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/parameters/Issues/Summer_2015/5_Harkness.pdf)

"This article argues that political tampering with military recruitment and promotion practices, especially the construction and dismantling of ethnically based armies, has led African militaries to intervene in politics in order to block or reverse democratization efforts. The entrenchment of politically insulated, merit-based military institutions is thus necessary to deepen democracy in Africa. The United States can assist by offering protection, training, and financial incentives to encourage reform."

Larsdotter, Kersti. "Security Assistance in Africa: The Case for Less." *Parameters* 45, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 25-34. [http://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/parameters/Issues/Summer\\_2015/6\\_Larsdotter.pdf](http://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/parameters/Issues/Summer_2015/6_Larsdotter.pdf)

"US strategic approaches in the African Great Lakes region are primarily based on security assistance for training and equipping African forces for operations in East, North, and West Africa. This assistance risks causing more incidents of violence. A new strategy, based on a comprehensive approach to the security challenges in the region, as well as the deployment of international "boots on the ground" – American or others – is needed to reduce violence and to minimize the risk of new terrorist safe havens appearing in central Africa."

## STATUS OF FORCES

Berdal, Mats, ed. *Political Economy of Statebuilding: Power after Peace*. Routledge, 2017. <http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/841588115>

"This volume examines and evaluates the impact of international statebuilding interventions on the political economy of post-conflict countries over the past 20 years. While statebuilding today is typically discussed in the context of 'peacebuilding' and 'stabilisation' operations, the current phase of interest in external interventions to (re)build and strengthen governmental institutions can be traced back to the 'good governance' policies of the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) in the early 1990s. These sought political changes and improvements in the quality of governance in countries that were subject to, or were seeking support under, IFI-designed structural adjustment programmes. The focus of this book is specifically on state-building efforts in conflict-affected countries: countries that are emerging, or have recently emerged, from periods of war and violent conflict. The interventions covered in the present volume fall into three broad and overlapping categories: International administrations and transformative occupations (East Timor, Iraq, and Kosovo); Complex peace operations (Afghanistan, Burundi, Haiti, and Sudan); Governance and state-building programmes conducted in the context of economic assistance (Georgia and Macedonia). This book will be of much interest to students of statebuilding, humanitarian intervention, post-conflict reconstruction, political economy, international organisations and IR/Security Studies in general."

Moore, Adam, and James Walker. "Tracing the US Military's Presence in Africa." *Geopolitics* 21, no. 3 (2016): 686-716. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14650045.2016.1160060>

"In recent years there has been growing recognition of the militarisation of US foreign policy in Africa, especially following the establishment of a dedicated, regional combatant command (Africa Command, or AFRICOM) in 2007. At the same time knowledge of the extent and aims of US military activities in Africa remains murky, especially when compared to other regions such as the Middle East and Europe. This article begins by conceptualising AFRICOM as a geopolitical assemblage, an approach we believe useful for analysing its composition and emergence. Next we discuss the challenges involved in tracing the US military's evolving presence in Africa and the methods utilised in our analysis. Following this we present three case studies: the first compares the composition and geographies of manned and unmanned aerial surveillance assemblages, the second details logistics infrastructures and the military's use of contractors to develop logistical capabilities across the continent, the third examines growing counterterrorism entanglements in West Africa. We conclude with some observations concerning the divergence between purported aims and the focus and outcomes of the US military's presence in Africa."

## CONFLICTS

### BOKO HARAM

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Nicholson, Andrew D. *The Effects of the Boko Haram Insurgency Group in West and Central Africa*. Thesis. Fort Leavenworth: U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 2016.

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Oriola, Temitope B. "Unwilling Cocoons': Boko Haram's War against Women." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 40, no. 2 (February 2017): 99-121.

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Siegle, Joseph. "Boko Haram and the Isolation of Northern Nigeria: Regional and International Implications" in *Boko Haram: Anatomy of a Crisis*. Ioannis Mantzikos, ed. 2013. <http://www.e-ir.info/wp-content/uploads/Boko-Haram-e-IR.pdf#page=43>

### LIBYA

Costantini, Irene. "Conflict Dynamics in Post-2011 Libya: A Political Economy Perspective." *Conflict, Security & Development* 16, no. 5 (September 2016): 405-422.

Marsh, Nicholas. "Brothers Came Back with Weapons: The Effects of Arms Proliferation from Libya," *PRISM* 6, no. 4 (2017): 78-96. <http://cco.ndu.edu/PRISM-6-4/Article/1171858/brothers-came-back-with-weapons-the-effects-of-arms-proliferation-from-libya/>

### SOMALIA

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## *SOUTH SUDAN*

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Bennett, John R. *Understanding Democracy and Violence in Africa: An Analysis of the Data*. Thesis. Fort Leavenworth, KS: U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 2016. <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/1019883.pdf>

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