

プロジェクト報告

The Linkage between Human and Regional Security in Africa¹⁾

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Introduction

This project provides case studies to discuss current security challenges in Africa from the perspectives of human and regional security. The project invites experts on some of the key security issues in Africa to give online presentations, some of which will be summarized in short papers and will be made accessible to the public. The term “Human Security” (HS), which was coined in 1994, has remained an evolving policy agenda as different actors have continued to put it into practice. For instance, HS comprises one of the three pillars of Japan’s international cooperation, and the country is somehow leading its efforts side-by-side with some other human security-minded countries, including members of the Human Security Network, to further mainstream this evolving concept. In this regard, this project intends to provide students interested in global affairs, scholars, and practitioners working in related fields, with valuable materials to explore the most updated HS issues in Africa including via a series of presentations.

1) This project is funded by the Aoyama Center for International Studies in FY 2021. The team of this project would like to thank the Center for this opportunity to conduct the research.

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With an emphasis on the protection and empowerment of individuals, the HS approach seeks to address the challenge of how people, particularly the most vulnerable, can be set free from fear and want, including poverty, conflict, violence, natural disasters, and pandemics. HS is considered an effective policy tool as it provides a foundation for actions to tackle such situations, by involving non-state actors from international organizations to civil society in its achievement. While it is sometimes misinterpreted to make light of the state and its roles, the HS approach is considered, as defined in the General Assembly Resolution (66/290), a valuable tool for state actors as it seeks to “assist the Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood, and dignity of their people.” HS should therefore be a stimulant to the efforts made in the pursuit of state security, rather than making light of or substituting it.

Realization of HS in Africa is not an easy task. Practitioners have been investigating how HS approach could be mainstreamed to help address the wide range of security challenges that people face and help set them free from fear and want, thereby achieving HS. Despite high economic growth, with rich natural resources and youth work force, Africa likely remains at a low level of HS achievement. Such conditions partially stem from weak democratic governance where rule of law, professionalism of state actors, and human rights dignity are an aside to tackle violent acts by pursuing effective operationalization⁴⁾. The vulnerability of security and human and institutional capacities should be taken into account in an African context.

Scope of this project

Human beings are faced with a multitude of threats that cannot be addressed by efforts made at the national level only, including insecurity of a cross-border nature, such as natural disasters, environmental destruction/degradation, uncontrolled migration, organized crime, terrorism, and pandemics, including the COVID-19 pandemic. Recent studies have revealed that in the East/Southeast Asia region from China, the Philippines, and Myanmar, where states are generally eminent, central and

4) Kwesi Aning and Ernest Ansah Lartey. “Governance Perspectives of Human Security in Africa,” *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding*, Vol. 7 No. 2 (2019) : 219-237. doi: 10.18588/201911.00a095

local governments, NGOs, and civil society organizations tend to work together to tackle cross-border threats⁵⁾.

Meanwhile, in Sub-Saharan Africa, where state institutions are generally weak, a question remains as to actors at which levels, should work with state actors to lead the efforts for HS. The project aims to explore regional perspectives, including the roles of regional organizations in this respect. In West and Central Africa, the roles of regional economic communities (RECs) and inter-regional cooperation can be examined. Case studies in Africa will provide an opportunity to scrutinize which actor/s could complement the efforts led by generally weak states in addressing these HS threats, and how. We could examine what human threats are viewed through a regional lens and how regional frameworks can interpret concrete cases of efforts to realize HS. It also expects to elaborate on the lessons learned and the challenges to achieve HS in the African context. An overview of the online lectures given in this project is provided below.

Issues discussed in the talks

Mr. Kei Tagawa, Programme Management Officer at the UN Office of Special Advisor for Africa (UN-OSAA), focused on HS and the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD). Co-organized by the Government of Japan, the African Union Commission, the United Nations (UN-OSAA and UNDP), and the World Bank, TICAD is a multilateral platform for discussing African development. Having led the TICAD process since its inception in 1993, Japan has been providing support to promote Africa's peace and development with the HS approach, which is the guiding principle of TICAD. For instance, at the last TICAD 7 summit held in 2019, Japan committed to offering comprehensive packages in the areas of the economy, society, peace, and security to collaborate on advancing Africa's development, with an emphasis on the involvement of the Japanese private sector. Regarding the meeting of heads of state, TICAD 8, which is to be hosted in Tunisia in 2022, Mr. Tagawa stated that it may be desirable for TICAD 8 to prioritize a

5) Hernandez, Carolina G., Eun Mee Kim, Yoichi Mine, Ren Xiao. Human Security and Cross-Border Cooperation in East Asia, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

limited number of issues, taking Japan's strengths and priorities, such as the promotion of universal health coverage as well as human capacity building, into consideration. This would further reinforce its partnership with Africa, also of given its recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic. Such recovery revealed its fragility in terms of its socio-economic, peace, and security realities, as well as the acceleration of the implementation of the 2030 and 2063 agendas of the African Union (AU), which recognize the importance of the people-centered approach and the interlinkages between peace, security, human rights, humanitarian affairs, and sustainable development.

Ms. Megumi Yoshii, Political Affairs Officer at the United Nations Office for Central Africa (UNOCA), gave a presentation titled Climate Security in Central Africa. After providing an account of the concept of "climate security," which focuses on the impact of climate change that tends to aggravate insecurity and fragilities on the ground, she briefed on the growing attention this topic has continued to receive at the UN Security Council. According to Ms. Yoshii, Central Africa is one of the regions most severely affected by climate change, not only due to a stronger temperature rise and more erratic rainfall patterns experienced in the region, but also to the fact that a large portion of the population is directly dependent on natural resources for their livelihoods, while their capacities to cope to climate change impact have remained limited. She also highlighted that there are numerous sources of insecurity across Central Africa, such as maritime piracy, terrorism, non-state armed groups, and inter-communal conflicts, including between farmers and herders, which tend to be aggravated by climate change. Finally, she drew attention to some of the concrete efforts led by the UN to address climate security to bring about a positive impact on the ground.

Mr. James Aji, Senior Political Affairs Officer at the United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel (UNOWAS) and its head of office in Abuja, gave a presentation on the cooperation between UNOWAS and its key partner, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). UNOWAS is responsible for preventive diplomacy, good offices, political mediation, and facilitation efforts in West Africa and the Sahel. Mr. Aji outlined how UNOWAS works with ECOWAS, the main regional institution in West Africa composed of 15-Member States, with a broad mandate in several areas, including economic integration, peace, and security, to support regional

solutions to cross-cutting threats to peace and security, such as terrorism and violent extremism, transnational organized crime, piracy, and maritime insecurity. UNOWAS supports ECOWAS and its Member States to enhance their capacities to promote good governance and respect for the rule of law, human rights, and mainstreaming of gender in conflict prevention. He concluded by stating that the partnership between the aforementioned is crucial in coordinating efforts at the local, national, and regional levels to address these threats to peace facing the people and governments of West Africa.

Mr. John M. Pokoo, head of the conflict management program at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center (KAIPTC), presented historical perspectives on emerging security issues in West Africa by overviewing the development of the nature of the State. He discussed the evolution of West African societies, the state, and state institutions as creations that anchor transnational organized crime in the region. He stressed the emergence of civilization in the form of trade arrangements, empires, and language affinities, among others, as processes that characterized the evolution of West African societies before the colonial era. This evolving lever of technology and the development of the social sector in West Africa was destroyed by the encounter with colonialism. The colonial experience in the region marked the beginning of statehood and the establishment of state institutions by Britain and France in ways that oriented the goals of the colonial administration and the post-colonial states toward the colonizer rather than the local societies.

He argues that these two processes created a disconnect between state and society in West Africa: it created conditions of dependency and domination of the post-colonial West African state by the colonizer and its allies, and it created conditions of neglect of sub-state entities that relied on their networks to survive. In terms of organized criminalities, the above conditions are such that there is hardly a shared view of what is defined and enforced as criminal by the international community and states in the region, as opposed to the perspectives of local societies on the same issues. Organized criminal networks operating in the region are aware of such disconnect and exploit societies to their advantage. Thus, transnational organized crime in West Africa in the form of drug trafficking, arms trafficking, human smuggling, and human trafficking occurs in the aforementioned context. The alliances of states to their former colonizers also affect regional integration efforts and official

multilateral responses to such criminalities on the platform of ECOWAS, the main multilateral agency in the region.

Ms. Sayoko UESU from the National Graduate Institute of Policy Studies discussed the uprising terrorism that exacerbated West Africa's regional security. Despite French and African military interventions and the United Nations Peacekeeping Operation mission to Mali (MINUSMA), Al-Qaida and Islamic State affiliates have been expanding from Central Sahel (Mali, Niger, and Burkina Faso) to the northern part of coastal countries in the Gulf of Guinea. She explained the current status of major terrorist organizations and the results (success and failure) of Counter-Terrorism Operations (CTOs) since 2013. The role of the marginalized transnational herder community, Fulani, is discussed as a major factor behind the increase and expansion of violent extremism via porous borders. The community is known for having led several jihads in Senegal, Guinea, Mali, and Nigeria in the 19th century, and leaders of Al-Qaida affiliates used such historical narratives and grievances of marginalized young herders. As the target of CTOs by local security forces and militias, the community is now widely stigmatized and it pushes more young herders to join Jihad, which fuels intra-community tensions. We need to move from a strong military and security focus and include and support dialogue and mediation at all levels, between the state and community, and at an inter-community level.

Ms. Miho Fukui introduced the projects implemented in South Sudan by the Peace Winds Japan (PWJ), an international NGO whose headquarters is located in Tokyo and specializes in humanitarian and disaster relief operations. She first explained the humanitarian crisis of South Sudan. The people of South Sudan suffered from civil strife in 2013, only two and a half years before South Sudan's independence. More than half of the 12 million population were said to have lost their homes and fled to neighboring countries or other places in the country, as well as needing food assistance. A total of three in four children lost their lives due to diseases such as diarrhea, and seven out of ten are not able to go to school. Such calamitous challenges have not only been caused by the prolonged war between the Northern and the Southern Sudanese since the 1950s, in addition to the ongoing civil war, but also natural disasters such as the droughts that started in 2017, repeated floods in the wet season, and the COVID-19 pandemic. Ms. Fukui argues that "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want" are essential for the people.

The PWJ provides several projects, one of which is water and sanitation support to the Internal Displaced Persons (IDP) camp which has received more than 52,000 returnees. This project includes the construction and maintenance of water supply management, including wells, solar panel systems, toilet/sanitary deposit management, and training for responses to the COVID-19 pandemic. In addition, returnees are received in the host communities and thus, PWJ offers similar support to such communities, where the beneficiaries number about 540,000. PWJ also supports farmers hit by the outbreak of desert locusts by offering seeds and agricultural tools distribution, training farmers to increase productivity, and creating community and school farms. Training to prevent sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) against women and girls' returnees, who are one of the most vulnerable in society, has recently been added. Ms. Fukui highlighted the difficulties in providing support for humanity. According to her, there are challenges ahead due to insecurity, access difficulties to those affected due to heavy rains, and restricted movement of supporters due to the COVID-19 situation.

Conclusion

The talks by experts elucidated some of the ongoing efforts to tackle insecurity deriving from violence, natural disasters, climate change, and pandemics, that are all trans-national in nature. All underscored the importance of linking peace and security, humanitarian and development efforts to tackle multiple in the face of multi-faceted threats against people, while recognizing that states, however fragile, have the primary responsibility to address these threats. To effectively respond to such threats, experts referred to regional frameworks and arrangements such as the AU and ECOWAS. African regional and sub-regional organizations are likely to recognise the need for transnational coordination, where the latter could deal with criminal. International partners, including the UN, support such efforts, viewing a variety of conflicts, from herder-farmer conflicts, piracy, and violent extremism to terrorism, as the continents' main challenges in achieving peace and security, which is considered a prerequisite for achieving HS.

At the same time, experts have called for multilevel efforts. Climate change that affects the regional security of Central Africa and exacerbates insecurity in the

Central Sahel region by all means, also affected local communities at the same time. Some cautious attention was also paid to the gaps between regional/state and societal views regarding criminal activities in West Africa. These cases seem to suggest that efforts at the national, regional and international levels must duly take into account the experiences and view of local communities, in effectively addressing conflicts, and to prevent their escalation into violent ones. Lastly, swift and robust support and intervention from international partners are required to address humanitarian needs, and ensure the human security of the most vulnerable.

In Africa, regional perspectives and institutional frameworks are viable measures for understanding the complex crises occurring in fragile states. In fact, AU intended to develop the African Human Security Index (AHSI) to provide a holistic assessment of HS through the seven dimensions of security, that is, economic, food, health, environment, personal, community, and political. While such visualization of HS status can mobilize resources and facilitate efforts toward achieving HS, the next step would be to determine which regional-level inputs can accelerate the achievement of HS on the ground.