



# The Bulletin

A News Publication of the  
Africa Center for Strategic Studies

## Africa and the Global War on Terrorism

With the fervor that followed the September 11 terrorist strikes in the United States, it is easy for many people to forget that the first attacks linked to al-Qaeda took place in Africa. In 1998, terrorists struck the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, killing 291 and 10 people respectively, mostly African citizens. These incidents illustrate that African nations are much more likely to be the victims of terrorism than the source of it. The incorrect perception, however, is that these attacks targeted American institutions with presumably American losses. Even the September 11 attacks, a more obvious attack on U.S. symbols of military and economic power, resulted in more than American losses. Citizens from more than 90 countries died as a result.

The Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) is a new kind of warfare. With no clear boundaries, unseen enemies, and few concrete ways to judge progress, GWOT is particularly prone to such distortion of reality. Misperceptions in how leaders and citizens around the world judge the war, its effects, and its consequences are all too common.

Due to extensive debate and media coverage, perception of the war on terrorism is often influenced by high-profile U.S. military actions such as operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. Efforts on the diplomatic, economic, and other fronts in this unconventional war receive far less attention. Because of this, some may worry that conflict resolution, development, and other issues could become marginalized in Washington DC. On the contrary, the U.S. considers these issues intrinsically linked.

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## New Director Takes Over as Head of Africa Center



Carlton W. Fulford, Jr.  
General, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.)  
Director, Africa Center

General (ret.) Carlton W. Fulford Jr. joined the Africa Center for Strategic Studies on September 2, 2003 as the organization's new director.

"I am excited about the opportunity to work with the Africa Center again. I have always been impressed with the determination and enthusiasm of the colleagues I have known in Africa and their desire to make a better life for the people of their respective nations," Fulford said.

"Under the leadership of Dr. Walker, the Africa Center has developed the reputation as a major component of the U.S. government's cooperative engagement with Africa. I look forward to working with the staff of the Africa Center to expand this important work."

One of the Africa Center's efforts that Fulford plans to expand is the articulation of U.S. security policy issues and objectives

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"Many African governments have the will to fight the war on terror.... We will give them the tools and the resources to win."

--U.S. President George W. Bush, June 26, 2003, address to the Corporate Council on Africa's U.S.-Africa Business Summit

## Golden Spear Symposium Spurs Agreement on Disaster Management

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The National Defense University educates military and civilian leaders through teaching, research, and outreach in national security strategy, national military strategy, and national resource strategy; joint and multinational operations; information strategies, operations, and resource management; acquisition; and regional defense and security studies.

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## Africa Center Meeting Addresses West Africa Conflict Management

The timing of the Africa Center's West Africa Ministerial Symposium (July 22-23, 2003) could not have been more appropriate. Just as renewed fighting flared in Liberia and a peacekeeping mission there seemed uncertain, much of West Africa's key leadership gathered in Dakar, Senegal for the symposium, a chance to confer with each other and share ideas with senior officials from the U.S., Europe, and the United Nations.

Symposium participants examined the performance of ECOWAS's mechanism for managing conflict and developed practical recommendations for enhancing that organization's capacity and effectiveness. Due to the Africa Center's policy of non-attribution, the dialogue was extremely full of candor. Meanwhile, the Africa Center's syllabus and the knowledgeable speakers resulted in discussion that was dynamic and extremely relevant to current African issues.

In addition to the official program, African leaders and U.S. officials also engaged each other on issues related to U.S. policy in the region. A number of side conferences addressed the Liberian crisis specifically, including meetings of the ECOWAS Council of Ministers and a meeting of West African Chiefs of Defense. During these meetings, participants reached the historic decision to immediately send an ECOWAS peacekeeping force into Liberia.

Conflict management is one of the key pillars of U.S. President Bush's Africa policy. The Africa Center's symposium proved successful in supporting this policy and opening doors of communication between key leaders from concerned countries.

Leaders from East Africa have agreed to establish and provide resources for a regional coordination center to improve disaster management efforts. This historic collaboration was announced as part of the 2003 Golden Spear Symposium, July 28-30, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Organized by the Africa Center in support of U.S. Central Command and European Command, the meeting was attended by African ministers of foreign affairs, ministers of defense, chiefs of defense staff, and other leaders, as well as high-ranking officials from regional and international organizations and the U.S. government.

Golden Spear 2003 worked at two levels: the strategic dialogue among ministers and flag officers, as well as the operational discussions of planning the regional coordination center. An action plan for the implementation of the center was developed by participants and ratified by the Council of Ministers, who provided commitments on the part of their respective governments.

The symposium series, which began in Kenya in 2000, is a sequence of events designed to facilitate open discussion and develop regional cooperation and capacity to prevent and respond to humanitarian disasters. In addition to the strides made towards regional disaster management cooperation, Golden Spear meetings have developed relationships among the leaders of the region and the United States and have laid the groundwork for discussions on other topics such as counter-terrorism and numerous priorities in the region.



*His Excellency Salim Ahmed Salim, former Secretary General of OAU and President of the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation; General John Abizaid, Commander of U.S. Central Command; and Ambassador Aurelia B. Brazeal, U.S. ambassador to Ethiopia (left to right) talk during a break at Golden Spear 2003.*

## Johnnie Carson (U.S.) Named NDU Senior VP

Ambassador Carson joined the National Defense University on August 20, 2003 as Senior Vice President. A career member of the Senior Foreign Service with extensive experience in African affairs, he has held a number of assignments in Africa, including most recently as U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Kenya since 1999, Ambassador to the Republic of Zimbabwe (1995-1997), and Ambassador to the Republic of Uganda. He has also previously served as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of African Affairs. A long-time friend of the Africa Center, Ambassador Carson has been involved in numerous Community events.

Outgoing Senior Vice President Ambassador Robin Lynn Raphael has accepted an assignment as Department Director of the Iraq Reconstruction Office in the U.S. State Department, Near East Affairs Bureau. She served as a guest speaker at the Africa Center's September 2002 Sub-Regional Seminar in Maputo, Mozambique.

## Papa Khalilou Fall (Senegal) Serving as Senegalese Chief of Defense Staff

General Fall was named Chief of Defense Staff in Senegal on August 13, 2003, replacing Major General Babacar Gaye. General Fall was promoted to Major General in January, 2003 and concurrently took up position as Force Commander of ECOWAS Forces in Cote d'Ivoire. He also served as Inspector General of the Senegalese Armed Forces. Previously in his career, General Fall served as the Senior Advisor to the Prime Minister for National Security Affairs, and as a Special Forces battalion commander in the ECOMOG peacekeeping force in Liberia.

General Fall has been a senior facilitator at numerous Africa Center seminars, starting with the inaugural program in Senegal, November 1999.

## Mark Bellamy (U.S.) Appointed Ambassador to Kenya

The Honorable Mark Bellamy began service on August 5, 2003 as the new U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Kenya. A veteran Foreign Service Officer with a 26-year career at the

U.S. State Department, he previously served as the Principal Deputy Assistant of State for African Affairs, Counselor for Political Affairs in the U.S. Embassy in South Africa, and Political Officer in the American Embassy in Zimbabwe.

Ambassador Bellamy has been involved in many Washington DC Africa Center events, most recently the breakfast reception in honor of His Excellency Amadou Toumani Touré, President of the Republic of Mali.

## Timothy W. Docking Awarded White House Fellowship

Dr. Docking was recently awarded a one-year White House Fellowship for 2003-2004. The White House Fellows Program is the most prestigious program in the U.S. for leadership and public service. Selection is highly competitive and based on a record of remarkable professional achievement early in one's career. Dr. Docking's professional career has focused on the study of political development, civil society formation, and conflict resolution in Africa, and his recent research has focused on the nexus of AIDS and violent conflict in Africa, American foreign policy towards the continent, and the regional war in West Africa.

Dr. Docking was a participant at the May 2002 Health and Security Topical Seminar in Dakar, Senegal as a Program Officer and Specialist in African Affairs with the United States Institute of Peace.

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## Africa and the Global War on Terrorism

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This linkage is clearly voiced in the U.S. National Strategy for Combating Terrorism (NSCT). "We will not triumph solely or even primarily through military might," the document proclaims, but by using "every instrument of national power - diplomatic, economic, law enforcement, financial, information, intelligence, and military." Similarly, the African trip taken by President Bush in July was a strong signal that Africa will not be forgotten by the United States whose officials frequently recall the five priorities for Africa - expanding trade and investment, good governance and democracy, the environment, conflict resolution, and combating HIV/AIDS.

"We will not triumph solely or even primarily through military might" but by using "every instrument of national power - diplomatic, economic, law enforcement, financial, information, intelligence, and military."

-- U.S. National Strategy for Combating Terrorism

### Underlying Conditions

The NSCT describes the structure of terrorism as having a foundation of "underlying conditions" such as poverty, corruption, and other factors and calls for policy that diminishes these conditions abroad. "Ongoing U.S. efforts to resolve regional disputes, foster economic, social, and political development, market-based economies, good governance, and the rule of law, while not necessarily focused on combating terrorism, contribute to the campaign by addressing underlying conditions that terrorists often seek to manipulate for their own advantage," the document explains. In this way, efforts like the Millennium Challenge Account, and President Bush's \$15 billion dollar pledge to help combat HIV/AIDS could all be described as indirect methods to support GWOT.

Unfortunately, there is a general perceptions that GWOT is solely a U.S. effort. In actuality, the U.S. is working together with dozens of countries, including several in sub-Saharan Africa. In "Patterns of Global Terrorism 2002," the U.S. State Department summarizes the actions of many African countries. (Links to this report and related materials can be found on the Africa Center website, [www.africacenter.org](http://www.africacenter.org).)

In addition to hosting the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa, the government of Djibouti has closed down financial institutions with ties to terrorism and shared valuable security information. In May 2002, the National Assembly of Mali ratified six international counter-terrorism conventions. Mali has also been working closely with the U.S. on the Pan-Sahel Initiative (PSI) on border security issues. South Africa enacted legislation in 2002 to establish a financial intelligence unit to target money laundering often used by terrorist organizations. Tanzania has worked with the U.S. and international organizations such as the World Bank to boost its counter-terrorism efforts. Other organizations and countries mentioned in the State Department report are the African Union, ECOWAS, Angola, Chad, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mauritania, Niger, Rwanda, and Uganda.

Despite these recent accomplishments, Africa remains at risk to be a location for terrorists' attacks and recruitment efforts. Africa includes more fragile states than any other continent. Moreover, ineffective state security systems, civil wars, religious and ethnic conflicts, corruption, and other factors make the continent an attractive place for terrorists. This situation makes the continued cooperation between the U.S. and African nations crucial to the success of GWOT and continued development of Africa.

### Counter-Terrorism Topical Seminar

The Africa Center's upcoming topical seminar on counter-terrorism will provide an opportunity for discussion on this type of cooperation. The seminar, to be held October 12-17, 2003 in Bamako, Mali, will focus on the evolving dynamic of terrorism in North and West Africa and how best to address this threat to sub-regional security and stability. The seminar will bring together approximately 60 senior-level participants, to include civilian officials and military officers from the four PSI countries of Chad, Mali, Mauritania, and Niger, as well as representatives from Algeria, Morocco, Nigeria, and Senegal. Europe, the United States, international and regional organizations, and civil society will also be present.

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## Peace and Security Issues in West Africa: The ECOWAS Response

By Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas  
Executive Secretary, ECOWAS

*[Editor's Note: This article is a brief summary of a presentation given by Dr. Chambas at the Africa Center's West Africa Ministerial Symposium in July. To read his complete remarks, go to [www.africacenter.org](http://www.africacenter.org).]*

West Africa in the past decade or more has been riveted with conflicts and instability. What could be called the epicenter of these conflicts is Liberia. The crisis and instability in Liberia, in one way or the other, have spilled over and engulfed Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire and to some extent, Guinea. Thus, the Mano River Union countries have witnessed a vicious cycle of violence creating a huge humanitarian catastrophe. Over one million people have been killed during the last twelve years in these countries and over three million internally displaced or made refugees. Guinea currently hosts over half a million refugees, making it one of the largest refugee hosting countries in the world.

These conflicts may at first appear intra-state, but experience in West Africa has revealed the inter-locking and regional dynamics of these conflicts across state boundaries if not in the causes but certainly in their effects or impact.

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was created in 1975 with the principal aim of promoting cooperation, integration and the establishment of an economic union in West Africa, in order to raise the standards of the socio-economic existence of West African peoples. Although initially interested in economic issues, the organization quickly discovered that there is a direct link between development and the security of peoples. The 4th Extraordinary Summit of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government held in Togo on December 17, 1997, approved the establishment of a conflict resolution mechanism for ECOWAS.

### Challenges and the Way Forward

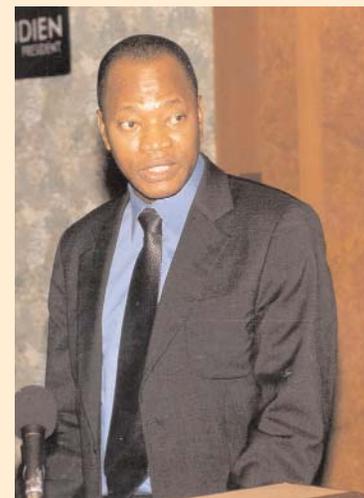
To achieve its goals, ECOWAS must analyze the systemic and structural root causes of violent conflicts and their regional interconnectedness, postulate, formulate and implement strategies for overcoming obstacles to peace.

ECOWAS has to devise ways of dealing with issues of bad governance, violations of human rights with impunity, ethnic and religious polarization, cross border insurgency, banditry and sheer criminality, social violence, illicit trade of mineral and other natural resources, drug trafficking and gun running to finance mercenaries and numerous imported military advisors, all engaged in a vicious circle of hostilities.

ECOWAS has faced several difficulties in dealing with these challenges. First and foremost has been the issue of paucity of resources. The political will may exist, but quite a few Member States lack the resources to contribute and participate effectively. Another major problem has been the limited harmonization of policies by the West African countries in terms of defense and security doctrines, promulgation of enabling domestic laws and logistical issues.

To overcome these obstacles, ECOWAS is focusing its efforts in several areas including mechanisms and principles laid out in the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the Conference on Cooperation, Security, Stability and Development (CSSD) of the African Union (AU); civil society input and collaboration; strategic partnerships with donor governments/organizations, other multilateral institutions and various international groups; and several initiatives to improve coordination and cooperation amongst West African states for conflict resolution, including harmonization of training, equipment and military doctrines.

The time is now for bringing the Liberian crisis to closure. We invite our partners and friends to join us in making Liberia in particular and West Africa as a whole a conflict-free zone.



*Dr. Chambas speaking at the Africa Center's West Africa Ministerial Symposium*

In this issue, we provide a brief overview of U.S. security interests in sub-Saharan Africa, the Dept of Defense's strategic objectives in the region, and the tools it uses to work toward those objectives. Future newsletters will focus on U.S. policies regarding specific issue areas, countries, or sub-regions.

## U.S. Security Strategy for Sub-Saharan Africa

*"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."*

— U.S. National Security Strategy, September 2002

U.S. interests in sub-Saharan Africa are frequently touted as primarily humanitarian or socio-economic in nature. While such issues – including protecting human rights and containing the spread of HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases – are priority objectives for the Bush Administration, the strategic interests in this region are often underplayed. Sub-Saharan Africa holds key security concerns for the United States.

The poverty, corruption, and weak government institutions that plague many African countries can make states vulnerable to terrorist networks. To achieve progress in the global war on terrorism (GWOT), the U.S. and its partners must fight terrorist organizations not only by disrupting their command and control structure, communications systems, and access to resources but also by confronting root causes that foster these networks: problems such as corruption, political instability, disenfranchisement of population segments, and poverty. Consequently, a democratic, secure, and prosperous Africa is in the direct interest of the United States and the GWOT.

Additionally, the U.S. has strong economic interests on the African continent. Africa currently supplies approximately 15% of U.S. oil. Given instabilities in the Middle East and the slow-down of domestic oil production, the strategic value of Africa's oil reserves will likely increase in importance. Experts predict that by 2015, Africa could supply as much as 25% of U.S. oil. Africa also holds the world's most abundant deposits of gold, diamonds, copper, and bauxite, as well as plentiful sources of uranium, manganese, and cobalt – all critical resources for U.S. industries.

Not least, the U.S. holds considerable military interests in Africa. Since the end of the Cold War, U.S. military forces have conducted more than 30 contingency operations in sub-Saharan Africa. In an environment where U.S. military resources are already stretched by worldwide commitments, it serves the United States to play a more active role in conflict prevention and to mitigate the impact when conflict occurs.

Given these strategic concerns, it is in the interest of the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) to remain actively engaged with allies and partner governments, key regional powers, and regional organizations to promote a secure environment in sub-Saharan Africa. Toward this end, the Department of Defense is committed to devoting resources for activities that combat terrorism and promote the stability necessary to further democratic freedoms and economic prosperity. The Department of Defense employs a wide range of security cooperation tools to meet its strategic objectives. These include combined training and exercises, such as peacekeeping, disaster assistance, and maritime training; humanitarian assistance programs, such as demining, engineering, and medical efforts; security assistance activities, to include international military education and training (IMET) and foreign military financing programs; military-to-military contacts, and combined education programs, such as those offered by the National Defense University and the Africa Center for Strategic Studies.

The broad objectives of these programs include the promotion of stable, prosperous democracies, the development of professional military organizations under civilian control, and the enhancement of military capacity at both the national and

regional levels. The achievement of sustainable development and democratic reform in Africa depends largely upon the peaceful resolution of regional crises and the promotion of regional security. Accordingly, the U.S. Department of Defense seeks to build national and regional capacity on the continent to prevent and respond to conflicts and to thwart global terrorism. This includes the development of civilian controlled, adequately trained, and appropriately equipped African militaries that can contribute positively to humanitarian and peace operations, as well as to the GWOT.

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## **New Director Takes Over as Head of Africa Center**

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to Africans. While Department of Defense (DoD) policies regarding Africa are established and clear, they are not always communicated to or understood by African leaders. The new director sees the Africa Center as an instrument to explore the implications of DoD policies and “clarify these issues to our African friends.”

Communication between the Africa Center and other entities within the U.S. government is crucial as well. “The Africa Center is in a unique position to help express Africa’s strategic importance to the U.S. and deliver that message throughout Washington DC,” Fulford said. As part of this effort, Fulford serves on the Department of State Africa Policy Advisory Panel involved in examining U.S. policy on Africa.

Before joining the Africa Center, Fulford’s most recent post with the U.S. Marine Corps was as Deputy Commander of U.S. European Command (EUCOM), an assignment that gave him extensive exposure to U.S.-African affairs and allowed him to travel frequently on the continent. He retired from military service early in 2003 with the rank of general.

Fulford’s complete bio, as well as more of his thoughts about the future of the Africa Center and the future of U.S.-African relations, can be found on the Africa Center website, [www.africacenter.org](http://www.africacenter.org).

## **Africa Center Calendar of Events**

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**October 12-17, 2003 –  
North and West Africa Counter-Terrorism  
Topical Seminar; Bamako, Mali**

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**December, 2003 –  
Africa Watchers Briefing;  
Africa Center offices, Arlington, VA, USA**

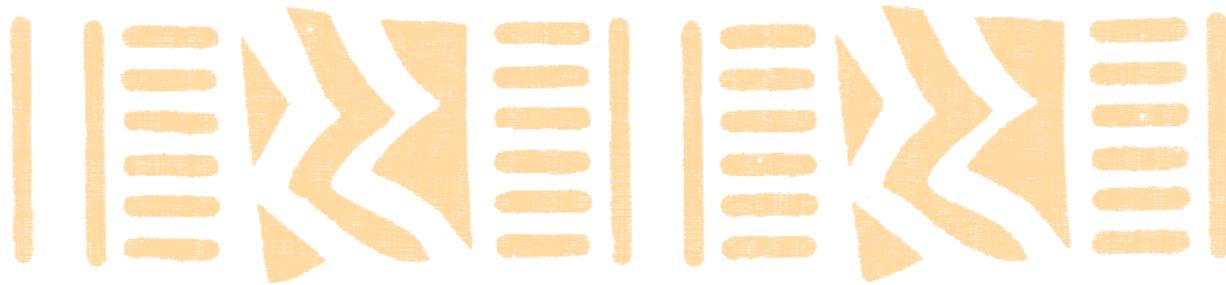
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**February 9-20, 2004 –  
Senior Leader Seminar**

## **Africa and the Global War on Terrorism**

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The program will focus on three areas: an examination of the scope and parameters of the terrorist threat to North and West Africa; an assessment of current responses to terrorism by countries in the region; and a consideration of ways counter-terrorism could be enhanced in the area and the role African nations could assume in GWOT.



## Africa Center Says Goodbye and Thank You to Dr. Nancy J. Walker

Dr. Walker completed her tenure as the Director of the Africa Center at the end of August. At present, she is awaiting her new assignment from the U.S. Office of the Secretary of Defense.

Dr. Walker was one of the instrumental forces behind the founding of the Africa Center. She provided the vision for the Center; spearheaded the development of its programs; recruited and led its international team of civilian and military expert scholars, policy officers, and logistics experts; built the Africa Center Community of civilian and military professionals; and promoted the message of the Africa Center to numerous policy and academic audiences in the U.S., Europe, and Africa.

Many of the center's current programs and activities are possible thanks to her vision and dedication to the future of Africa and the promotion of U.S.-Africa relations.



*Dr. Walker addresses participants at the July 2003 West Africa Ministerial Symposium. The meeting was one of the last events Dr. Walker oversaw as Director of the Africa Center, and she took the opportunity to personally greet and thank participants, many of whom have been friends and supporters of the Africa Center for years.*

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