DUSD Whelan began by noting that Defense Department interest in African studies had always been a small niche area of interest. However, the problems of that region are now being taken more seriously. Structural changes in the Department reflect this new thinking.

MS Whelan also noted that
- The term “ungoverned spaces” is really only a bumper sticker description of the area under discussion
- The public is largely unaware of good news stories out of Africa, and that there are some out of Ghana and Botswana
- This discussion focuses on the Sahel Region

Web Addendum

**Sahel Region:** A narrow band of semi-arid land south of the Sahara, the Sahel attracted both Arabs looking for gold from Sudan and Europeans looking for slaves from West Africa. The two influences merged with native ones, creating a culturally complex area. The Sahel is widely French-speaking, Islamic and takes its name (“shore”) from Arabic. But the region, one of the poorest and most environmentally damaged places on earth, has deep troubles.

Source: [http://www.pbs.org/wnet/africa/explore/sahel/sahel_overview_lo.html](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/africa/explore/sahel/sahel_overview_lo.html)

About Sahel Region
- Primarily northern Sub-Saharan Africa from the North African littoral to the Horn of African along borders of Chad and Sudan
- Most of territory is uncontrolled
- Where caravans and smugglers’ routes have crossed for centuries
Now almost anything is smuggled, including cars
The Volkswagen Touareg model is named after a nomadic tribe of herders and smugglers in that area
- Much of the area would be considered a **physical ungoverned space**

**Non-physical ungoverned space**
- Some countries lack sufficient regulations and legal structures to control their territory
- Others may not have enough military/police power to uphold the regulations they do have
- Result: terrorists can operate freely there

**DEFINITIONS:**

**Ungoverned and Exploitable Areas**

*Ungoverned and exploitable areas have physical and non-physical dimensions:*

- **Ungoverned territories:** Rugged, remote, maritime, or littoral areas not effectively governed by a sovereign state
- **Competing governance:** A sovereign state’s inability or unwillingness to exercise authority over part or whole of a country, e.g.,
- **Exploitation of legal principles:** Areas in which legal norms and processes can be exploited by actors who threaten domestic or international order (e.g., speech and assembly rights, immigration and asylum laws)
- **Opaque areas of activity:** Areas created by the inability of a government to monitor or control certain illicit or facilitating transactions when they are conducted in a certain way (e.g., within cyber or financial systems)

Nigeria is an example of a non-physical ungoverned area because of “bunkered oil”
- It does not control its oil regions, bunkering is both cause and effect
- “Bunkering” usually refers to stealing petroleum products in that region
- Between $2 and $8 billion dollars of oil a year is bunkered
- Profits finance warlords and government employees in countries that are not quite “failed states”

Problems of exploitation or opaqueness of governments
- Happens in Europe and South America, too
- Problems occur where First World technologies have to deal with Second and Third World government systems
DoD’s Military Challenges (Traditional/Disruptive/Catastrophic/Irregular) in Africa

- Very few Traditional challenges in ungoverned spaces now
  - During the Cold War US had to compete with weapons and military aid handed out by the Soviets to their surrogates or potential surrogates
  - Few upgrades have been made in these militaries since Cold War ended

- In the Cold War, if countries could not control land 50 miles outside their own capitals, it was not considered a problem
  - Considered a humanitarian, not a security issue
  - Now we see such situations as breeding grounds for irregular or even disruptive or catastrophic military challenges

- Catastrophic challenges – mostly concerned with dirty bombs
  - Chemical and biological weapons would be crude but be done in ungoverned spaces

- Disruptive technologies would not be anything new but would involve old technologies in new ways

DOD’S SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS

What’s Required to Reduce Ungoverned Space/Area

- Encourage/enable governments to gain responsible control over ungoverned areas by:
  - Offering civilian & military education opportunities
  - Establishing strong civilian & military working relationships
  - Providing humanitarian assistance
  - Providing training and military assistance
  - Enforcing fair laws and regulations
  - Establishing responsive civil government

Related challenges:

- Example in Liberia: after war a new, rebuilt military may become a problem
  - Other sides of the conflict have not rebuilt their forces
  - Could restart the whole cycle of violence

- We may understand the concept and linkages of these challenges
  - Still need to work out the organization and funding needed to develop stable societies

- US has never been good a predicting such events
Previously, the US could focus on a specific problem set to worry about (the Soviet Union and its activities).
Now cannot be sure where to look for the next set of problems.
Where is the next Afghanistan? We weren’t looking at Afghanistan on 9/10/01

COUNTER TERRORISM ISSUES
DoD Support has necessarily concentrated on only military matters
- Now see that cannot work on only one element to help countries
- Must work with State, Commerce, Justice, other Departments
- Example: Newly elected Liberian President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf
  - First woman to be elected president in Africa
  - DoD wanted to discuss assistance to rebuild the military to help with counter terror efforts
  - Mrs. Johnson-Sirleaf first wanted to discuss police, personal security, and related matters first
  - Obvious that must work all areas simultaneously – DoD cannot do this alone

DoD not structured to provide measures to avoid problems
- DoD in the business of reacting to crises
- Now need to avoid situations becoming crises
- Beginning to recognize need to work with others on such problems

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CT Capacity vs. Governance Capacity

- Building partners’ CT capacity generally refers to improving police, military, administration of justice, financial regulation, intelligence, and border security
  - Example: Bolstering economic and administrative capacity is needed to sustain security capacity
- Depending on context, focusing on only one area without regard for others may produce unintended and self-defeating consequences
  - Example: Building CT capacity without concern for political institutions may contribute to repression
- Building governance capacity requires understanding how various components of governance interact to be mutually reinforcing

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Trans-Saharan Counter Terror Initiative is one example program
  • Being criticized because no terrorism there now
  • However, there are indicators and conditions that could lead to terrorism
  • Trying to do things to avoid terrorism building up there
  • Really a bureaucratic realignment within DoD

Need for international partners
  • There is discussion of capacity building among allies
  • Recognition that the US can’t be everywhere

**DOD EFFORTS**

DoD starts with SECDEF’s Priorities on Africa (in no particular order)
  • War on Terrorism and WMD Proliferation
  • Strong Military to Military Relationships
  • Military Professionlism & Reform
  • Building Sustainable Capacity within African Militaries
  • Working with Both European Allies and Sub-Regional Organizations
  • Good Governance and Stability

To support priorities, DoD wants to promote civil control and defense reform by building more professional militaries in Africa
  • Better governed, better trained military forces will be more helpful in War on Terror
  • Strategic elements needed to improve military forces
    - Civil Control & Defense Reform
      - Appropriately sized and funded militaries with improved transparency and accountability
      - We take for granted, Third World does not
    - Military Professionalism
      - Institutionalized training for a disciplined force, with a professional ethic
      - To conduct legitimate missions while respecting law and human rights
    - Capacity Building
      - If skilled and appropriately equipped and well-led, military can help reduce ungoverned space
      - Should be able to control own land and maritime space and react responsibly when need in the region

US wants to leave behind adequately working organizations, not temporary fixes
  • Not just in Africa
  • Such tools as shown below would only be effective if DoD can work with other agencies and allies
QUESTION & ANSWER SESSION

Measures and programs about controlling corruption

- World Bank and IMF have made some attempts especially pushing increased transparency in government activities
- Can work if not undermined by other elements
  - Example: expect more problems with China in these areas
    - China has been offering new lines of credit that
    - These offers provide alternatives to IMF programs which come with more stringent requirements
  - Oil producing areas do tend to be more independent because of available funding

DoD’s priorities

- Using the QDR and recent national security policy documents, DoD is looking at each country by region
  - Determining how each can be most useful to the US and vice versa
  - Creates a complex matrix of priorities
- Looking at such issues as
  - Counter terrorism – US has greatest potential of threat from the Horn of Africa and northern part of Sub-Saharan Africa
Peace-keeping issues – related to capacity building

- Need to bring in outside forces to help even out military capacity levels among combatant sides
- Outsiders may have the greatest capacity for contributing to peace-keeping in the region
- Senegal, Ghana, & Kenya can be considered mid-level capacity with reasonable quality military forces

DoD beginning to work with other US entities in Africa

- Most programming money even comes from the State Department under Title 22
- Funding forces the need to work together more
- NSC has played a role in making this work

What’s different from the Cold War?

- Focusing on security cooperation to keep countries on the side of the US
- Not as much focus on building military capacity
  - In some case has had little value
  - Started reducing this focus in the 1990s
  - US might help build navies to protect their fishing zones but not with building up traditional military capacity
    - Also worked on the on-shore side of fishing zone protection
    - Helped develop laws and law enforcement
  - US also built up engineering capabilities so that local militaries could help with school building
- DoD wants to focus on doing things that will continue after the US leaves

Impossible to build military capacity in a vacuum – must have stability and include others in the process

- US is working on corruption reduction methods but problem not mastered yet
- Perhaps Liberia will be the test case, and US could then use lessons learned elsewhere
  - Result: may not be the most transparent or most democratic country but would be improved

Visibility of DoD in Africa is not high

- UN gets most of the press
- Profile has not been the focus for US efforts
  - Not high in US public interest level
  - Some interest is developing lately
- Usually, US goes in to handle a crisis
  - After the crisis US tries to build up elements such as logistics capabilities
  - These efforts usually get lost to public view
- In situations like Dafur US DoD paid for about one-third the cost of the mission
  - Worked to get NATO involved
  - Helping with headquarters staff support
  - Want to increase support with comms technologies for crisis situations
• Some already underway
  o Financial support is actually for training costs
  o Such programs are too small to be seen compared with other high cost/visibility operations in Iraq and Egypt

More about the Sahel Region
• It is inhabitable – tribesmen congregate and have communities near wells
• Ancient trade routes cross here
• People who live there understand the pathways even if outsiders do not
  o Unique, hostile environment
  o Not heavily populated
• Some terrorist groups can thrive there relying on trading, but they also can use the area to plan and prepare for attacks elsewhere
  o Some groups that were mainly smugglers are now diversifying
  o Example: The Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC) were beaten back by Algerians in the 1990s
    ▪ Driven into remote corner near Mali
    ▪ Began working with a local smugglers’ group
    ▪ Went into the business of capturing European tourists and held some for a year for ransom
    ▪ Even tried to use E-Bay
    ▪ Chased down by Chad/Nigerian military force
    ▪ Have announced that they are “back” and could carry out attacks against US interests in that area
    ▪ Said they were working with Al Qaeda which gets them more international interest and presumably funding
    ▪ Obviously trying to stay relevant
    ▪ Could help facilitate future terrorist attacks
• Region is good source of recruiting for youth into militant Islamic groups
  o Preachers coming from Pakistan to set up schools because governments cannot establish and maintain their own school systems
  o Getting Middle Eastern financial support, too
  o Ethiopia has been an identifiable country since before Christ and was largely Christian
    ▪ Now demographics are changing population to majority Muslim
    ▪ Government can’t provide schools, so madras’s are being established by outsiders
    ▪ DoD trying to get in ahead of the curve toward militancy

US is working with allies in the area
• Active dialog with France because of its historic ties to the area
• French exercise series have helped with cooperation
  o Capacity building with US support
  o Allies help out in US exercises, too
• Working with France and Britain in West Africa
  o Previously bumped into each others’ operations
Now cooperating in efforts like new Nigerian Peace and Stability Center
- One representative from each country involved in area
- In African Union working with other entities including NATO and EU
- In Congo’s post conflict process working with Belgian, French and Dutch
  - Helping to rebuild military and hold elections
  - Requirements too big for any one country to handle alone
- Long way to go but all parties agree cooperation is the only way to go
  - May be just burden sharing

Coordination within the Defense Department
- One of the biggest challenges
- Need to get the Combat Commanders involved
- Much has been functionally stovepiped, making it more difficult to get some things done
  - There have been some bureaucratic maneuvers to improve situation
  - Seams are becoming more obvious; developing into serious resource issues
- There is a recommendation for an African Command
  - Needs to be done
  - Could be at the sub-unified level – like Korea
  - Resources are a problem
  - Currently, three Combat Commanders are involved on the continent
- DoD is aware of the problem with seams in responsibilities but has no solution to make relations more effective or eliminate seams

Ungoverned spaces are also involved in the supply and prices of energy
- Situation varies by country
- Oil producing countries have resources for more flexibility in their governments
- In some countries, they use or produce so little oil that price fluctuations are not relevant
- In other countries, oil price increases only mean that there is more for corrupt business and government officials to skim
- Few countries provide services to their populations, so oil price increases have no impact
- “Bunkering” has made some countries unstable
- Cheap oil is sometimes provided to placate the population