

The Africa Center for Strategic Studies

ACSS

TOPICAL SEMINAR

**“Energy and Security in Africa: Meeting the Challenge
in Petroleum Producing States”**

Program Highlights



**Abuja, Nigeria
6-11 March 2005**

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FOREWORD

Africa is emerging as an increasingly important supplier of petroleum products, accounting for a significant share of crude oil imports in Asia and North America and natural gas imports in Europe. Unfortunately, many producing countries across the continent are fraught with significant challenges including: corruption, weak human security and violent competition for the control of these resources. Moreover, weak governance has contributed to the vulnerability of these countries to extremist ideologies and potential violence.

Responding to requests from African leaders for a closer examination of the origin and consequences of security challenges facing Africa's petroleum producing countries, the Africa Center for Strategic Studies organized a seminar titled "Energy and Security in Africa" from 6 to 11 March 2005 in the Nigerian capital, Abuja. The seminar focused on understanding the relationships between security and Africa's petroleum industry, and defining key parameters for comprehensive and sustainable energy strategies across the continent.

Energy resources can be an incredible catalyst for change. The challenge we have is to secure these assets and ensure that revenue flows are used equitably to unlock the potential of the African continent. I believe that all the countries represented at this seminar can all benefit immensely from shared experiences and lessons learned. Our world is complexly intertwined by our common reliance on petroleum resources. However, unless these resources are managed in a way that enhances quality of life, improves personal security and preserves the environment for all citizens, we could all face continued threats from crime and extremism. I believe the shared democratic values of transparency, accountability, tolerance, inclusion, freedom and hope that were emphasized at this seminar provide a framework on which Africa's petroleum producers can build for a brighter future.

Many events have focused on Africa's petroleum resources, but few have examined the links between energy and security on the continent. This seminar fills this niche and stimulates broad interest in this topic. By so doing, the Africa Center is working with senior military and civilian leaders in Africa to mitigate threats and ensure future stability and security. This is a demonstration of the commitment of the United States' to support African governments as they strive to make their natural resources true national resources—ensuring prosperity and security for all citizens.

General Carlton W. Fulford Jr., USMC (Ret.) Director, Africa Center for Strategic Studies

About the Africa Center

The Africa Center for Strategic Studies is part of National Defense University, and designs, develops, and conducts programs in pursuit of the strategic objectives of the Department of Defense. The mission of the Africa Center for Strategic Studies is to support the efforts of the Department of Defense and other U.S. agencies to promote democracy and assist African nations in improving their security by promoting good governance, security sector professionalism, and democratic civil-military relations. The Africa Center also endeavors to promote the development of long-term, mutually beneficial security relations between the United States and African countries by its open and frank consultations and seminars.

The center does not make, nor does it seek to advocate U.S. policy. Instead our aim is to increase understanding, to explain the facts, and to shed light on U.S. actions and interests on and towards the African continent. Our other role is to reflect the concerns and interests we hear from our participants and relay those views and concerns back to policymakers in the U.S. government. While our approach is academic our aims and objectives are practical. We are part of a wider organization that tries to put these thoughts and ideas into the hands of those who can put them into practice.

The Africa Center's programs focus on five key areas, security studies, civil military relations, counter terrorism, conflict prevention and management, and defense economics to a target audience primarily of African military, civilian officials and civil society leaders working on security issues.

The center's programs range from the flagship all-Africa Senior Leader's Seminar, to the specialized Topical Seminars on issues ranging from conflict management to energy and security.

There are many organizations that share our interests, the uniqueness of the center lies not in the nature of our work, but in the values that underpin our programs. These include partnership with host governments, close consultation, non-attribution, and academic freedom.

The Africa Center does not claim to have the answers, but holds fast to the belief that Africa's problems can be resolved through consultation, cooperation and dialogue. Our goal is to create the space to allow our participants to debate, discuss and build bridges and find common solutions to our common problems.

It is these ideals that infuse all our work and which we strive to instill in all our programs.

PROGRAM SCHEDULE

Sunday 6 March

- 1400 Welcome Ceremony**
Speakers, General Carlton W. Fulford Jr., USMC (Ret.), Director,
Africa Center for Strategic Studies
The Honorable John Campbell, U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria
- 1530 Break**
- 1600 Team Building Exercise**
- 1740 Introduction to Military Education Resource Learning Network (MERLN) Training Session (English)**

Monday 7 March

- 0900 Opening Ceremony**
Speakers, General Carlton W. Fulford Jr., USMC (Ret.),
Director, Africa Center for Strategic Studies
The Honorable John Campbell, U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria
The Honorable Chief (Dr.) Roland L. Oritsejafor, Minister of
State for Defense
represented by the Honorable Alhaji Buka Goni,
Permanent Secretary Ministry of Defense
His Excellency Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, President of
Nigeria
represented by the Honorable Chief (Dr.) Roland
L. Oritsejafor, Minister of State for Defense
- 1030 Break**
- 1100 Plenary Session: Africa's Petroleum Industry**
Speakers, Mr. David Goldwyn, President,
Goldwyn International Strategies
Mr. Amarquaye Armar, Lead Energy Specialist
The World Bank
- 1230 Lunch**
- 1400 Plenary Session: Curse or Blessing?**
Speakers, Dr. John Cathie, Fellow and Director of Studies in Land
Economy, Cambridge University
The Honorable Ms. Vicky Bailey, Partner,
Johnston & Associates
Mr. Henri Boyé, Deputy, Vice President,
Middle East and Africa, Électricité de France

- 1530 Break
- 1600 **Discussion Groups: The Prospects for Africa's Petroleum Sector**
- 1800 **MERLN Training Session (French)**

Tuesday 8 March

- 0845 **Capstone Overview**
- 0900 **Plenary Session: Stability in Africa's Petroleum Producing Regions**
 Speakers, Dr. J. Stephen Morrison, Executive Director,
 Africa Program, Center for Strategic and
 International Studies
 Captain Georgina Tackie, Regional Coordinator,
 International Maritime Organization
 Brigadier General Bertrand Ract Madoux,
 Deputy General Director of the Joint Staff,
 Ministry of National Defense, France
- 1030 Break
- 1100 **Discussion Groups: Stability in Africa's Petroleum Areas**
- 1230 Lunch
- 1400 **Plenary Session: Terrorism, Energy and Security in Africa**
 Speaker, Rear Admiral, Noel Preston, Director,
 Programs, Resources and Support, U.S. Naval
 Forces, Europe
- 1530 Break
- 1600 **Plenary Session: Overview of Country Experiences**
 Speakers, Ms. Thérèse Mékombé, Vice President,
 College de Controle et de Surveillance des
 Ressources Pétrolières, Chad
 Mr. Mamadou Lamine Loum, Chair,
 International Advisory Group, Chad-Cameroon
 Petroleum Development and Pipeline Project
 Mr. Mohamed Ghanem, Director of Endowment,
 Ministry of Energy and Mines, Algeria
 Dr. Mohamed Haddy, Professor,
 National Institute for Urban and
 Environmental Studies, Morocco
- 1800 **MERLN Training Session (English)**

Wednesday 9 March

- 0815** **MERLN Training Session (French)**
- 0900** **Plenary Session: Security Options for Africa's Petroleum Producers**
Speakers, Captain Bob Thomas Eboa, Deputy Chief of Staff,
 Cameronian Navy
 Vice Admiral Samuel O. Afolayan, Chief of Naval Staff,
 Nigerian Navy
 Dr. Deborah Avant, Director, Institute for Global and
 International Studies, Elliot School of International
 Affairs, George Washington University
- 1030** Break
- 1100** **Discussion Groups: Security Options for Petroleum Producers**
- 1230** Lunch

Thursday 10 March

- 0800** **MERLN (English)**
- 0900** **Plenary: Designing an Energy Strategy for Africa's Petroleum Producers**
Speakers, Ambassador Johnnie Carson, Senior Vice President,
 National Defense University
 The Honorable Eric A. Williams, Member of Parliament,
 Minister of Energy and Energy Industries,
 Trinidad and Tobago
- 1030** Break
- 1100** **Discussion Groups: Energy Strategy for Africa**
- 1230** **Special Plenary: Anti-Corruption Reforms in Nigeria**
 Dr. Ngozi Onkonjo-Iweala, Honorable Minister of Finance,
 Nigeria
- 1330** **Topical Lunches:**
From Revenue Transparency to Accountable Development --
Examining the Chad Model
 Mr. Ian Gary, Catholic Relief Services, United States

The Paradox of Petroleum Production and Poverty

Mr. Brice Mackosso, Co-Chair, Publish What You Pay,
Republic of Congo

***Oil and Gas Exploitation in Africa: Impact on the Growth of
Producing-Countries***

Mr. Mauricio Sulila, Programme Officer, Livaningo,
Mozambique

Developing Strategies for Sustainable Energy

Mrs. Hannah Owusu-Koranteng, Director of Training and
Research, Wassa Association of Communities
Affected by Mining, Ghana

Why We Have No Energy: Meeting Domestic Needs in Nigeria

Mrs. Yinka Omorogbe, Head, Department of Public and
International Law, University of Ibadan, Nigeria

Petroleum and Good Governance: the Case of Chad

Ms. Delphine Djiraibe, President, Chadian Association for
Promotion and Defense of Human Rights, Chad

Factors Affecting the Integration of the Maghréb

Dr. Mohamed Haddy, Professor National Institute for Urban
Environmental Studies, Morocco

How Do Energy Resources Impact International Relations ?

Colonel Robert Esposti, Senior French Representative,
Africa Center for Strategic Studies

1500 Capstone Exercise: Designing an Energy and Security Strategy

1630 Break

1700 Capstone Exercise: Designing an Energy and Security Strategy

Friday 11 March

0800 Discussion Groups: Farewell and Seminar Evaluations

0900 Plenary: Capstone Brief Backs

1030 Break

1100

Closing Ceremony:

Speakers, General Carlton W. Fulford Jr., USMC (Ret.), Director,
 Africa Center for Strategic Studies
 The Honorable John Campbell, U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria
 His Excellency Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso, Minister of
 Defense, Nigeria

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Africa Center for Strategic Studies held its 2005 Topical Seminar titled: *“Energy and Security in Africa: Meeting the Challenge in Petroleum Producing States”* in Abuja, Nigeria, from 6-11 March 2005. The seminar brought together high-ranking military, government, private sector and civil society leaders from petroleum endowed states across Africa to discuss the important relationship between energy and security. Representatives from the U.S. Departments of Energy, State, and U.S. European Command joined them, along with participants from Denmark, France, and the United Kingdom.

Distinguished panelists addressed several plenary sessions that sought to: (a) highlight the strategic domestic and international value of the continents’ petroleum resources, both natural gas and crude oil; (b) explore links between the prudent governance of these resources and human security in producing countries; and (c) analyze key elements of effective and sustainable energy strategies. Speakers included: His Excellency Rabiun Musa Kwankwaso, Minister of Defense of the Government of Nigeria; Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, Honorable Minister of Finance of the Government of Nigeria; Honorable Eric Williams, MP, Minister of Energy and Energy Industries, Government of Trinidad and Tobago, the Honorable John Campbell, U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria; and Rear Admiral Noel Preston, Director of Naval Programs, Resources and Support, United States Naval Forces Europe.

Participants were divided into five discussion groups which allowed participants to explore issues in greater detail. The seminar culminated in a role playing capstone exercise that offered all participants an opportunity to utilize the issues, experiences and concepts examined during the seminar, to develop a strategy for a fictional African country.

Petroleum as a Strategic Asset

Africa is an emerging strategic global supplier of oil and gas, accounting for 4.2 percent of global oil reserves and producing 5.5 percent of global oil flows. The continent supplies 7.8 percent of global gas output. Nigeria is among the top five source countries for oil imported into the United States, while Algeria accounts for a significant proportion of gas imports to the European Union. The substantial oil and gas revenues projected present an opportunity for governments across the continent to enhance prospects for greater security and sustainable socio-economic development.

However, increased wealth without adequate constitutional, regulatory or policy reforms could exacerbate human security challenges which include: an over reliance on petroleum revenues; weak economic and political governance; relative poverty; resource tensions; crime; and pervasive corruption.

The participants highlighted the importance of addressing these governance challenges presented by Africa’s petroleum endowment. They voiced a need to mitigate the threats

to human security and resolve the underlying roots of instability if the domestic benefits of these resources are to be realized.

At a regional level, participants emphasized the need for greater regional cooperation to harness the immense potential of these resources. A shared commitment to regional security (both maritime and terrestrial) was also deemed crucial. Although Africa's oil and gas reserves respectively account for less than 10 percent of annual global output, they are globally strategic primarily because growing demand pressures and supply uncertainties in many producing areas have prompted major consumer nations to diversify. Africa is an important part of this equation for three reasons: first, Africa's resources are of high quality; second, production is relatively efficient; and, third, most African producers are not bound by OPEC quotas.

Petroleum Governance and Stability

The complex linkages among human insecurity, weak governance, and the petroleum sector highlighted the primacy of internal threats in African countries: including community grievances; sabotage; theft; militant groups; and political instability. A combination of these factors, coupled with government responses (which often exacerbate the situation) has had a negative impact on governance in the petroleum sector. It is therefore, no surprise that producing areas on the continent face continuing and heightening security challenges.

Africa's petroleum producers have some of the most dangerous coastal environments in the world, with piracy and violence on the ascendancy. According to the International Maritime Bureau's 2004 annual report, 25 percent of all acts of piracy targeted vessels carrying oil, gas or chemicals. The report noted the vulnerability of production; storage and distribution facilities, as well as the limited capability of navies in the region to secure coastal and deepwater installations.

The participants saw a need for increased regional cooperation to improve security in Africa's maritime environment; and enhanced international support to augment national maritime capabilities and support regional training by improving governance, accelerating democratization and protecting the environment. They also noted the need to promote effective development programs and strategies to alleviate resource tensions in producing regions. These measures should include the promotion of regional conflict resolution mechanisms to address political and border disputes, which could add to instability in the region if left unchecked.

Terrorism, Energy and Security

Extremism and global terrorism present added dimensions to the security challenges facing Africa's petroleum producers. Participants discussed the vulnerability of installations, equipment, personnel, and transportation networks and facilities. Improved security in other producing areas makes Africa a soft target. Furthermore, extremist groups could easily capitalize on existing instability and local discontent. Recent evidence suggests that there are links between international terrorism and groups operating in North Africa and the Gulf of Guinea region.

Participants emphasized the need to address both the root causes of terror, as well as the physical threats to security in the region. In this vein, they stressed the importance of deterring and disrupting international terrorism across the continent. In their view, countering the ideological support for extremism entails the equitable distribution of petroleum resources, adequate provision of social services, good governance and democratization. They also noted the need to support international maritime standards and codes relating to port security, and to augment maritime domain awareness and information sharing.

Key Elements of a Sustainable Energy Strategy

The security challenges facing Africa's petroleum producers are complex and multifaceted. Remedial strategies must, therefore, be timely, relevant, practical and comprehensive. Also since each country faces its own specific challenges, no single strategy will suit every country. This is why the discussions in this session focus on key elements of effective strategies, and not on developing a template. The main pillars on which successful strategies can be built are: rule of law; an independent judiciary; democratic governance; and a zero tolerance for corruption.

The systematic approach adopted in Trinidad and Tobago was used as a case study to demonstrate the importance of long-range planning, prudent revenue management, equitable resource distribution, targeted investments and enhanced human security.

Participants discussed the elements of a strategy including: addressing threats to the physical security of petroleum facilities; enhancing human security; and promoting environmental sustainability. The participants recognized the finite opportunity presented by natural resources, and the need to invest petroleum revenues and diversify the economy. Transparency and accountability must support a policy framework which: prioritizes investment in social services; promotes equitable distribution and reallocation of revenues; and promotes programs which support sustainable development and environmental protection.

OPENING CEREMONY

General Carlton W. Fulford, Jr. USMC (Ret.) Director, Africa Center for Strategic Studies

The Honorable John Campbell, U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria

The Honorable Chief (Dr.) Roland L. Oritsejafor, Minister of State for Defense represented by Alhaji Buka-Goni, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Defense of Nigeria

His Excellency Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, President of Nigeria

represented by the Honorable Chief (Dr.) Roland L. Oritsejafor, Minister of State for Defense

General Carlton Fulford Jr., USMC (Ret.) Director, Africa Center for Strategic Studies welcomed military and civilian high-level participants from 16 African states¹, as well as senior officials from the U.S. government and U.S. European Command, and European representatives to the Africa Center's 2005 Topical Seminar on Energy and Security in Africa.

He explained that while numerous international events had examined various aspects of Africa's petroleum sector, very little attention has been paid to the relationship between energy and security. He noted that African leaders had requested a forum for practitioners and decision makers to examine the challenges and seek workable solutions. General Fulford expressed hope that this seminar would initiate much needed dialogue in this area, promote effective networking, and contribute to the formulation of innovative and sustainable strategies for Africa's producing countries.

The Honorable John Campbell, U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria, welcomed the participants on behalf of the U.S. government. He stated that it was a critical time to hold this seminar on a subject which is often discussed, but of which the security implications are rarely understood. He explained that Nigeria is at the fore of the exploration and development of oil and gas in Africa, and has been instrumental in leading the search for security across the continent. As such, Nigeria was an excellent venue for the seminar, which he hoped would herald resolute action and sustained interest in the topic.

Alhaji Buka-Goni, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Defense of Nigeria, offered an introductory address on behalf of the Ministry of Defense. He noted Nigeria's recent efforts to reform its economic and political processes as evidence of his country's commitment to pursue its resources more equitably and engage the international community more productively. He noted that the experience and breadth of the audience was a sign of the concern and interest in these issues.

The Honorable Minister of State for Defense, Chief (Dr.) Roland L. Oritsejafor welcomed the participants on behalf of the Nigerian President Olusegun Obsanjo. He noted that recent events in the Middle East have encouraged people to focus attention on

¹ Algeria, Angola, Cameroon, Chad, Republic of Congo, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Ghana, Madagascar, Mozambique, Nigeria, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Tanzania, Tunisia.

oil producers around the world as well as alternative sources of energy. He noted that each of these regions has strengths and face challenges, and the same is true for many African states. In his view, there are many areas of concern, and much that needs to be done, but if the seminar focused attention on the keystones of development, he believed that the potential for growth could spell a prosperous future for the continent.

MODULE ONE: PETROLEUM AS A STRATEGIC ASSET

This module discussed and evaluated the strategic value of Africa's petroleum resources at three levels – domestic, regional and global. The two plenary sessions in this module examined the relationship between human security and the prudent management of these national assets, both crude oil and natural gas.

The first plenary session, which outlined the extent and the implications of Africa's oil and gas industries, was led by Mr. David Goldwyn and Mr. Amaruquaye Armar. Mr. Goldwyn focused on Africa's oil, while Armar discussed gas. The second plenary session highlighted "the resource curse" debate. The panelists examined how weak governance, inadequate investments in human security, poor policy choices and corruption have deprived many of Africa's petroleum producers of the immense benefits that could accrue from this sector. They also discussed the shared responsibilities of African governments and petroleum companies in improving transparency, accountability and consistent policy choices.

The panelists in this second session were chosen for their knowledge of the economic and political questions presented by natural resource endowments. Dr. John Cathie is the Assistant Director of Research at Wolfson College, Cambridge University, and a leading authority on macroeconomic and development policy. The Honorable Ms. Vicky A. Bailey is currently a Partner at the government relations firm, Johnston & Associates in Washington D.C. Previously, she served in the administration of President George W. Bush, as the Department of Energy's Assistant Secretary for the Office of Policy and International Affairs. Mr. Henry Boyé is Deputy Vice President of the Middle East and Africa Branch at Électricité de France (EDF), where he has worked extensively with the French government and private sector on the issues of economic development, energy conservation, and environmental protection.

Plenary I: Africa's Petroleum Industry

Mr. David Goldwyn, President, Goldwyn International Strategies LLC

Mr. Amarquaye Armar, Lead Energy Specialist, The World Bank

Mr. Goldwyn opened the session by outlining the scope and scale of crude oil reserves and production in different African countries and discussing why African oil is strategically significant. The session presented an overview to give the audience a perspective of the oil and gas sector internationally as well as in Africa.

He noted that global oil resources are estimated at between six and three trillion barrels, of which one trillion has already been extracted. Africa holds 4.2 percent of global oil reserves and produces 5.5 percent of global oil flows.² Mr. Goldwyn explained that while Africa may not have the largest reserves, it is a very significant producer because: of the high quality of its oil; the proportion of "new oil" over the next decade which will come from Africa; and the fact that most of the continent's producers are not bound by OPEC quotas. This is why Africa's oil is a crucial element of energy diversification strategies being adopted in major consuming regions, notably Europe, North America and China. The region is a key marginal supplier in a global market with no excess capacity.

Among oil producers in Africa, Nigeria is by far the largest producer, followed by Algeria, Libya, and Angola. Nigeria is among the top five source countries for oil imported into the United States. African oil is projected to rise by three to five million barrels a day over the next 10 years, with production in West Africa rising by two to four million barrels a day.

Mr. Goldwyn added that the region is going to witness a significant rise in production, and a dramatic increase in revenue flows, while agreements between oil companies and governments differ, between 2002 and 2010 he estimated that the Government of Nigeria would receive about \$100 billion, Angola \$42 billion in revenues. Most global suppliers are limited by OPEC quotas. This increases the importance of non-OPEC members in West Africa who could become key swing suppliers and adapt production to meet the demands of major consuming nations.

He noted that it is increasingly difficult to find places to explore, Russia is less open and Latin America is becoming closed. Africa is significant because international oil companies have relatively easier access to drill and prospect for oil. Much of the production in Africa is offshore, compared to land-based facilities in other production areas that are more vulnerable to sabotage.

Mr. Goldwyn concluded that Africa's petroleum assets could benefit producing countries, and all their citizens much more if Africa's governments demonstrate greater commitment to transparency, pay more attention to security threats and vulnerabilities, and adopt policies that prioritize investment in human security and poverty reduction. He

² 2003 figures Goldwyn International

called on “external actors” (ie friendly governments, multilateral organizations, investors and oil companies) to contribute to the process by supporting training and capacity building efforts.

While oil is often seen as the world’s most significant source of power, natural gas is found in almost all the same places if not in the same quantities. It was for this reason that the second part of the presentation focused on the gas industry.

More recently, gas has become seen as a valuable fuel in its own right and if brought to the market can be a source of ‘clean’ and relatively cheap fuel. It burns with fewer emissions of sulphur, carbon or nitrogen than either coal or oil, and leaves less residue. However the key challenges for gas are in its location, its quantities, and how to effectively bring it to the market in an economic form.

Mr. Armar focused his discussion on three aspects of Africa’s gas supply: the reserves; location of reserves and prospective markets; and the sub-regional ramifications.

Africa has 354 trillion cubic feet (tcf) of gas, which represents the second largest proven reserve in world, after the Middle East. The continent accounts for 7.8 percent of global production. He highlighted that “the vast majority of the reserves are close to oil fields along the Atlantic coast, or scattered in a 6,000 km line from Namibia to Ethiopia.”

Approximately 16 percent of Africa’s gas reserves are remotely located from consumers, or in small fields making them economically unviable to develop and market. However increasing pressures are driving development of these untapped resources. He noted that as populations increase, particularly in the larger countries such as Nigeria and South Africa, consumer demands are driving gas development, while in East Africa gas development aims to mitigate power supply disruptions caused by droughts.

Mr. Amar discussed several strategic projects across the continent including: the 865 km Southern Africa Regional Gas Project; the 678 km West Africa Gas Pipeline; and the 207 km Songo Songo Gas to Power Project, from Songo Songo to Dar es Salaam. These projects are significant both in terms of bringing access to electricity but also in shaping international cooperation and fostering regional development.

Questions and Answers

Participants asked a range of questions highlighting the relationship between the oil companies and the state. They questioned whether the exploitation of natural resources could not wait until effective, transparent and accountable governance structures were in place. Other asked if the emphasis of policy should be on discovery and exploration instead of merely the exploitation of existing reserves.

In response, the speakers agreed that it was a hard choice, however, oil is only a valuable resource once it leaves the ground. There are no guarantees that the value of these

resources will increase with time, and they argued it is better to produce the oil now and invest the revenues, to build a more stable economic future.

The speakers highlighted that oil and gas production is capital intensive requiring heavy investment from oil companies upfront. They recoup these costs from the first tranche of profits after a find. These costs are agreed in cost sharing agreements with the host government, which then claims a share of the subsequent revenues. The speakers noted that in many case countries cost sharing agreements afford governments the lion's share of revenues, so governance and revenue issues are as much a matter for governments as for oil companies.

Plenary II: Curse or Blessing

*Dr. John Cathie, Director of Studies in Land Economy, Wolfson College,
Cambridge University*

The Honorable Ms. Vicky Bailey, Partner, Johnston & Associates

Mr. Henri Boyé, Deputy Vice President, Middle East and Africa, Électricité de France

The second session addressed fundamental issues relating to the positive and negative effects of natural resources. It examined the impact of the oil and gas industry on African states, and explored policy options that could mitigate the adverse effects on macroeconomic policy, governance, stability and security.

The speakers based their presentations on the economic track records of current oil producers in Africa, and drew comparisons to other developing states both on and off the continent. They argued that natural resources should be developed for benefit of both the state and the entire population, as opposed to only elite groups.

Dr. John Cathie argued that while there are potential windfalls, this is often accompanied by a number of negative economic effects that have often led to the distortion of development policies. In particular, he outlined two groups of issues: problems of investment, and problems of distribution.

Regarding the first issue, he argued that prudent investment and economic diversification are vital, especially because petroleum is a finite resource. He stated, “if oil and gas are seen as an extractive industry, which has as its only purpose the supply of revenue and which does not connect to the rest of the economy, then it is unlikely that economic stability and even growth will ensue.”

He noted the experiences of a number of African countries which have experienced natural resources windfalls (e.g. copper in Zambia, to diamonds in Botswana) to highlight the diversity of experiences. He contrasted this with the examples of South Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore, all of which had achieved considerable economic success without natural resources.

The discovery of petroleum resources also brings with it particular economic management problems in terms of: Dutch disease³; income distribution; distortion of government expenditures; tax and subsidy issues; and increased government consumption. In his view, this can produce investment policies which become rent seeking and unproductive. He offered the example of Nigeria which had a viable agricultural sector in the 1960s, and was able to export surpluses. This sector declined with the coming of oil. Unfortunately, the loss in one sector has not been made up by the other, “distribution of income has not improved in 40 years and growth is fragile and dependent on the fortunes of oil.”

³ Dutch disease is the distortion of the economy, and the adverse affects on other sectors and industries caused by appreciating exchange rates

Ms. Vicky Bailey continued the session by highlighting that the influx of wealth in the coming years represents an unprecedented opportunity for Africa. She argued that there are very few chances for countries to get a rapid infusion of wealth, and this could have a positive spill-over effect on the entire continent.

However, in terms of the wider economic context, economies that are dependent on oil are more prone to boom-and-bust cycles because of volatile oil prices. She argued that price stabilization mechanisms such as financial reserves and trust funds could cushion negative effects. Such action must be accompanied by improved fiscal management; debt reduction; the strengthening of legal and regulatory institutions; property rights; a functioning commercial code, and labor market reforms.

If effective controls are not in place the resulting price instability is often felt most by the poor. This is because higher prices can cut their consumption capacity, and they tend to have the fewest assets to fall back upon. This price instability can, in turn, feed into political and social instability. Ms. Bailey described price volatility and instability as the “enemies of sustained development”.

Petroleum producing countries are often plagued by corruption and rent seeking. She quoted transparency international’s Corruption Perception Index which consistently ranks many African countries among the worst offenders, with 11 countries listed among the bottom 20 percent, who are the most corrupt. She argued that it is necessary to develop transparent regulatory frameworks; competitive fiscal terms; and adequate separation of roles and responsibilities on natural resource development.

Mr. Boyé developed these themes, by examining what could happen if necessary reforms measures are made. He examined the potential for Africa’s petroleum resources to contribute meaningfully to sustainable development.

His presentation focused on oil and gas, not as a source of revenue but as a source of power. He argued that one of Africa’s prime developmental objectives should be to increase access to power and electricity across the continent. “It is electric power that both harnesses nature’s endowment and provides relief from the elements: offering heat, light, and feeds the infrastructure of the twenty-first century.”

He noted the potential for development in Africa, but highlighted the economic and social disparities. Mr. Boyé said that oil and gas represent a fundamental opportunity to dramatically increase the development prospects for millions across the continent. He proposed that revenues should go to health, education, and economic diversification, instead of to the private accounts of elite groups. He argued that underdevelopment and grossly unequal distribution of wealth in some African oil producing countries are two of the greatest causes of instability.

Questions and Answers

Participants noted the need for strong economic and financial management but asked if this would compromise the pursuit of human rights. In response the speakers argued that there is a need for a strong framework, but this should not necessarily entail a lowering of health education and the allocation of social subsidies. On the contrary effective governance provides the basis for more efficient use of state resources and social provision.

Other participants commented on the role of OPEC. In response it was highlighted that cartels have been ineffective instruments in managing the world's oil supplies, and that over the past two decades the volatility of oil prices has demonstrated that OPEC had little control over them. As a result, the speakers argued, the most significant factor in setting oil prices are not cartels but, rather, the international market.

Discussion Groups: The Prospects for Africa's Petroleum Sector

The participants echoed the speakers' assertions that Africa's petroleum endowment represents a crucial window of opportunity, and that it is important to know the scope and scale of the resources available, and to examine how these resources could best be utilized.

Participant's noted the importance of a stable macroeconomic framework including: better central bank controls, fiscal discipline, and the development of hard currency reserves to balance economic shocks. The flight of both private and public capital was also highlighted as a problem which undercuts growth. Participants argued that it is important to create conditions that attract both foreign direct investment and domestic investors. They raised the issue that oil companies won't invest unless they believe there is a stable economic and political framework for them to guarantee their investment.

Participants also noted the importance of international financial institutions in assisting governments to promote transparency and accountability. The international community can assist, by demanding that higher standards and economic conditions be in place and enforced before extensive investment. Other participants argued that national legislation can be effective in raising the bar for oil companies to adhere to high international standards – particularly on the environment. The participants also noted the potential role of a Special Envoy or Coordinator as an effective mechanism in supporting the development of effective energy policy. They remarked that this had been used as a successful instrument in other regions - such as the Caspian. This mechanism has supported the development of the new states in the Caspian, encouraged political and economic reform, and helped to mitigate regional conflicts by building economic linkages.

MODULE TWO: PETROLEUM GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY

The second module built on the discussions in the preceding sessions by focusing on the complex array of stability challenges that confront Africa's energy producing nations, and examining policies adopted by a number of countries. The discussions included political, economic, rule of law, and environmental dimensions of stability. The opening session in this module discussed linkages between instability and Africa's petroleum industry. The analysis covered governance, dysfunctional political systems, and crime, in Africa's terrestrial and maritime environments. Maritime security is of particular relevance to Africa's offshore petroleum facilities, as well as petroleum shipping routes.

Dr. J. Stephen Morrison is a leading scholar and practitioner on African issues with the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington DC. He offered a strategic view of the threats and challenges and he was followed by two speakers who addressed more specific security concerns: Brigadier General Bertrand Ract Madoux, General Director, of the Joint Staff of the French Armed Forces, who offered a French perspective; and Captain Georgina Tackie a Regional Coordinator with the International Maritime Organization, who addressed international maritime threats.

Recognizing the vulnerability of Africa's petroleum industry to terrorist attacks, and the potential for extremist ideologies to spread among disgruntled groups in producing regions, this module contained a special plenary that examined the possible implications of terrorism, extremism and transnational crime for the continents' petroleum industry. Rear Admiral Noel Preston, Director of Programs and Support for U.S Naval Forces, Europe offered a maritime perspective of the threats and challenges posed by international terrorism.

The final Session in the module reviewed the recent efforts of African countries to address stability issues. The case studies examined were Algeria, Cameroon, Chad, Morocco and Nigeria. All the speakers were experts chosen for their specific understanding of different aspects of energy issues. Mr. Mohammed Bachir Ghanem, is the Director of Endowment, Ministry of Energy and Mines, Algeria, he analyzed the development of the Algerian energy industry – most notably the growth of the gas sector. Ms. Thérèse Mékombé, is Vice President, College de Controle et de Surveillance des Ressources Pétrolières, Chad, she offered a view on the successes and challenges of monitoring the implementation of the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project. Mr. Mamadou Lamine Loum, offered a perspective from Cameroon, as the Chair of the International Advisory Group, Chad-Cameroon Petroleum Development and Pipeline Project, Cameroon. Finally, Dr. Mohamed Haddy, Professor, National Institute for Urban and Environmental Studies, Morocco, offered a counterpoint to the discussions by critically analyzing the social and political impact of energy development across north Africa.

Plenary III: Stability in Africa's Petroleum Producing Regions

Dr. J. Stephen Morrison, Executive Director, Africa Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies,

Captain Georgina Tackie, Regional Coordinator, International Maritime Organization

Brigadier General Bertrand Ract Madoux, Deputy General Director, Joint Staff

Bureau of Plans and Military Strategy, Ministry of National Defense, France

The session invited a fundamental question, namely - What do we mean by stability? The session defined stability in terms of overarching political, economic and environmental considerations. The distinction between regime longevity and political stability was also emphasized. Furthermore although the session was titled stability *in* petroleum areas, it did not focus exclusively at the stability and security *of* petroleum production.

The seminar recognized that the stability of regions did not depend on the ability of the state to meet the physical security interest of oil companies but the ability to meet the wider socio economic and political needs of the entire population. As such the session also aimed to examine grievances in production and distribution; and sub-regional stability amid border and resource disputes.

Dr. Morrison opened the session by considering whether energy will enhance security, or create new challenges and violent competition across the continent. He stated that much of current analysis has focused on the economic effects of oil and how that relates to economic and political stability, often drawing on a comparative approach to highlight the effects. However, he argued that there was a need for much more detailed analysis examining the role of the security sector in fostering stability in petroleum states is needed.

The anticipated increase in cash flow through West and Central Africa and Sudan, could lead to an increasing temptation for officials both government and corporate - to divert and steal. It is estimated that expanding production will bring in over \$190 billion in government revenue by 2010, to a small group of African states⁴. He argued that if anything these figures dramatically underestimate both the rapid pace of production and the higher prices.

Dr. Morrison explained how poor governance, border disputes, and violent conflict over the control of petroleum resources continue to undermine political and economic stability. He expressed optimism that a comprehensive overhaul of moribund institutions, the adoption of more transparent policies, and sustainable peace efforts could significantly reduce instability among Africa's petroleum producing states.

Brigadier General Bertrand Ract Madoux, Deputy General Director, of the Joint Staff of the French Armed Forces, examined the threats, to the physical security of the state and actors within the state – such as oil companies, as well as to human security in general.

⁴ Based on \$25 a barrel.

There is an underlying assumption that increasing resources will lead to competition and that this threatens the stability and well-being of the state. He highlighted the fact that threats are not primarily external, but are as a result of social tensions inside states. In his view, these are manifested by: the undermining of legitimacy; fomenting unrest; and encouraging groups to seize power.

General Madoux argued that these threats have led to the disruption of pipelines, flourishing of transnational crime, and the increase of attacks by indigenous groups. He highlighted the issue of organized theft in the region. He noted that between 75,000 and 150,000 barrels of Nigerian crude oil are stolen every day. All of these factors can undermine investor confidence, and can lead to a slow down or a reversal of production.

Brigadier General Madoux opined that the discovery of oil, which promises to bring development can also open a Pandora's Box. The prospect of gains from seizing power and the potential of controlling oil revenues can increase the vulnerability of states. He cited both São Tomé and Príncipe, and Equatorial Guinea as two of the most recent examples of attempted coups in Africa.

In response to these threats, he argued that France has not developed a strategy to protect its supplies of oil, but it is actively supporting the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and other international actors in promoting regional stability and security. Fundamental to the French position is shared responsibility; the development of confidence building measures; open and free markets; and non-intervention except within the framework of international law and regional approval.

The next presentation by Captain Georgina Tackie examined the role of maritime security. In an age when the vast majority of international travelers fly, it is easy to overlook the fact that the majority of goods and resources flow over the oceans. The international maritime trade transports 95 percent of the world's trade and the bulk of Africa's petroleum resources are located offshore.

The International Maritime Organization (IMO) is responsible for ensuring the standards and codes relating to international shipping, as such it has purview over a range of issues from ship safety, and training to international port security.

Captain Tackie outlined the emerging threats to shipping in the Gulf of Guinea. In particular she highlighted two areas of concern. While there are many points of vulnerability in a ship's voyage, she argued that often the most dangerous stage is not when they are at sea, but when they are in port. This is especially the case in Africa; which is home to one of the most dangerous waterways in the world - the Gulf of Guinea. She quoted the International Maritime Bureau's report from 2004, which highlighted that 25 percent of all acts of piracy targeted vessels carrying oil, gas or chemicals. The primary threat is criminal, with 43 percent of recorded attacks taking place in either Nigerian Waters or the Malaccan Straights.

Captain Tackie discussed the primary role of the IMO which is to ensure that ports are certified and conform to international codes and standards. This includes the International Ship and Port Facility Security Code, and the Safety of Life at Sea. Both these articles are a result of the 2002 Diplomatic Conference to enhance safety at sea.

She noted that although 94 percent of the ports in Africa have been certified, the reality of follow up and implementation lags behind certification. Many African ports are in need of substantial support and development of safety and security concerns.

Questions and Answers

In the questions that followed participants asked about regional integration and development. The speakers responded by arguing that while this was highly desirable the reality is that there is little cooperation and willingness to share sovereignty even on such fundamental issues as search and rescue.

Given the limitations in terms of both assets and the lack of political will, it seems unlikely that rapid progress will emerge soon. Questions of political sovereignty often inhibit information sharing and stymie attempts at cooperation, particularly as there is almost no domestic constituency in many countries for maritime security issues.

Discussion Groups: Stability in Africa's Petroleum Producing Areas

The discussions covered a range of issues including: sources of human insecurity and instability; resource tensions; crime; equitable distribution; and role of the armed forces in ensuring stability. The session marked a shift from what some saw as the management of the economic and petroleum sector, towards an examination of the underlying security context.

They viewed the primary threats in many countries as internal as opposed to external. Both physical security and human security questions are linked and need to be addressed together. Participants perceived the economic relationship in many countries as extractive, exclusionary, and exploitative, contributing to: resource tensions; relative poverty; and crime. They viewed these factors, together with poor governance and environmental disputes as key causes of conflict. This is reflected by sabotage of oil installations, bunkering – or theft of oil from pipelines and hostage taking. Participants highlighted the development of negative incentive cycles: sabotage; subsequent payments for compensation; payments to clean up the oil spill; and to repair the pipeline. This has repercussions for local communities through the reluctance of oil companies to pay compensation for oil spills, if they believe it to be a result of sabotage.

Unless a greater sense of ownership and responsibility is developed, resources will inevitably lead to competition. It was noted that the more attention is devoted improving human security, the less investment will be needed for physical security. This led to

discussions centered on the questions of equity, justice, governance, accountability, social responsibility, investment, and inclusiveness, and sustainable development.

The need to respond to these issues, coupled with a lack of government capacity often leads to a wider set of abuses particularly of human rights, by security forces. Other participants noted that the fundamental relationship between the state, security forces, and the populace is based on weak democratic controls and a lack of accountability. The introduction of security forces can heighten tensions, and low pay and lack of training sometimes exacerbates corruption and abuse.

Special Plenary: Terrorism, Energy and Security in Africa

*Rear Admiral Noel Preston, Director, Navy Programs, Resources and Support,
US Naval Forces, Europe*

Rear Admiral Preston urged participants take a much broader view of security, in which the military dimension plays a part but in which other elements also have a vital role. He referred to the previous speakers who had outlined some of the causes of instability, and the vulnerabilities created by weak governance.

These threats are not only a serious concern in their own right, but create opportunities for international terrorism. The attacks in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi in 1998 highlighted the dangers to Africa. In a wider vein he outlined the taking of foreign workers as hostages, the destruction of pipelines and numerous other acts of theft, violence and attacks. He also catalogued a series of attacks, seizures, and incidents where installations were shut down following attacks by militants.

While he conceded that much of this activity primarily falls in the realm of local criminal activity, he argued that this can also create the underlying conditions in which terrorist networks can establish themselves and flourish. He highlighted the interplay between illicit trade, extremist political groups and their use of criminal networks for activity such as money laundering. Illicit funds from criminal activities can seep into the black market, supporting the arming of militias, and the web of organized crime provides potential support for terrorists.

Rear Admiral Preston also discussed signs of increasing links between international terrorist groups, and criminal groups in various parts of Africa. He observed that Osama Bin Laden has declared that Nigeria is 'ready for liberation', giving rise to the concern that terrorists will target vulnerable oil installations.

In response there is a need to outline a series of measures which can tackle a wide spectrum of threats. No single system or approach can address this range of challenges. Rather a network of systems is required that can address large scale military response, civil military coordination, policing, training and awareness.

The U.S. European Command has a three pronged approach which seeks to: build indigenous capacity; develop and strengthen bilateral and multilateral relationships; and provide direct military support when necessary.

Questions and Answers

The participants noted the importance of recognizing the vulnerabilities of infrastructure facilities and oil installations. They perceived terror threats as one of the most significant external threats to peace and security in the region, as the presence of western interests draws the specter of international terrorism. They also highlighted the absence of maritime and counterterror capabilities under ECOWAS, and noted the need to address these deficiencies. However the point was raised that counterterror capabilities can also encompass issues such as rule of law, human rights, money laundering and dealing with financing.

Consequence management was noted as a key weakness which needed to be looked at in conjunction with regional efforts to respond to terrorist incidents. However it was also noted that the best form of defense is offense. In this regard it is vital to have an effective intelligence gathering system, integrated networks which can garner information and rapidly disseminate it to those who are charged with responding.

Plenary IV: Overview of Country Experiences

Mr. Mamadou Lamine Loum Chair International Advisory Group

Chad-Cameroon Petroleum Development and Pipeline Project, Cameroon

Ms. Thérèse Mékombé, Vice President, College de Controle et de Surveillance des Ressources Petrolieres, Chad

Mr. Mohammed Bachir Ghanem, Director of Endowment

Ministry of Energy and Mines, Algeria

Dr. Mohamed Haddy, Professor, National Institute for Urban and Environmental Studies, Morocco

Where the previous sessions outlined the energy security linkages and the nature of the threats and challenges at a macro level, this session aimed to shift the focus towards an overview of individual country experiences. The panel aimed to identify key challenges, explore future possibilities for collaboration, and evaluate security and development implications. As such the session served to link the earlier presentations, which outlined the security threats and opportunities and the subsequent sessions which examined options to address security concerns.

The first presentation by Mr. Mamadou Lamine Loum offered a view on Cameroonian energy development, and the political and security dimensions of the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project.

Cameron is a leading example of an African country which has a relatively mature petroleum industry. Oil was first discovered on shore and is reaching the point where resources have almost been depleted. The exploration is increasingly moving from an terrestrial environment to more challenging maritime exploration stage. In either setting he argued that security cannot be assured physically, it can only be achieved with the consent and support of the community. This necessitates a view of security which relies on policies which seek the consent and partnership of local people. This, in turn, has to take place within a context which supports good governance and fosters human security. Both of these, in turn, require a system which is credible and effective, and is underpinned by the imperative of equity.

He argued that the Chad-Cameroon pipeline is a model of south-south cooperation. However he recognized that there are key weaknesses. The project lacks a formal legal decree in Cameroon, and an effective environmental program has yet to be developed. He also noted the need for practical security mechanisms around the project in Cameroon, arguing that local participation is still not a reality, and that a proactive threat assessment and management system is needed to guard against sabotage.

The second presentation highlighted the technical mechanisms to monitor implementation of the agreement from a Chadian perspective. Ms. Therese Mokombe opened her presentation by stating that the government is just the custodian of national resources not the owners, and it is accountable to the people for how it is invested and distributed.

A Chadian transparency model was established to ensure the effective management of the country's oil revenues: Law 001 in 1999, set up a mechanism to allocate resources to different sectors of the economy. The amounts are modified every five years depending on the available revenue and the demands of the economy. Oil revenues are monitored and accessed according to codified regulations, and social and economic projects are inspected to ensure that standards are upheld.

She argued that the model is not perfect. The active involvement of the community is not yet a reality, and public pressure is an important component in ensuring that oil revenue is being effectively utilized to benefit the national economy. There are key concerns including the lack of effective sequencing between the physical construction and the civil society elements. This in part reflects the reality that it is easier to build a pipeline than to develop the social and political infrastructure to check the effective implementation of the project. The college itself is under staffed and under resourced, but she argued that the project still reflects an important breakthrough, with implications for how other regions develop their resources.

Mr. Mohammed Ghanem is the Director of Endowments in the Ministry of Energy and Mines in Algeria. He said that Algeria had vast untapped resources. It is the fifth largest supplier of natural gas in the world and the second largest supplier of liquid natural gas. "Algeria is in a position to be an energy bridge between Africa and Europe." There are two huge pipelines connecting Algeria and Europe – one through Italy and the other through Spain. This has allowed it to become a major supplier of gas to European markets such as, Portugal, Spain, France and Italy.

Within the framework of New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) he noted, "Algeria and Nigeria are cooperating on the construction of a new 4,400 km trans Saharan gas pipeline from Nigeria up to the Mediterranean coast, connected to the Algerian network", this pipeline could make a substantial contribution to the socio-economic development of transit countries. Also the Algerian petroleum company SONATRACH has signed agreements with Tunisia, Niger, Mali and South Africa.

These themes were developed by Dr. Haddy, who is a senior lecturer at the National Institute for Urban and Environmental Studies in Rabat, Morocco. As an expert on urban development and social issues, he was specifically selected to offer a perspective on human development and the social and political ramifications of energy. He offered a counterpoint to the previous speakers, by highlighting the role of energy as a catalyst for social and economic development. As such he viewed oil and gas as the means to build networks and link people across a continent.

He argued that Africa has enough resources for its own development, but the difficulties of geography and social structures have meant that these resources are not evenly distributed. He argued that despite the growth in the development of the sector, the real potential of Africa's energy endowment is as yet unrealized.

Questions and Answers

The participants questioned the use of resources from the pipeline project, and queried the differences between the experiences of Chad and Cameroon. In response it was stated that Cameroon, unlike Chad, uses its oil income freely. This strategy worked well in the past, as oil income was regarded as extra budgetary, and the state had to manage its finances without recourse to these revenues. Now these sources are included in the state budgets. However alternative sources of income need to be developed, and Cameroon has drafted a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, to promote reform efforts.

Special Plenary: Anti-Corruption Reforms in Nigeria

Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, Honorable Minister of Finance of the Government of Nigeria

The next session continued the focus on country case studies with an examination of reforms in Nigeria from the Minister of Finance, Dr. Okonjo-Iweala. This offered an excellent opportunity to both gain an appreciation of the Nigerian perspective, but also presented another African example of management reform, accountability, and the search for greater human security.

She opened her remarks by outlining the economic and political challenges present when President's Obasanjo's government came to power, including: poor economic indicators; widespread corruption; declining productivity; huge institutional deficit; poor economic management; low investor confidence; poor reputation; and a large debt burden. Productivity was declining, and there had been a sharp decline in per capita GDP since the 1980s. The poor economic and political governance was matched by poor infrastructure, in terms of power supply, roads and telecommunications.

The response she said "lay in our own hands through the development of a National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy which offered a home-grown medium term economic development and poverty reduction strategy." The pillars of which include: a redefinition of the role of government; the creation of an enabling environment for growth; and improving the delivery of social services. She noted that "when countries institute reforms, people expect you to do so in conjunction with International Monetary Fund. Normally it is hard to put them in place as people say it is being forced on us by external agents, but ours are domestically driven, and stronger and deeper."

The main efforts are still underway in striving for anti-corruption and accountability, public service restructuring, and financial sector reform. She noted that "fundamentally the reforms are dependent on a functional democracy without which it is hard to put the economic structure in shape."

She acknowledged the shortcomings and the challenges which remain ahead, and noted the importance of: momentum; maintaining the support of the general public; and the need to entrench reforms in legislation, so that they will continue beyond the term of the current administration.

MODULE THREE: DEVELOPMENT OF SUSTAINABLE ENERGY STRATEGIES

This concluding module highlighted the key elements of effective and sustainable energy strategies in Africa's energy producing countries. The circumstances and challenges faced by these countries is varied, as such it would be unhelpful to consider a single strategy. Each country needs to design a strategy that most adequately suits its own needs, and mitigate internal and external threats.

The previous modules discussed the importance of security in developing lasting energy strategies. Thus, the first session in this plenary explored security options for Africa's producing nations. The presentations by Vice Admiral Samuel O. Afolayan, Chief of Naval Staff, and Deputy Chief of Staff, Captain Bob Thomas Eboa of the Cameroonian Navy, discussed national and regional initiatives to enhance both terrestrial and maritime security. The discussions included consideration of the proposed Gulf of Guinea Commission.

The sessions on security options also explored the pros and cons of using private military firms by oil companies and African governments. This discussion was led by Dr. Deborah Avant a professor at George Washington University's Elliot School of Government in Washington D.C.

The final plenary session discussed the formulation and implementation of effective energy strategies in Africa. It was opened by a veteran of the U.S. diplomatic service, Ambassador Johnnie Carson, he outlined the pillars and objectives of comprehensive strategies and examined the human security benefits that could accrue. The Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, the Honorable Eric Williams, Member of Parliament (MP), then provided a case study of development and implementation of a successful energy strategy.

Plenary V: Security Options for Africa's Petroleum Producers
Vice Admiral Samuel O. Afolayan, Chief of Naval Staff, Nigeria Navy
Deputy Chief of Staff, Captain Bob Thomas Ebuu,
Cameroonian Navy

Dr. Deborah Avant, Director, Institute for Global and International Studies,
Elliot School of International Affairs, George Washington University

Where the previous sessions focused on analyzing the threats to security, the fifth session looked towards outlining the choices for petroleum producers. This entailed analyzing pertinent security options; evaluating recent experiences; the value of integrated security strategies; and examining the role of private security firms.

The first speaker, Vice Admiral Samuel O. Afolayan, Chief of Naval Staff, Nigeria Navy opened by highlighting the fact that regardless of whether states were landlocked or littoral, the bulk of production was offshore, and the bulk of oil flowed through the Gulf of Guinea, or Africa's coastal waters. This made it vital to have a secure maritime environment, to protect shipping, offshore installations and personnel. However naval operations place particular demands on any country: in terms of the heavy capital intensive nature of vessels; the technological training demanded of modern crews; and the fact that however good any crew or ship is it can only be in one place at any time. Given the vastness of any ocean, no navy can have a physical presence everywhere.

In his view, the value of a ship lies less in its physical presence, although this is significant, than in deterrence value, and the systemic ability to be aware of what is happening over the horizon. Maritime operations often focus on maritime domain awareness, cooperation, and surveillance.

The Admiral picked up on these themes in his presentation. He noted the abilities of the Nigerian Navy in manpower, training and discipline, but he also noted the limitations of the force in hardware, support and infrastructure.

As a consequence he highlighted the importance of Gulf of Guinea, regionally and to the international community. This underscores the importance of regional collaboration to ensure security. He outlined the framework for regional cooperation being developed by the Gulf of Guinea Commission. The framework emphasizes prevention, dispute resolution, and military operations.

Nigeria is venturing into deep water oil exploration, highlighting even further the vulnerability and limitations of the current security apparatus. With this in mind he noted three areas: the importance of "zonal defenses to standardize doctrine, operations, training and tactics, sharing of information and procedures to allow for effective command and control to respond to threats". He noted the importance of maritime domain awareness, through information sharing, and targeted intelligence, which is effectively integrated across services and agencies. Given the small size and limited capabilities of regional navies, he highlighted the role of sub-regional cooperation to act as force multipliers, and the importance of acting in support of mutual goals and missions

The second presentation from Commodore Thomas Eboa of the Cameroonian Navy elaborated on this view. He reinforced the views of the previous speaker and he offered the example of Communauté Économique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale (CEMAC) as an illustration of an economic cooperation forum which has developed a security dimension. He noted that the member countries are working on a non-aggression pact, but there is still a need to develop the practical mechanisms, including intelligence sharing.

However, he opined that there is a lack of understanding and a lack of cooperation in the region, and that both ECOWAS and CEMAC could do more to enhance cooperation between them, and more should be done to build and enhance confidence between them. He also highlighted the need for the international community and the UN to do more to train regional law enforcement agencies and provide equipment.

Captain Eboa then outlined a number of other threats which Cameroon is facing. While the petroleum industry can spur economic growth, it can also present environmental challenges. He argued that oil represents an important threat, both in terms of the hazards of oil spills and the resulting damage to wildlife and the environment, as well as the civil unrest that is produced in reaction to environmental damage, depletion of fish stocks and disruption of local livelihoods.

The third presentation in this session, by Dr. Deborah Avant, examined the merits and demerits of private security firms. Oil companies clearly have an interest in enhancing security, and can bring additional resources which can augment the role of governments which are often constrained by limited capacity.

The first point that Dr. Avant raised was that there are many different kinds and levels of security needs from logistics, services and planning, to perimeter security observation to the conduct of military operations. There are as many different kinds of security firms and services as there are needs. For obvious reasons, groups such as Executive Outcomes that have conducted military operations tend to receive the most attention; however the bulk of firms conduct routine support tasks or basic watch services.

There is no correlation between the professionalism of the military and the use of private military firms, but there is a connection between government resources, professional military capacity, and the demand. The United States military is currently designed to rely extensively on professional military contractors to conduct a number of routine support and non-combat operations from food contracting to aircraft maintenance.

In an African context many firms in petroleum-producing countries conduct routine security for oil installations, many of them unarmed. What they can provide is a trip wire defense for infrastructure and a means to leverage the local law enforcement resources to maximum advantage.

Private firms also have the advantage of being able to recruit people with specific skill sets which could be difficult to replicate quickly. However these skills come at a cost, as there are issues of accountability. By definition, unless effectively regulated, there is a danger that the private security force will be a source of insecurity rather than security. It is not often clear as to who they are accountable to. The implication is often that they are only accountable to the people that pay them, and not to the authorities in the country where they operate.

They are also hired to provide a narrowly defined set of tasks or to accomplish set missions. As a result they can miss the wider picture. There are also concerns particularly about human rights abuses, particularly where forces lack discipline or are not part of a coherent force. Some firms fail to pay adequate salaries to their employees, leading them to collect bribes.

Questions and Answers

Participants picked up on the themes of environmental threats in their questions, arguing that unless a long-term sustainable development view is taken, the local repercussions of environmental spills will be considerable. However it was also added that government regulation can effectively decrease environmental damage, by forcing oil companies to adhere to international standards.

The advantages of using private contractors was noted in comments, including the potential role the private sector could play in augmenting environmental response capability, as well as offering other specialized skill sets. Private security firms also tend to hire local staff, and in many cases are governed by local labor regulations. However, participants noted that private security groups present both opportunities and threats, raising the issue of mercenary involvement in the recent coup attempts in Equatorial Guinea and São Tomé and Príncipe. The speakers noted that the presence of the private sector is going to remain as a factor, and the best prospect may be to appreciate their advantages and limitations, and work to improve regulations, training and accountability.

Discussion Groups: Security Options for Petroleum Producers

The participants' discussions noted a series of themes: wide ranging threats, both internal and external; limited capacity; the need to maximize external resources; and regional and international cooperation.

Many of the African naval forces in particular, fundamentally lack the capacity to maintain a secure environment. In this regard, international support could augment local capacity, through the provision of supplies, training and equipment.

There were discussions as to who should carry the burden of the costs of protecting oil installations. Some argued that the existing debt burdens made it impractical to look to many countries to invest in greater security. Others saw international maritime security

in particular as a public good and therefore felt that the international community should share these costs.

However the presence of external forces may induce suspicion and mistrust, particularly in regard to the presence of oil installations. Regional actors may be better placed to offer security, if they can be effectively marshaled. They remarked that there are many reasons for optimism particularly in West Africa where ECOWAS has demonstrated a capacity to conduct successful political missions and military operations. There are, clearly, nations with more naval capability to offer, but others saw joint rotating leadership mechanisms as balancing the needs for professionalism and the concerns of smaller powers in the region.

Plenary VI: Designing an Energy Strategy for Africa's Petroleum Producers
Ambassador Johnnie Carson, Senior Vice President, National Defense University
The Honorable Eric A. Williams, MP, Minister of Energy and Energy Industries,
Trinidad and Tobago

The final session aimed to draw together the main points raised during the week and highlight the key elements of a sustainable energy strategy, including a review of the main security challenges facing Africa's petroleum producers; the role of good governance in ensuring anticipated outcomes; and a discussion of the rationale for an energy strategy. It also hoped to outline the main elements of a comprehensive, practical and effective energy strategy—and integrate the security dimensions, and address the challenges in planning, implementing and funding a sustainable strategy.

The two speakers were chosen to articulate an approach to how these issues can be framed; and to offer a practical, seasoned view as to how this is actually being done in a developing country context.

The first speaker, Ambassador Johnnie Carson, opened his presentation by calling for a critical examination of the opportunity that oil and gas offer by stating that “sovereign governments and corporate entities must recognize that a corruption-free, transparent and efficient petroleum industry is good for business, good for economic progress and essential for Africa's long-term security and stability.” He added that an enabling environment is needed to foster an effective strategy consisting of: rule of law; an independent judiciary; democratic governance; and a zero tolerance for corruption.

He outlined a program based on key pillars: improving the welfare of the individual; a stable macroeconomic environment; transparency and accountability; sound investment and a policy of economic diversification; the protection of oil infrastructure and the networks of the oil industry – both maritime and terrestrial; and environmentally sound management and development. He argued these pillars can form the basis of a policy which presents a social contract that acknowledges that oil and gas are a shared national resource, and as such, need to be governed and developed in the interest of the population as a whole.

The Honorable Eric Williams, MP, Minister of Energy and Energy Industries for Trinidad and Tobago, then offered a practical case study of how a developing nation, such as Trinidad and Tobago, had taken a similar approach and built a sound foundation for long-term sustainable development.

Trinidad and Tobago has a mature oil industry and a growing natural gas industry and is the largest exporter of methanol, ammonia and liquid natural gas to the United States. Energy contributes roughly 33 percent of GDP, 37 percent of revenues and 80 percent of export receipts.

He outlined that the major factors in Trinidad's success have been: a strategic location near a major market – the United States; a stable democracy; a clear and transparent legal

system; a strong fiscal regime; competitive gas prices; transparent decision-making processes; a liberalized currency; a skilled labor force; trade liberalization; and strategic alliances.

He added that it is important that Trinidad and Tobago “enhances its role, and enlarges its capacity to participate in all aspects of the energy business both at home and abroad.” On a national basis this is mirrored by retaining value through local ownership and financial control – currently local value is about ten percent - he said that increasing this figure will have a tremendous impact on the local economy”. He offered the example of three major engineering and design projects taking place in Trinidad, including the development of two major offshore platforms, and a 74 km pipeline. Economically this has resulted in growth in real GDP of 6.2 percent, an unemployment rate of less than 10 percent, and a current account surplus of 11 percent of GDP, resulting in a doubling of external reserves in recent years to three billion dollars in 2004.

These economic successes are matched by social indicators including: an adult literacy rate of 98.5 percent; a net primary school enrollment ratio of 94 percent; and net secondary school enrollment of 68 percent. The United Nations Development Programme Human Development Report ranks Trinidad and Tobago 54th of 177 nations, with many indicators comparable to Norway, the United States and Australia.

Questions and Answers

The participants highlighted the need to reframe the relationship between international companies and host governments. They noted that the greater involvement of western companies in downstream business interests could mitigate security concerns, and support the long-term development of industry and national economies.

Participants asked how the policies can effectively engage the community, and how to limit the friction between economic concerns and local people. In response the speakers recognized that in many countries this tension is a reality which will remain for some period of time, as long as local people feel it is in their own economic interest. However they added that this is a critical time, and it is important not to allow these funds to be squandered. Governments have to put in place sound economic policies and procedures and create funds for the future, drawing on the example of Botswana and Trinidad and Tobago in recognizing the potential of resources and forming partnerships with the private sector.

CLOSING CEREMONY

General Carlton W. Fulford Jr., USMC (Ret.), Director, Africa Center for Strategic Studies

The Honorable John Campbell, U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria

His Excellency Rabiū Musa Kwankwaso, Minister of Defense of Nigeria

At the conclusion of what he described as “a truly memorable week” the Director of the Africa Center General Carlton W. Fulford Jr., USMC (Ret), commended participants for their commitment to finding lasting solutions to Africa’s energy and security challenges.

He offered his congratulations to the newly inaugurated Africa Center alumni chapter in Nigeria for their commitment to maintaining the friendships, which had been developed at the seminar. General Fulford also thanked the government of Nigeria, who had supported the seminar as co-hosts.

The U.S. Ambassador the Honorable John Campbell thanked the Government of Nigeria and everyone who had played a role in ensuring the week was a success. He commended the participants for their deliberations on an issue that is urgent and challenging both to Africa and to the wider world. He said the week had begun with a simple question “is it a curse or a blessing? After a week of vigorous discussion, he concluded that it is a blessing. The seminar had critically evaluated both sides of the debate, and identified ways in which Africa’s petroleum sector could be more secure, productive and relevant to the continent’s economic and political aspirations. The Ambassador believed the work that had been done during the week would play a role in ensuring that the resources of Africa are effectively used and efficiently managed to create a prosperous, bright and sustainable future for all Africans.

It fell to His Excellency Rabiū Musa Kwankwaso, Minister of Defense to draw the seminar to a close. He said the seminar had helped to seal the ties of friendship between the Africa Center, the Nigerian government and the distinguished participants gathered from different countries. He noted that by identifying the key elements of a sustainable energy strategy, he believed that the seminar had enhanced the path of peace and the prospects for economic development in Africa.

CAPSTONE EXERCISE

The Capstone Exercise was designed to provide participants with an opportunity to apply the concepts and strategies discussed throughout the seminar. After a week of debate, examination, analysis and sharing of experiences, participants were asked to synthesize the information and apply best practices to the problems they face every day as policy-makers and practitioners.

The exercise offered participants an opportunity to: (a) demonstrate an awareness of key internal and external threats facing the energy sector in developing countries; (b) develop adequate and appropriate strategies to mitigate these threats; and (c) understand the key institutional and resource prerequisites for effective implementation.

Capstone Group 1

Government of Tiffania : National Energy Strategy Paper

Context

Tiffania is a developing country located in the Capstone region of Africana with a population of 16 million. The country gained independence in 1961 shares a common border on the south east with Rassmunia. Though rich in hydrocarbon resources, mainly gas, the majority of its population is living in abject poverty and multiple deprivation. For over forty years, under the totalitarian regime of President Makasa, the government has earned a notoriety of human right abuses including brutal suppression of civil unrests and opposition groups advocating for democratic freedoms and a right to have an equitable share of the country's wealth. Since the mid 1960's, revenues from the natural gas exports, accounting for 80% of GDP has been the subject of widespread mismanagement and institutional corruption. Not surprisingly, ethnic groups from the north-west gas-rich region constitute the dominant power elite. The route of the 5000 km pipeline from Uptown to Altown was once the land of an agrarian community made up of 15 small villages. These poor farmers were forcibly relocated into the north eastern desert zone with impunity. Meager compensations claims for the forcible and compulsory acquisition are still to be settled. This is not to mention the environmental damage that this project had caused to the bio-diversity and ecosystem in the area. The repression has led to displacement of several thousands internally displaced persons and refugees across as well as with thousand. In the absence of government support, emergency relief assistance is being provided by extremist groups. While the government is concerned about the spread of extremism in the desert regions, it lacks the capacity to bring this development under control. On the contrary, opposition groups are now forging alliances with organized criminal networks to sabotage storage facilities, including pipeline attacks.

In recent years however, a number of political and economic factors have led to a sudden upturn in the fortunes of the totalitarian regime. The former colonial power Gratania, which has been instrumental in propping up the regime over the years for economic and

geopolitical reasons, has signaled the need for urgent democratic, political and economic reforms in line with the millennium Development Goals, and in response to the growing unrest and pressure from international human rights groups. Furthermore, with the depletion of the gas reserves the government has found the prospects of a \$150 billion investment by the Consortium of major oil companies in the capstone region as a wonderful opportunity to open up for good governance and judicious use of the countries natural resources. In any case, the potential investors have signaled that without significant reforms, they are unlikely to invest in the development of the newly-discovered offshore oil deposits. President Makasa has signaled his commitment to take full advantage of this historic opportunity. He has made it clear to his cabinet and power elite that there is no other option. It is either to accept change or die.

Accordingly, he has instructed without reservation that a new National Energy Strategy should be developed in the wider context of political and economic reforms for which the Government is fully committed. He has underscored the need for a comprehensive strategy and programme that will leverage on gas and future oil wealth for the development of the country, the fostering of a new social contract with the people, diversification of the economy and job creation being the main cornerstone. In appointing a national drafting committee, the President provided the following further guiding principles for the strategy:

- Improving welfare of the people of Tiffania
- Eliminating injustice and inequalities
- Promoting stable macro-economic reform
- Establishing policy of full disclosure
- Protecting the production infrastructure of the gas and oil industry
- Protecting the environment

Domestic and Regional Threats

The main threats in the formulation of the strategy have been analyzed in the context of both national stability and human security. General discontent among the population and increased civil unrest, if not checked with right-based measures, may create the conditions for rebel activity and targeted armed banditry aimed at the political elite. With rising trend of recent cross-border criminality and arms trafficking there are indications that the law enforcement agencies lack the capacity to police the long and porous border with Rassmunia, a country that has shown sympathy for the down trodden refugees. The authorities have not shown much interest to promote cross-border security its neighbour. Attacks on gas installation infrastructure are becoming frequent and there is a risk that continued instability may lead to a military coup or external incursion to overthrow the totalitarian regime.

Furthermore, with 80% of the population living below the poverty line, multiple-deprivation has become too glaring on account of neglect and lack of investment in social services and basic infrastructure. Government repression over the years has led o a state of affairs where the majority of the population is marginalized and excluded from

political decision making. With continued displacement of the affected population and refugee influx across the border into Rassmunia, the incidence of human suffering and human right abuses, particularly to vulnerable women and children has become a major concern for the international community. The spread of HIV/AIDs is now alarming and unless urgent measures are taken, a humanitarian disaster lies on the horizon

Strategy for Mitigating Domestic and Regional Threats

The definition of a timetable for free and fair presidential and parliamentary elections will be crucial as a basis to initiate rapprochement with opposition and dissident groups and elicit their full participation in the transition process. This initial confidence building measure will be anchored with a sustained sensitization programme to mobilize support for the transition programme. The aim will be promoting political freedom within civil society as part of the reform process, and creating space for civil society to participate fully in the new dispensation. Other key priorities will include negotiating a cooperation pact with Rassmunia on cross border security and for the establishment of a joint commission for the security of oil and gas installations, with the support of major oil companies and the IMO.

Pending and during the transition process, effort should not be spared in strengthening the capacity of law enforcement agencies to provide effective , accountable right-based public services with a focus on community policing to building confidence and promote consensus building. While his is going on the Ministry of internal affairs will spearhead the institution of decentralized and participatory decision making with the direct involvement of the marginalized communities to help reduce risks of conflict by providing political space to address grievances and aspirations. While the national naval capability to ensure maritime security will be maintained, the military capacity for disaster management particularly in the managing of oils spills will .

To complement these home land stability measures, adequate domestic resources must be allocated to initiate practical measures to narrow ethnic and regional disparities, including equitable provision of services and basic infrastructure to the people, as well as immediate compensatory payments to the disadvantaged and groups forcibly dispossessed of their land. As a measure of its political commitment, the government has recently acceded to active participation in the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, including the adoption of necessary legislation to ensure transparency in the flow of public funds, ad accountability for how oil and gas revenues are spent or distributed.

With these homeland driven initiatives, to be financed from the national budget, the stage will be set to request for the support of the international donor community, including the United Nations, the World Bank and the IMF, in the reform process. The government will also optimize President Bush's Millennium challenge opportunities. Initially the focus will be on humanitarian and health concerns such as HIV/AIDs and polio and malaria roll-up programmes, mainly through NGOs and civil society. However, as further significant measures are taken to improve governance, mainly in the realm of civil

liberties, political rights, accountability and anti-corruption success, the international community will be requested to provide medium to long term needs stabilization and structural adjustment assistance. This support will include new investment in human capital, public sector management and environmental impact assessment for all energy and development projects. The medium to long term development vision will be based on poverty reduction in line with the millennium development goals, the development of the agricultural sector and the attainment of food self-sufficiency being the corner stone. The diversification of the economy to reduce reliance on gas revenues will also be pursued vigorously. Policies aimed at no-red tape support to indigenous and foreign entrepreneurial development will be encouraged.

Financing Plan

It is obvious that mismanagement of our resources, corruption, huge government expenditure on law and order and dwindling reserves have conspired to ‘eat ‘ our resources to the detriment of the welfare of TIFFANIANS. At the moment we rely heavily on gas exports (80%). Food and fuel which could be produced in TIFFANIA constitute 70% of our imports and government expenditure on defence, law and order is 55% while the social and economic sectors expenditure is only 25%. Government must generate sufficient domestic revenue and redistribute them by doing the following:

- a. Eliminate ‘Ghost names’ from government employment
- b. Reduce civil service staff in order to improve efficiency and reduce unnecessary bureaucracy.
- c. Broaden the tax base and improve tax collection
- d. Streamline government procurement procedures to reduce cost and reduce corruption.
- e. Demand and enforce the principles of accountability and transparency through laws and publishing of oil revenues and expenditure together with audited reports and contracts between government and companies.
- f. Increase non – oil revenues through down stream activities and revamping the agriculture industry.
- g. Reduce food and fuel imports in the long term by refining our own oil and procuring more food
- h. Seek the support and cooperation of international financial institutions including relief from our massive debt burden.

Government expenditure could be altered as follows:

Social Sectors	-	20%
Economic Sector	-	20%
Infrastructure	-	10%
Law and Order	-	15%
Defence	-	15%
Others including Environment	-	10%
Debt Servicing	-	10%

Total = 100%

Possible threats to the Sustainability of the Proposed Strategy

Governance and Democratization

- Entrenched corruption
- Power elite that feels threatened and not fully committed to the new dispensation
- Opposition groups demanding nothing less than resignation of the totalitarian regime to be replaced by an interim government
- Indications that the international community is opposed to political amnesty to both government agents and dissident groups that have committed grave human rights abuses.

Resource availability and allocation

- Unwillingness of elite to use windfall gains in gas proceeds to finance long term political and economic reform.
- Oil companies that may not be committed to an agenda that goes beyond their immediate and short term interests
- Dwindling gas deposits and revenues to sustain the reform and change process

Regional Collaboration

- Historical ideological and religious differences militating against genuine inter-state cooperation in energy security and wider governance and development issues.

Capstone Group 2

Rassmunia Joint Strategy

Issues of Concern to Civil Society

General

- Neglect of the agricultural sector leading to unemployment and associated unrest
- Political instability and unrest, Elections, which are not free and fair.
- Secession by the people of Komodo
- Corruption and lack of transparency in Governance
- Suppression of human rights, heavy handedness by the military
- National reconciliation
- **Women issues**
 - Mostly in agriculture so bear the brunt of the difficulties in the agricultural sector
 - Presumably lack of education (from appropriations on social sectors)
 - Health, etc
 - Economic empowerment
- **Traditional leaders**
 - Royalties not paid
 - See no development by the Government. Lack of social services and
 - Agitation by the people (youth especially) on lack of opportunities for the future.
 - Threat to traditional authority and values as a result of the unrest.
 -
- **Religious leaders**
 - Lack of morality in the society
 - Corruption and waste.
 - Agitations in the society for fundamental changes to governance (strikes). Society on the brink of collapse.
- **Human rights (NGO)**
 - Transparency in the use of oil wealth. Need for accountability to the people.
 - Heavy handedness by the military
 - Better military-civil relations
 - Election franchise and its fairness (opportunities for all inclusiveness)
 - Secession by the people of Komondo.
 - Unemployment and discontent
 - Influx of refugees
 - Health issues HIV (women and traditional authorities)
 - Conflict with indigenes
 - Skill training for the unemployed.
 -

Linkages among the main domestic and regional threats

National Stability

1. Politics (fair elections etc) are required for national stability.
2. Influx of refugees from Tiffania
3. Piracy on the coast
4. Lack of employment opportunities, including skill training etc
5. Neglect of agriculture leading to large unemployment

Human Security

6. Lack of transparency in use of oil wealth. Economic opportunities are not there
7. Lack of social infrastructure, health education,
8. Lack of personal freedom and human rights

Petroleum Industry

9. Marine piracy and threat
10. Local agitations, Komondo secession, youth and militants, unemployment etc.
11. Lack of transparency in the use of oil revenues
12. Human rights

Merits and Demerits of strategies

Domestic

- Create economic and social opportunities, i.e. agric, education and health, infrastructure, etc
- Create political avenues for change (fair opportunities in the electoral process)
- More transparency in the use of oil wealth
- Significant investment in infrastructure.

Regional

- Joint patrols of maritime environment
- Improved trade with neighbours
- Better relations with Tiffania to reduce the militant drift to Rassmunia. That has to be an objective.
-

Role of National and regional stakeholders

- Traditional authorities
- Civil society
 - Collaborate to make Govt more accountable
 - Engrave anti corruption into law
 - Ensure human rights are in force
 - Lobby Parliament to pass laws that protect human rights
 - Transparency in oil wealth usage.
 - Fairness in the investment in infrastructure.
- Business Community

Key elements of the Strategy

1. *Improving the welfare of people*
2. *Stable macroeconomic environment*
3. *God Governance, and rule of law, no corruption*
4. Use Oil wealth to leverage development and economic diversity (avoid Dutch disease).
5. Protect oil infrastructure
6. Environmental protection
7. Social contract; use the resource wisely for all.

Add value to original resource
Capacity and institution building
Local content capture

Capstone Group 3

Tiffania Joint Strategy

Our strategy both to address common problems of instability and to recognize and to encourage investment and foreign aid. To achieve these goals we have negotiated the following key agreements with our neighbour, Rassmunia :

1. A joint security agreement to secure our borders and to reduce defense spending in order to reallocate these resources to priority sectors, particularly political reform, infrastructure improvement, and economic restructuring.
2. A joint petroleum zone development agreement in order to foster more certainty for the oil investors. As part of this agreement both Rassmunia and Tiffania require the investors to observe international environmental standards and also to refrain from flaring gas. The conserved gas will be diverted to generate electricity. Furthermore, we require that they commit to providing local employment opportunities to a reasonable level.

Sector Objectives

These agreements will enable us to address our own governance, structural, economic, and social challenges to the extent possible. It is hoped that these measures will demonstrate that we are committed to reform in such a way that the international donor community will be more willing to help us to help ourselves. The specific targets of our strategy are outlined by functional area in this section.

Good Governance : As a matter of priority we will hold free and fair legislative and presidential elections within 18 months. We invite the AU to supervise these elections and will welcome observers from the international community. In the meantime, we will undertake measures to improve governance in full and open consultation with all stakeholders to achieve the following:

- Democratic and Constitutional Reform undertaken with international advice and supervision;
- Enhanced Rule of Law ;
- Independent Judiciary ;
- Transparency ;
- Strengthen legal processes and legislative framework ; and
- Freedom of the press.

Infrastructure : We recognize that infrastructure improvement is necessary to create a better environment for our population, industry, and business. To that end we identify the following areas as our priority :

- Improve our road, rail, air network as well as upgrade our port facilities ;

- Increase our electric power generation capacity through Independent Power Plant Programs negotiated as part of the Block Bidding Processes ; and
- Increase the availability of potable water distribution systems.

Economic Reform : We will take steps to develop an economy that will be fundamentally stable and as resistant to commodity price shock as is reasonably possible. The goals of this reform are to create a business and industrial environment that will allow our citizens to prosper and will situate Tiffania as a safe and profitable place for foreign interests to invest. Specifically we will implement the following :

- Adopt IMF Standards in order to attract Direct Foreign Investment and World Bank Funding ;
- Diversification of the economy to reduce dependence on the energy sector ; and
- Develop our foreign exchange policy as well as building a Stabilization Fund to safeguard us against unforeseen financial and monetary crises.

Social Programs : We recognize that we have a responsibility to improve the conditions that our population lives in so that they may be able to enjoy healthy and prosperous lives in a safe and secure environment. However, we also realize that we have limited resources and that the international donor community has specific skills that could help us to address our challenges. To that end, we encourage support from international donors such as the IMF, the World Bank, and others to help us manage the following social policy challenges :

- Implement a program to disarm and resettle refugees on both sides of the border in their respective countries ;
- Develop a system of healthcare that is universally accessible to all citizens ;
- Enact housing programs to provide accomodation for all people ;
- Improve literacy, basic, secondary, and tertiary education ;
- Conduct enviromental assessments and implement environmental remediation measures ;
- Develop programs to promote income generation activities in villages, especially for women ;
- Implement programs to develop small business capability, particularly for women ; and
- Create incentive and support programs to encourage development of small-scale industries.

Law, Order, and Defense : As noted above, our strategy is made possible due to the joint defence and security agreement that we have made with our neighbour, Rassmunia. The stability that this fosters for both countries enables us to reduce our overall expenditure by leveraging off of shared abilities. In order to enact this plan we will as a priority take measures to increase the interoperability of our police, military and intelligence forces. Additionally, we will undertake the following :

- Police reform to increase the confidence of our population in the security forces and also to facilitate the rule of law in our society. We will equip, staff, and train

our police forces to meet international standards. We will include training on human rights standards with the support of the international community;

- Develop our foreign intelligence capabilities as well as increase our regional cooperation and information sharing.

The Budget

In order to enact this progressive and ambitious strategy we will gradually adjust current spending percentages as indicated on the following chart.

Expense	Current Percentage	5 Year Percentage
Defence	25%	20%
Law and Order	30%	25%
Infrastructure	5%	15% + seek international aid
Economic Sectors	10%	17.5%
Social Sectors	15%	22.5% + seek international aid

Possible Threats to Our Strategy

Governance

- Military coup or communal popular uprising against the reform ;
- Vested interests/politicians do not act in good faith ; and
- Delay in pace of implementation.

Resource Availability and Allocation

- Funding projections not met – both internal and external ;
- Donor community does not commit ; and
- Investors dissatisfied with the strategy

Regional/International Collaboration

- Breakdown in bilateral agreement ;
- Breakdown in regional and international collaborative efforts ; and
- Continued fighting that spreads across the border from Rassmunia.

Group Chair : Hannah Owusu-Koranteng

Rapporteur : Lieutenant Colonel Barthélemy Diouf

Capstone Group 4

Rassmunia Joint Strategy

Delegation to Rassmunia you are welcome;
I am honoured to be here to represent my country
And honoured to be presenting our carefully thought through and researched strategic plan to such a distinguished and influential and informed group.

As an introduction to any strategic plan I want to briefly explain the process we have adopted over the past few days to achieve what we sincerely believe represents a robust and deliverable product; one which we are convinced will address your various concerns and instil in you a level of confidence that will engender partnership and an exciting and profitable future.

We have engaged with our country all the stakeholders, from both Government and Financial institutions, and separately Civil Society and the common citizen. We have also, equally importantly, engaged the contribution from international stakeholders from the region ECOWAS and further a field from AU and UN and specialised consultants on Political Stability reviews, Environmental Impact and Human Rights.

Their evaluation and support is documented separately in our submission.

What did we consider? Identify the linkages among the main domestic and regional threats to:

A. National Stability – under National Stability we considered:

1. Security Concerns

- Refugees from Tiffania
- Piracy and banditry on River and coastal
- Militant Groups (cross border)
- Border weakness, leading, drugs, arms, migrants, crime etc

2. Social Concerns

- Lack of Employment opportunities
- Non oil sector economy collapsing
- Western Agriculturists
- Independence Activists from Komodo

3. Democratic/Governance Concerns

- Corruption – oil loss
- Oil Companies links with extremist group
- Election mechanism – fixed,

B. Human Security

- Education
- Health
- Child care
- Freedom and Human Rights
- Environment rural impact
- Employment – economic opportunities
- Confidence and stability of Gov
- Displaced Workforce
 - Breakdown of traditional lifestyles and ‘values?’
 - Threat to stable employment
 - Health stability

And C. The Petroleum Industry

- Security of persons and Assets
- Transparency of oil trading
- Criminal activities, Threat from Militants, communities,
- Reliability of Policing and GSF
- Performance of State and commercial security providers
- Union labour issues
- Aviation Maritime security,
- Communications, and utility reliability
- License and permit issues (Imm, Tax, Customs etc)

The Analysis of Strategies – we have spent considerable time reviewing the most targeted and focused strategies and identified the following key issues:

A. Domestic Strategies

- Internal National Reconciliation – action plan for development (Agrig, Health, Ed, etc) and a fund to focus on the regions
- Economic Reform and Diversification
- Internal Affairs, Policing, Judiciary, Political Process, Good governance, and Rule of Law
- Public Safety
- Environmental Security

B. Regional/collaborative strategies

- Defence Strategy
- Trans-border incident
- Terrorism
- Foreign Affairs with neighbours
- Refugee Problem

Analyze the roles of all National and International stakeholders

National

- Gov – maintain unity, develop trust and assurance, good governance
- People – general citizens, students, unions, unemployed – satisfied that they are been taken care of and can exist in a peaceful environment,
- Oil Effected Communities – maintain peaceful existence, and ensure they have a fare share of investment opportunities; and social and economic opportunities
- Militants – disruptive, but need to change opinions of their supporters to bring change through peaceful means

International Stakeholders

- The neighbouring nations – maintain peace across the border, and to cooperate economically for greater good of the communities, sharing common infrastructure
- Investor community (Oil, Banks, etc) - provide funding, ensure international standards, monitory and otherwise, development of communities, education, employment,
- Regional Organisations e.g. ECOWAS, AU – apply standards, regional policing of practice and policy
- International Orgs e.g. UN, IFI “World bank” – transparent monitory audit, and review
- NGO – to represent the civil society

We have considered as the highest priority the following strategies

Identify and Allocate Resources to implement Strategies (Above)

- Organize National Reconciliation conference – opportunity various Gov Dept plans
- Refugees – camps’ Plan for integrating, or voluntary repatriation program
- Reform of the security forces
- Set up a program to combat corruption
- Improve infrastructures
- Reform of the Judiciary, training of LE, and deployment, adequate resources
- Adoption a more adapted laws
- Committee for new policies on Women and Children
- Trust fund for oil revenues
- Institute environment impact assessment - How to do it
- Transparency
- Allocations of resources – in correct quantities in communities
- Establish regional joint committee for transnational/border control

And to achieve this we have assembled the following budget split, to demonstrate the way in which the new revenue will be invested to ensure sustainability

Budget Allocations

National Security – Amount 10%

National dialogue to achieve some reconciliation in society
Police reinforcement in personal and equip improve on physical sy
Resolve refugee problem – also sy problem
Troop redeployment to reinforce border region/security

Ministry of Justice - Amounts 20%

Capacity building for ministry, limited reforms, to be able to deliver
Review of electoral process
Review of Judicial system
Review of legislation on Immigration and investment code
HR issues – strengthen through legislation
Enforcement of legislation on HR, Rule of Law, and Democracy
Review of democratic process itself, “Due Process”

Ministry of Economy and Reconstruction - Amount 60%

Reactivation and diversify the Agriculture sector
Improve on infrastructure of the country - road, telecommunication, general utilities, etc
water, open up countryside, road network, access
Education and Health – improving on schools, health delivery,
Environment impact and enforcement

And finally emergencies contingency and reserve amount 10%

Risks/Threats to the sustainability of the proposed strategy

[Part of our research and planning showed that without careful management threats that exist could impact on our joint success and we jointly need to address these risks and produce robust risks management strategies, together]

Governance and democratization –

- Weak or ineffective and none responsive Gov
- Lack of transparency in governance
- Lack of confidence by international investors and organizations
- Labor unrest
- Loss of democratic control of the military

Resource availability and allocation

- Disruption of revenue flow, internal, terrorism,
- Unstable oil market
- International sanctions, embargos etc

Regional Collaboration

- Strained relationship with neighboring states
- Instability in neighboring country or near region
- Regional natural disaster

In summation:

The efforts to institutionalise joint efforts covering commonalities between out two countries is expected to lead to safety and well-being of our common citizenry and economic development that will benefit both nations and the region.

- Constant vigilance to early recognition of national risks
- Joint monitoring, informal or formal, to deliver early warning of regional issues

Capstone Group 5

The National Energy Strategy Paper for the Country of Tiffania

Introduction

The sovereign state of Tiffania has been independent since 1960. Since then it has had a series of governments, all of which have been democratic. Whilst the continued democracy of Tiffania is to be commended, particularly in view of the fact that practically all her neighbours have experienced extensive military rule, Tiffania has had her share of problems, which have led to her not yet being able to attain her true potential. It must be admitted that at times, past governments have been repressive and this has affected national development. Notwithstanding vast reserves of natural gas, discovered since the 1950s, the country is not as developed as it could have been. Most of Tiffania lacks reasonable infrastructure and social services. In addition revenues from the gas industry have not been utilised optimally by the previous governments. Tiffania has also suffered from unrest and instability as a result of ethnic strife in the 1990s.

The natural gas reserves are on the decline. However substantial oil deposits were recently discovered offshore west of Al Town, the nation's capital. This newly elected government is determined to utilise all the opportunities that it has for the good of the people of the country and to ensure that the nation's resources are used for their upliftment. Tiffania now stands at the dawn of a new era of reform and diversification and national reconciliation

In recognition of the needs and aspirations of the country of Tiffania the government, on behalf of the people, resolved to prepare a National Energy Strategy Paper. A high level Ministerial Committee was set up which was presided by the President of Tiffania, and comprised all the members of the cabinet. The Committee held a series of meetings over a period of six months and deliberated extensively on the necessary components for a strategy that would be for the ultimate good of the state. This paper is the result of this effort.

Objectives of the Tiffania Energy Strategy

The Energy Strategy has been created in line with the following strategic objectives, identified as being of paramount importance to the state.

1. To ensure that people benefit from the natural resources of the state, through good governance, and the implementation of policies that place people at the centre of the state's aspirations.
2. To respect the rule of law and human rights.
3. To promote transparency and combat corruption.
4. To attract investments into all sectors of the economy, from donor agencies and the private sector.

5. To promote the stability of Tiffania through measures aimed at creating an atmosphere of peace and reconciliation throughout the land and between all the people, wherever they may reside, irrespective of ethnicity.
6. To promote the stability and security of energy supplies paying special attention to the provision of safe, affordable and efficient energy supply; ensuring the security of people, industries, infrastructure and installations within the state so as to protect and attract investments; and at all times ensuring the protection of the environment..

The Vision Statement of Tiffania

The NESP has been drafted in accordance with this Vision Statement.

“We see an empowered and well educated people who are involved in all areas of decision-making and who are partakers in the development processes of the state. We recognize positive investments in the well-being and advancement of the people as the most important investments that can be made by any government. We embrace the spirit of national reconciliation and appreciate that decentralisation of the government provides the only guarantee that socio-cultural and other factors predisposing to national unity will be taken into account.”

The National Energy Strategy

The National Energy Strategy Plan shall be based on the following structures and shall be in line with the following objectives, stated below according to their sectors of primary application.

Governmental Structures

The NASG has been drafted in line with the following overarching policy objectives that the government recognizes and is committed to:

1. Decentralisation and Regional Autonomy. Tiffania shall be broken into four regions with representatives to act on their behalf. Each region shall have four local governments.
2. Decentralisation of decision-making processes in the state through regional and sub-regional assemblies.
3. The establishment of a Fund For The Future, an innovative arrangement that will reduce the debt burden of the state through the use of debt buy-back mechanisms. The modalities of this Fund are currently being worked upon by the Minister of Finance.
4. A creation of a stable, transparent and easily ascertainable legal environment.
5. A transparent and corruption-free environment.

Defence and Security

1. As a first step the government will, at the earliest opportunity, convene an Extraordinary Meeting for all concerned parties to freely and frankly discuss the problems of armed attacks, conflicts and disturbance within the state and proffer solutions.
2. The retraining of the state security forces shall commence immediately. The main aims are twofold. First is for these forces to be sensitized and aware of civil liberties, human rights and limitations of their power. The government believes that this retraining will create a more effective force that will operate in accordance with the spirit of national reconciliation. Secondly the security forces will commence a program of regular training to ensure that they can effectively protect the people and the industries and petroleum installations all over the country.
3. The government will improve the conditions of service of the Police Force, even as it commences the process of decentralization.
4. Corruption in the armed forces and police will be actively combated and every effort made to eradicate it.
5. The government will examine existing regulations on the entry of non-nationals, so as to encourage the inflow of investors and friendly visitors, and discourage the inflow of those who might tend to destabilize the nation.

Foreign Affairs

1. A major plank of Tiffania's foreign affairs will be sub-regional cooperation particularly in the areas of defence, internal affairs and the environment.
2. In the near future Tiffania will enter into cooperative arrangements for the defense of the Capstone region with the government of Rassmunia.

Agriculture

1. The NESp shall emphasise and aggressively ensure that comprehensive education as to better and more effective methods of farming is available to farmers in all areas of the country, and shall also promote access to loans and grants for farmers.
2. Pilot Learning Sites shall commence for farmers and those involved in agricultural areas. These will provide for internationally renowned researchers to be invited to work with the farmers to develop processes that will assist in increases in productivity and in the development of new markets for their products.

Infrastructure

Major efforts will be put into the provision of infrastructure in all areas of the country, with emphasis being placed on the maintenance and expansion of the road and telecommunications networks. The electricity grid will be expanded and appropriate

energy for rural communities will be a priority. The government will work at providing access to safe and clean water for all the people.

Finance

1. The Ministry of Finance shall recommend how the state will be able to allocate 50% of the total budget to health education and social infrastructure at the end of the next three years.
2. Two major monitoring institutions shall be established, one for the monitoring and evaluation of state projects, and the other for the purpose of combating illicit enrichment.

Energy and Environment

The Country shall be concerned with

1. The provision of reliable affordable and efficient energy throughout the country, through the use of appropriate conventional or alternative renewable energy sources, as the case may be. This shall entail discouraging the use of woodfuel.
2. Drafting a comprehensive National Environmental Act, which shall incorporate issues of regulation and shall primarily focus on the prevention of all types of pollution. In the event of pollution the law shall provide for effective clean-up mechanisms and for the payment of compensation to affected persons. It shall also regulate the procedure for environmental impact assessment and provide for international dispute resolution.
3. Tiffania shall adopt environmental security practices of either the United States of America or the European Union with the intent to maintain the environmental standards of developed countries. Adoption of such standards will provide predictable environmental protection standards for petrochemical companies while maintaining the highest standards of environmental protection for our country.

Health

1. There shall be reform of the health sector through the improvement of hospitals and community health centers. The funds needed for this should be derived by a reduction in the defense budget.
2. The state shall provide for the needs of internally displaced persons and work towards the resolution of the factors that led to this displacement, and facilitate the peaceful and successful return of these persons to their places of habitual residence.

Education

1. The state is committed towards ensuring basic education for all in the first instance.

2. The development of indigenous capability for high technology innovations shall be encouraged.

The Budget

The current budget for Tiffania is in accordance with the following percentages:

Social Sectors (health, education, housing)	15%
Economic Sectors (oil and gas, agriculture)	10%
Infrastructure (roads/bridges, communications, electricity)	5%
Law and Order	30%
Defence	25%
Other	15%

It is the desire of the government to gradually increase expenditure in the social and economic sectors, and infrastructure up to fifty per cent of the total budget over the next three years. The percentages for the various sectors would then be as follows:

Social Sectors (health, education, housing)	17%
Economic Sectors (oil and gas, agriculture)	16%
Infrastructure (roads/bridges, communications, electricity)	17%
Law and Order	20%
Defence	20%
Debt Repayment	5%
Other	5%

We believe that the needs of Tiffania will be served through reduced expenditure on defence, law and order, coupled with an increase in the stated areas. We welcome constructive discussion and input on this Paper as the desire of this government is, above all, to create an energy strategy that will benefit the state of Tiffania and its people, and encourage the inflow of funds from donors and investors

APPENDIX 1: SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS

African Country Representatives/Représentants des pays africains

Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria / République démocratique et populaire d'Algérie

Mr. Mohammed Bachir Ghanem
Directeur du Patrimoine Énergétique et Mines
Ministère de l'Énergie et des Mines

Colonel Azzeddine Ouis
Chargé de la sécurité des
installations énergétiques
Ministère de la Défense
Nationale

Republic of Angola / République d'Angola

General António Egídio de Sousa Santos
Chefe da Direcção Principal de Educação Patriótica
Forças Armadas Angolanas/Estado Maior General
Ministério da Defesa Nacional

**Dr. Francisco Monteiro
Queiroz**
Professor Membro
Centro de Estudos Estratégicos
de Angola

Republic of Cameroon / République du Cameroun

Capitaine de Vaisseau Bob Thomas Ebua
Major Général de la Marine
Marine Nationale
Ministère de la Défense
Etat-Major de la Marine

Republic of Chad / République du Tchad

Colonel Mahamat Garfa
Officier Supérieur Chargé de Liaison
Coordination
nationale projet pétrole
Ministère de la Défense Nationale

Mr. Paul Mbainodoum
Coordinateur National Adjoint
du Projet Pétrole de
Doba Ministère du Pétrole
Coordination Nationale du
Projet d'Exportation Tchadien

Republic of the Congo / République du Congo

Colonel Ambroise Mopendza

Directeur Général de l'administration et des finances
Ministère de la Défense

Arab Republic of Egypt / République arabe d'Egypte

Mr. Ashraf Mohamed Hamdy

Counselor
African Department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

General Mohamad Ahmed

Abd Elfattah
Assistant Manager
Cairo Civil Defence
Ministry of Interior

Republic of Equatorial Guinea / République de Guinée équatoriale

Contralmirante Vicente Olomo Eya

Segundo Jefe de Estado Mayor Fas
Ministerio de Defensa Nacional

Gabonese Republic / République gabonaise

Mr. Charles Allogho

Conseiller technique du Ministre du Pétrole
Chargé de la Gestion de la Propriété Pétrolière
Ministère des Mines, de l'Energie, du Pétrole
et des ressources hydrauliques

Capitaine de Frégate Paul

Bivigou-Nziéngui
Directeur Général du génie
militaire
Ministère de la Défense
Nationale

Republic of Ghana / République du Ghana

Mr. Emmanuel Antwi-Darkwa

Director, Power
Ministry of Energy

Lt.Col William Azure Ayamdo

Director of Defence Intelligence
Ministry of Defence

Republic of Madagascar / République de Madagascar

Major General Guy Samoela Andriamanantsoa
Secrétaire Général
Ministère de la Défense Nationale

Mr. Elisé Alitera Razaka
Directeur Général
Office des mines nationales et
stratégiques (OMNIS)
Ministère de l'Energie et des
Mines

Republic of Mozambique / République du Mozambique

Commandant Antonio Manuel Pondja
Vice-Commandant
Marechal Samora Moises Machel Military Academy
Ministerio da Defesa Nacional

Federal Republic of Nigeria / République fédérale du Nigéria

Commodore Gboribiogha John Jonah
Director of Academic Research
and Analytical Support
Nigerian National War College
Nigerian Navy

Mr. Felix Egbuniwe Oteka
Deputy Commissioner of Police
Police Mobile Force, Force
Headquarters The Nigeria Police
Force

Air Commodore Femi Sulyman
Director of National and Military Strategy
Nigerian National War College

Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe / République démocratique de São Tomé e Príncipe

Lieutenant Colonel Fernando da Trindade Danquá
Conselheiro do petróleo ao Ministro da Defesa
Ministerio da Defesa e Ordem Interna

Dr. Gilberto Vaz de Andrade
Director do departamento de
formação Polícia Nacional
Ministerio da Defesa e Ordem
Interna

Republic of Senegal / République du Sénégal

Lieutenant Colonel Barthélémy Diouf
Adjoint Directeur du matériel des Armées
Forces Armées
Ministère de la Défense

United Republic of Tanzania / République Unie de Tanzanie

Brigadier General Alfred Lameck Mbowe
Assistant Commissioner for Policy and Planning
Ministry of Defense

Eng. Ngosi Charlestino Xavier Mwiha
Assistant Commissioner
Renewable Energy
Ministry of Energy and Minerals

Republic of Tunisia / République de Tunisie

Colonel Moncef Helali
Chef de division
Ministère de la Défense Nationale

Mr. Mohamed Habib Zgoulli
Directeur adjoint
Observatoire nationale de
Ministère de l'industrie, de
l'énergie et des petites et
moyennes entreprises

European Country Representatives/Représentants des pays européens

Kingdom of Denmark / le Danemark

Mr. Arne Biering
Adviser, Danish Defence Staff
Ministry of Defence

French Republic / République française

Colonel Michel Jean-Pierre Pouly
Attaché de Défense
Ambassade de France

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland / le Royaume Uni

Mr. Alisdair James Walker
Political Officer (Energy Security)
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
British High Commission - Nigeria

Other Country Representatives/Représentants d'autres pays

Canada / le Canada

Mr. Peter Francis Johnston

Defence Analyst
Directorate of Strategic Analysis
Department of National Defence

United States Representatives/Représentants des Etas-Unis d'Amérique

Mr. Michael Brown

International Port Security Directorate
Coast Guard Headquarters
U.S. Coast Guard

Lt.Col Thomas D. Bruce

Defense Attaché
United States Embassy - Ghana

Mr. Jeffrey Miles Burnam

Special Advisor for Environment and Development
Bureau of African Affairs
United States Department of State

Ambassador Johnnie Carson

Senior Vice President
National Defense University

Commander Linda L. Fagan

Executive Officer, Act/MID Europe
U.S. Coast Guard

Ms. Carolyn Gay

Africa Team Leader
United States Department of
Energy

Mr. John R. Nay

Director, Office of Regional and Security Affairs
Bureau of African Affairs
United States Department of State

**Commander Curtis James
Shaw**

Coast Guard Liaison Officer to
COMNAVEUR
United States European
Command

African Regional and Sub-Regional Organizations/Organizations régionales et sous-régionales africains

Mr. Amadou Diallo

Principal Project Officer / Energy Division
Economic Community of West African States
of (ECOWAS)

**Mr. David Peres Afingigwe
Kajange**

Head, Infrastructure Directorate
Tourism Division
Infrastructure and Energy

Mr. Lionel Ngwessy-Malaga
Expert
Communauté Économique et Monétaire
de l'Afrique Centrale

**Major General Charles Agyei
Okae**
Director of Defence and
Security
Economic Community of West
African States
(ECOWAS)

International Organizations/Organizations internationaux

Lt Col Felix Blanco
Chief
Policy and Liaison Branch
Multinational United Nations Stand-by
Force High Readiness Brigade
(SHIRBRIG)

Dr. Desta Mebratu
Industry Affairs Officer
Regional Office for Africa
United Nations Environment
Programme

Mr. Abubakarr Multi-Kamara
Governance Adviser
United Nations Development Programme - Nigeria

Mr. Albert Yama Nkouna
Geologist / Economist
Subregional Development
United Nations Economic
Commission for Africa

Civil Society/NGO/Société-civiles/ONG

Dr. John Cathie
Assistant Director in Research, Fellow
Wolfson College
University of Cambridge

**Ms. Delphine Kemneloum
Djiraibe**
Membre Association
Tchadienne pour la promotion et
la défense des droits de l'homme

Mr. Ian Gary
Strategic Issues Advisor for Extractive Industries
Policy and Advocacy Department
Catholic Relief Services

Dr. Mohamed Haddy
Professeur Universitaire
Centre d'Études et de Recherche
en Sciences Sociales
Institut National
d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme

**Mr. Brice Mackosso
Omeje**
Secrétaire Permanent Assistant Juridique
Commission Diocesaine et Paix de Pointe Noire

Dr. Kenneth Chukwuemeka
Research Fellow
Africa Centre for Peace &
Conflict Studies
University of Bradford

**Professor Yinka Osayame Omorogbe
Koranteng**
Professor/Head of Department
Department of Public and International Law,
Faculty of Law

Mrs. Hannah Owusu-
Director of Training and
Research
Wassa Association of
Communities Affected by
Mining

**Ambassador Edward J. Perkins
Sulila**
Executive Director,
William J. Crowe Chair Professor of Geopolitics
University of Oklahoma

Mr. Mauricio Xavier Matias
Oficial de Programa
Livaningo

Private Sector/Secteur Privé

Mr. Michael Segou Achu
External Security Liaison
The Shell Petroleum Development
Company of Nigeria Limited

Dr. Rabah Nadir Allouani
Directeur Executif
HSE
SONATRACH

Mr. Paul Stewart Barker
Regional Security Adviser - West Africa
Manager
ChevronTexaco Corporation

Mr. Donald Sotoibi Boham
Corporate External Affairs
The Shell Petroleum
Development Company of
Nigeria Limited

Ms. Monica L. Enfield
Analyst
Markets and Countries Group

Mr. Michael M. Finley
Vice President
New York Sales Office
Merrill Lynch

Mr. Fredrick Endorokeme Owotorufa
Security Operations Manager
ChevronTexaco Corporation

Dr. Iheanyi N. Ohiaeri
General Manager
Corporate Planning and
Business Development

APPENDIX 2: BIOGRAPHIES

Leadership and Facilitators

General (Ret.) Carlton W. Fulford, Jr. began his tenure as the Director of the Africa Center for Strategic Studies in September 2003. He retired from the Marine Corps in February 2003 with the rank of General after serving as Deputy Commander of U.S. European Command, a position that included extensive work on U.S.-Africa relations and travel throughout Africa. Previous assignments have included Commanding General, Fleet Marine Force, Pacific; Commander, U.S. Marine Corps Bases, Pacific headquartered at Camp H.M. Smith, Hawaii (1998-1999); Commanding General, I Marine Expeditionary Force (1996-1998); Commanding General, III Marine Expeditionary Force (1994-1995); Commanding General, 4th Marine Expeditionary Brigade (1991-1992); and Commanding Officer, Task Force Ripper during Operation Desert Shield and Desert Storm (1990-1991). He has served as Director, The Joint Staff (1999-2000); Vice Director, The Joint Staff (1995-1996); and Commanding General, Marine Corps Bases, Japan (1994-1995). General Fulford's personal decorations include the Purple Heart Medal with gold star in lieu of a second award; Defense Distinguished Service Medal with two bronze oak leaf clusters in lieu of second and third awards; Silver Star Medal; Legion of Merit with Combat "V" and gold star in lieu of a second award; Bronze Star Medal with Combat "V". General Fulford received his commission in June 1966, following graduation from the U.S. Naval Academy. He also holds an MS degree from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (United States), and graduated from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, a strategic component of the National Defense University.

Ambassador (Ret.) Peter R. Chaveas currently serves as Deputy Director of the Africa Center for Strategic Studies. Ambassador Chaveas joined the Africa Center in 2004 after retiring from the U.S. Foreign Service. He possesses more than 35 years of U.S. Government experience. His last Foreign Service assignment was as Ambassador to the Republic of Sierra Leone (2001-2004). He has also served as Ambassador to the Republic of Malawi (1994 to 1997). From 1993 to 1994, he was the Director of the Office of West African Affairs and from 1991 to 1993, Director of the Office of Southern African Affairs in the Department of State. Earlier assignments included those in Freetown, Sierra Leone, 1970-1973; Kaduna, Nigeria, 1973-1975; and the Department of State, 1976-1979. In 1980, he was appointed Deputy Chief of Mission in Niamey, Niger and in the absence of an Ambassador, he served as Chargé d'Affaires from 1981 to 1982. From 1982 to 1985, he was the Principal Officer in Lyon, France; from 1985 to 1988, Counselor for Political Affairs in Lagos, Nigeria; and from 1988 to 1990, Principal Officer in Johannesburg, South Africa. Ambassador Chaveas also possesses previous experience with the Department of Defense, having served as the Political Advisor to the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Armed Forces in Europe (1997-2001). Ambassador Chaveas was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He earned a BA (with honors) from Denison University and an MA from Rutgers University (United States), both in political science. He was a Mid-Career Fellow (economics) at the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University (United States) and a member of the Senior

Seminar, the most advanced international affairs training offered by the U.S. Government. From 1968-1970, he was a Peace Corps Volunteer in Chad. Ambassador Chaveas holds the Department of State's Superior and Meritorious Honor Awards and three Senior Performance Awards. He received an Alumni Citation and an Honorary Doctorate of Foreign Service from Denison University (United States). He was awarded the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Joint Distinguished Civilian Service Award in 2001. He is a member of the American Foreign Service Association. He speaks French.

Dr. Monde Muyangwa currently serves as Academic Dean at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies. In this capacity, she manages and oversees all curriculum and program development for the Africa Center, including in the areas of Security Studies, Counter-Terrorism, Civil-Military Relations, Defense Economics, and Conflict Management. Dr. Muyangwa possesses an extensive background in African development and U.S.-Africa relations. Before joining the Africa Center, she worked as Director of Research and then Vice President for Research and Policy at the National Summit on Africa from 1997-2000. There, she was responsible for overseeing the research, writing, and production of the Summit's publications pertaining to U.S.-Africa relations. Prior to joining the Summit, she worked as Director of International Education Programs at New Mexico Highlands University, and as Tutor in African History, Politics and Economics at St. Clare's College, Oxford. She has served as a development and gender consultant, and has worked on a wide range of community development projects in southern Africa in the areas of education, housing, health, and nutrition. She has co-authored, with Margaret Vogt, a publication for the International Peace Academy titled *An Assessment of the Organization of African Unity's Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution*. She holds a PhD in International Relations and a BA in Politics, Philosophy and Economics from the University of Oxford, as well as a BA in Public Administration and Economics from the University of Zambia. She was a Rhodes Scholar, a Wingate Scholar, and the University of Zambia Class of 1986 Valedictory Speaker.

Ambassador P. I. Ayewoh is recently retired from a career spanning over 30 years in the Nigerian Foreign Service. Ambassador Ayewoh began his career with the Nigerian government in 1967 when he was appointed as an external career affairs officer serving as Assistant Secretary to the Ministry of Communications. He has since worked for the government of Nigeria in a variety of roles for the Nigerian High Commission, Nigerian Embassy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, among several other offices. Ambassador Ayewoh began his ambassadorial career when he was appointed Ambassador to Algeria in 1987. He went on to represent the government of Nigeria as Assistant Director-General for the Multilateral Economic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1991-1995); Deputy Director-General for the International Economic Cooperation Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1995-1996); and Director of the International Organizations Department handling all UN & Commonwealth matters at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1996-1999). He then served as Ambassador to the UN offices in Geneva and Ambassador to the WTO from 1999 to 2003. During that time, Ambassador Ayewoh also worked as a representative to the G15 group of countries, as the African Co-ordinator to the UN Commission on Human Rights, as a member of the Nigerian delegation to the World Conference on Racism and Racial Discrimination, and

worked in conjunction on several issues with the African Union (AU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, among other groups. Ambassador Ayewoh received his BS (Hons) in Political Science from the University of Ibadan (Nigeria) in June 1967.

Major General Owoye A. Azazi is currently serving as Commander of the 1st Division in the Nigerian Army. After graduating from the Nigerian Defense Academy in 1974, Major General Azazi was commissioned as a 2nd Lieutenant and appointed to the Nigerian Army Intelligence Corps. He has also served as the Assistant Defence Attaché at the Embassy of Nigeria; worked in the Training and Doctrine Command; and served as a Member of the Directing Staff at the Command and Staff College, among other appointments. In recent years, Major General Azazi has served as Deputy Chief of Defense Intelligence (2001-2002), was a member of the directing staff and then a Principal Staff Officer at the National War College, Nigeria (2001-2003), and served as Director of Military Intelligence (2003-2005). In addition to attending the Nigerian Defense Academy, Major General Azazi received his MSc in Strategic Studies from the University of Ibadan (Nigeria). Since 2003, Major General Azazi has also been a Guest Lecturer at the National War College, and he has also participated in other Africa Center events.

Dr. Kamal A. Beyoghlow joined the Africa Center in April 2004 as Academic Chair of Terrorism and Counter-terrorism. His duties include developing comprehensive counter-terrorism programs and advising the Africa Center Director on terrorism and counter-terrorism issues. He had previously worked as Professor of International Relations at the Marine Corps Command and Staff College (United States) from 1992 to 2004, taught Political Science courses at George Mason University (United States) during that same time, and lectured on international politics at various colleges and universities. After starting his U.S. government career in 1983 with the 4th Psychological Operations Group at Ft. Bragg (North Carolina, United States), he joined the U.S. Department of State in 1986, working on initiating and implementing U.S. counter-terrorism policy for the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean regions, including North Africa. He is the recipient of several U.S. government service awards, including a 2004 U.S. Superior Civilian Service Award, and a 2002 State Department Certificate of Appreciation for his contributions to its Public Diplomacy Program on the ongoing War on Terrorism. Dr. Beyoghlow earned his undergraduate degree from San Diego State University (United States), his MA from Tufts University (United States) in cooperation with the Fletcher School of International Law and Diplomacy, and his PhD from the University of California at Berkeley (United States). Fluent in Arabic, Dr. Beyoghlow has traveled in Europe, Mexico, most countries in the Middle East and North Africa, and parts of Sub-Saharan Africa.

Ms. Fatoumata Diallo currently serves as a Management Consultant for SATEH (Société Sud Africaine de Télécommunications, d'Énergie & d'Hydraulique), a South African firm specializing in telecommunications, energy and hydraulics. During the past two years, Ms. Diallo was the Manager of the PCASED Liaison Office (Programme of Coordination and Assistance for Security and Development) at the ECOWAS Secretariat

in Abuja, Nigeria, working on the implementation of the ECOWAS Moratorium on the Importation, Exportation and Manufacture of Small Arms and Lights Weapons in West Africa and on all issues related to peace and security in the sub-region. Previously, Ms. Diallo has served as a Programme Manager for the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) in Conakry, Guinea (2001-2003); as a Project Coordinator for the Ministry of Health and Social Services of Quebec, Canada (1996-1997). Ms. Diallo has also served as a Consultant, collaborating with many international organizations including the ECOWAS FUNDS and USAID. Ms. Diallo received her BA from the University of Laval (Canada) in Political Sciences, an MMgmt Degree in public Administration from the National School of Public Administration, ENAP (Canada) in Public Administration and a Postgraduate Diploma from ENAP in Projects Management. Ms. Diallo has participated in several Africa Center events.

Colonel Robert Esposti is the senior French representative to the Africa Center for Strategic Studies. He is a French Marine Corps officer who has acquired experience in Africa during long-term assignments on the continent ranging from combat missions to defense cooperation missions. Assignments during Colonel Esposti's 20-year career have regularly sent him to the African continent, where he served as a French troop commanding officer in Côte d'Ivoire (1997-1999), as a military advisor in charge of training and education in Gabon (1990-1992), and as an African cadet instructor at the French military academy of St. Cyr (France) (1987-1990). His previous positions have given him a comprehensive knowledge of Africa based on human relations and field experience developed during specific combat operations and peacekeeping missions. Colonel Esposti holds a BA in History and is a graduate of the Officer Academy of St. Cyr. Among his honors are the Ordre National, the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire's highest award, and the Ordre National du Mérite from Gabon. He has been involved in several Africa Center events. Colonel Esposti is bilingual in French and English and has advanced knowledge of Italian.

Air Vice Marshal Felix Olufemi Gbadebo is presently the Director of Operations at the Defense Headquarters in Abuja, Nigeria. Air Vice Marshal Gbadebo's military career began when he was recruited into the Nigerian Air Force as a Potential Pilot and entered the Nigerian Defense Academy on 2 January 1973 as a member of the Short Service Course 5 (SS 5). After six months military training, he proceeded to NAF Base Kaduna in July 1973 for Primary Flying Training as a member of Student Pilot course 9 (SP 9). In September 1974, Air Vice Marshal Gbadebo attended Undergraduate Pilot Training in the US, graduating as a Qualified Military Pilot in January 1976, and also attended the Pilot Instructor Training program in the US from June 1979 to January 1980, where he qualified as an Instructor Pilot. Air Vice Marshal Gbadebo has since served as both an operational pilot and as an Instructor Pilot for a variety of aircraft. He has been a member of the Directing Staff at both the Senior Division of the Armed Forces Command and Staff College, Jaji, and the National War College, Abuja, and has held several appointments in his career including: Chief Instructor, Basic Flying Training Wing; Commanding Officer, Instructor Pilot School; Commander, 303 Flying Training School, Kano; Deputy Director Operations, Headquarters, Nigerian Air Force; Commander Nigerian Air Force Station, Yola; Senior Air Staff Officer, Headquarters Tactical Air

Command, Makurdi; and Deputy Director Training, Defense Headquarters. Air Vice Marshal Gbadebo obtained his West African School Certificate (WASC) in 1972 from St. John's College, Kaduna (currently known as Rimi College).

Dr. Raymond Gilpin is the Academic Chair for Defense Economics at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies. An experienced economist, Dr. Gilpin joined the faculty at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies in the summer of 2003 and is responsible for overseeing curriculum and program development for the Africa Center in defense economics. Over the past seventeen years, he has held positions of responsibility with a number of research and policy-oriented institutions, including Director of International Programs and Senior Analyst at Intellibridge Corporation; Research Director, Central Bank of Sierra Leone; and Senior Economist, African Development Bank Group. He has also worked with the World Bank in Africa, Southeast Asia and Washington, DC. He received his BA (Honors) from the University of Sierra Leone, was awarded an Executive Certificate in International Finance at Georgetown University (United States), and earned his PhD at Cambridge University (United Kingdom), where he honed his research and analytical skills in development-related topics, including economic development, public finance and risk analysis, security issues, and political economy. He is from Sierra Leone, speaks English, and has working knowledge of French.

Dr. Willene A. Johnson is a development economist with experience in Africa and Latin America. She serves as a member of the United Nations Committee for Development Policy and is an adjunct member of the faculty of Cornell University in the department of applied economics and management. Dr. Johnson recently retired from the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, where she served as Adviser in the Division of International Finance, conducting research on financial reform in emerging market economies. From January 2000 to September 2001, Dr. Johnson served as United States Executive Director at the African Development Bank (AfDB), overseeing the development of policies, programs, and projects aimed at improving the economic and social well being of African countries. Prior to her appointment to the AfDB, Dr. Johnson was a vice president at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York where her career included assignments in economic research, foreign exchange, international financial markets, international affairs, and equal employment opportunity. Dr. Johnson's education includes a BA from Radcliffe College, Harvard University (United States), an MA in African history from Saint John's University (United States), and a PhD in economics from Columbia University (United States).

Dr. Gary Littlejohn is currently an Honorary Senior Visiting Research Fellow in the Department of Peace Studies at the University of Bradford in the UK. He has given evidence to the Italian and European Parliaments, and has acted as adviser to the German and Norwegian foreign ministries. In addition, he has been a consultant to the Mozambican Government, the European Commission, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (UNFAO), United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), and the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the private sector arm of the World Bank).

Ambassador Lannon Walker began his career with the U.S. Department of State in 1961. His first assignments were to Tangier, Morocco, where he studied Arabic, then to Rabat, Morocco; Constantine, Algeria; and Tripoli, Libya where he served as political officer, principal officer and economic counselor. In 1971, after a tour in the Executive Secretariat of the Department of State, he was assigned as Deputy Chief of Mission to Yaoundé, Cameroon. He then moved on to Saigon, Vietnam as Administrative Counselor of what was, at the time, the largest diplomatic mission. After Saigon, he was assigned to the position of Deputy Chief of Mission in Zaire. In 1977, he returned to the Department of State to take up the role of Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of African Affairs. In 1982, he took a year's leave without pay and worked in the private sector, concentrating on U.S. business opportunities in Africa. After returning to the Department of State and serving a tour as Deputy Inspector General, he was named Ambassador to Senegal in 1985. He went on to spend a year at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and in 1989, was named Ambassador to Nigeria (1989-1992). Returning to Washington, Ambassador Walker served on the "State 2000" Task Force, which produced a reorganization plan for the Department of State. He later worked in the Policy Planning Council and headed the African Studies Department at the Foreign Service Institute. In 1995, he was named Ambassador to the Ivory Coast. Ambassador Walker retired from the Foreign Service in 1999 at the rank of Career Minister. In retirement, Ambassador Walker heads his own consulting firm, Africa Strategy Corp, and remains in close contact with Africa. He has participated in previous Africa Center events.

Guest Speakers

Vice Admiral Samuel O. Afolayan assumed command as the 16th Chief of the Naval Staff, Nigerian Navy on 24 April 2001. Vice Admiral Afolayan enlisted in the Nigerian Defense Academy on 4 October 1969 as a member of Regular Course 7 and graduated in April 1971 as the best science and naval cadet. He was then commissioned as a Sub-Lieutenant in July 1972. Vice Admiral Afolayan completed his Sub-technical course at the Britannia Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, England; Long Course in Navigation and Direction at Cocin, India, and Principal Warfare Officers' Course at HMS Dryard in Portsmouth. He attended the Command and Staff College Jaji, Nigeria, as well as the United States Graduate School, Monterey, California. In addition to his numerous appointments both ashore and afloat, Vice Admiral Afolayan was also a pioneer participant at the National War College, Nigeria. Vice Admiral Afolayan's awards and decorations include psc+, Forces Service Star (FSS), Meritorious Service Star (MSS), Distinguished Service Star (DSS), and Commander of the Federal Republic (CFR).

Mr. Amarquaye Armar, a Ghanaian citizen, is currently a Lead Energy Specialist at the World Bank's Energy and Water Department. Since completing a graduate degree in Chemical Engineering (Technology and Policy Program) at MIT in 1978, Mr. Armar has worked for the United Nations, the World Bank and the Government of Ghana. During his 20 years at the World Bank, his assignments have covered energy sector development and project planning issues in most countries of Africa, as well as Brazil, Indonesia, India and Pakistan. Recently, he has been engaged in the power market reforms in Romania

and the implementation of regional power pool projects for West Africa and the Eastern Africa Community. From July 1996 to June 2000, Mr. Armar was the Special Advisor (Energy Sector Reform, Restructuring and Privatization) to the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning in Ghana. During that period, Mr. Armar was also Chairman of the Project Implementation Committee for the West Africa Gas Pipeline Project.

Dr. Deborah Avant is Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Institute for Global and International Studies at George Washington University's Elliot School of International Affairs. Her research (funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Olin Foundation, and the Smith Richardson Foundation, among others) has focused on civil-military relations, military change, and the politics of controlling violence. She is the author of *Political Institutions and Military Change: Lessons From Peripheral Wars* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994) and *The Market for Force: the Consequences of Privatizing Security* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) along with many articles in such journals as *International Organization*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Armed Forces and Society*, *Review of International Studies*, and *Foreign Policy*. Dr. Avant holds a PhD from University of California, San Diego (United States).

The Honorable Ms. Vicky A. Bailey is currently a partner at the government relations firm, Johnston & Associates, in Washington, DC. On 5 June 2001, Ms. Bailey was nominated by President George W. Bush to serve as Assistant Secretary for the Office of Policy and International Affairs at the Department of Energy. She served as a primary adviser to Secretary Spencer Abraham and senior Departmental management on issues related to the development and implementation of the Nation's energy policy. She was the lead Departmental representative in international organizations (including the International Energy Agency, serving as Vice-Chair) and the lead representative in major policy level dialogue with several countries. She has held significant discussions and has interacted on numerous occasions with energy ministers around the world on issues of energy security. Ms. Bailey was the President of PSI Energy Inc., Indiana's largest electric supplier and the Indiana operation company of Cinergy Corp, which she joined in February 2000 having previously been a Commissioner at the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission. At the beginning of Ms. Bailey's government career, she served for seven years as a commissioner on the Indiana Utility Regulatory Commission. While at the Indiana Commission, she was actively involved in efforts to balance and mitigate the impact on states of the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990 and the Energy Policy Act of 1992. Born in Indianapolis, Indiana, she holds a BS from the Krannert School of Management at Purdue University (United States) and did her post-graduate work at Indiana University (United States).

Mr. Henri Boyé is Deputy Vice President of the Middle East and Africa Branch at Électricité de France (EDF), as well as the Chairman of TEMASOL (Total EDF Maroc Solaire), which is the largest photovoltaic energy project in Morocco. Mr. Boyé began his career in energy in France as a civil servant in the French Ministry of Industry and Energy, where he worked on the French nuclear program, along with the issues of economic development, energy conservation, and environmental protection. In 1986, he

joined EDF, and went on to become EDF's Director for Western Africa, and subsequently, Director for all of Africa. In Africa, he has participated in supporting the major electrification project of the township of Khayelitsha in South Africa, near Cape Town; the privatisation of the Electricity Company in Ivory Coast; and the creation of the new company Compagnie Ivoirienne d'Électricité (CIE). Mr. Boyé spent the last seven years in the role of Deputy Vice President serving as mediator for all EDF projects, including the Koudia Al Baïda wind farm, the largest wind farm in Africa near Tétouan. He is also the author of numerous articles on energy, and in 1996 published a study entitled "The Maghreb and EDF." Mr. Boyé received his degrees in engineering from École Polytechnique Paris (France) in 1967 and École Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées (France) in 1972.

Ambassador Johnnie Carson is currently the Senior Vice President of the National Defense University. He served as U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Kenya from August 1999 to July 2003. Prior to this appointment, he served as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of African Affairs. He is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor. He was U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Zimbabwe from 1995-1997, and earlier U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Uganda from 1991-1994. Since joining the Foreign Service in 1969, Ambassador Carson has held a number of assignments in Africa. He served as Consular and Political Officer at the American Embassy in Lagos, Nigeria from 1969-1971; Deputy Chief of Mission at the American Embassy in Maputo, Mozambique from 1975-1978; and Deputy Chief of Mission at the American Embassy in Gaborone, Botswana from 1986-1990. In addition, he has held assignments as Deputy Political Counselor at the American Embassy in Lisbon, Portugal (1982-1986); Desk Officer for Angola, Mozambique, and Namibia in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (1971-1974); and Staff Officer in the Staff Secretariat in the Office of the Secretary of State (1978-1979). Mr. Carson also served as Staff Director for the Africa Subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives (1979-1982). Before joining the Foreign Service, Mr. Carson was a Peace Corps Volunteer in Tanzania (1965-1968). Ambassador Carson received his BA in History and Political Science from Drake University (United States) and his MA in International Relations from the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies (United Kingdom).

Dr. John Cathie is currently the Assistant Director of Research at Wolfson College, Cambridge University (United Kingdom). An economist specializing in Macroeconomic and Development policy, Dr. Cathie's academic career at Cambridge has spanned the last 30 years. In addition to his current role as Assistant Director of Research, Dr. Cathie has also held the position of Tutor and Senior Tutor, Director of Studies in Land Economy at Wolfson College. In 1986, he led a team of economists at the Institute of World Economics in Kiel, Germany, whose work involved building a general equilibrium model of the Botswana economy with a view to achieving food security and macroeconomic stabilization. Prior to attending university, he spent two years in Tamale, Ghana with the Volunteer Service Overseas (VSO) organization (1966-68). He has studied and written articles and books on a number of developing countries including South Korea, Botswana, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. He has also supervised doctoral dissertations on Sierra Leone, Zambia, Ghana, Kenya, South Africa (2), Taiwan, as well as MPhil

dissertations for hundreds of post-graduate students. Dr. Cathie is a graduate of the Universities of Strathclyde (United Kingdom), St. Andrews (United Kingdom), and Cambridge (United Kingdom).

Captain Bob Thomas Ebua assumed duty as Deputy Chief of Staff of the Cameroon Navy following the recent structural reforms of the Armed Forces in September 2002. He serves as the principal staff officer and coordinates the functions of the Assistant Chiefs of Staff for Human Resources, Operations, and Logistics. Prior to this appointment, he occupied several operation functions in the course of several tours of duty in the Bakassi peninsular. His tour of duty at the capital included service as Staff Officer at the Combined Staff H/Q and as Chief, Logistics bureau at the Private Defense Staff of the President of the Republic during which time he successfully coordinated the movement of relief provisions and equipment at the Bamenda airport to the lake Nyos survivors in August 1986. Capt. Ebua's long experience ashore includes service as Commander of the Marine Group and of the Limbe and Kribi naval bases. Capt. Ebua's early duties included second officer, and later, commander of patrol boat Audacieux and commander of the Marine Base and Rifle Company in Limbe. Commissioned in July 1971 following completion of officer training at the Combined Arms Officer School, Capt. Ebua's initial naval training was at the French Naval Academy at Brest. He is a 1985 graduate of the U.S. Naval Staff College in Newport, (United States). He is also a graduate of both the junior and the senior International Defense Management Courses (IDMC & SIDMC) of the Naval Postgraduate School at Monterey in California. Capt. Ebua's decorations include the medal of Public Force, Knight of the Order of Merit, Officer of the Order of Merit, Commander of the Order of Merit and the Medal of Valence.

Mr. David L. Goldwyn is President of Goldwyn International Strategies LLC, an international energy consulting firm. Through GIS, Goldwyn has advised the World Bank on power sector reform, assisted the U.S. Department of State and the warring parties in the Sudanese civil war on wealth sharing options, advised the Federal Government of Nigeria on its EITI (Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative) implementation program, and advised a host of Fortune 100 companies on political risk, economic sanctions, and corporate social responsibility issues. He currently co-chairs a Task Force on Gulf of Guinea Security for the Center for Strategic and International Studies, where he is a Senior Fellow. Mr. Goldwyn served the US government as Assistant Secretary of Energy for International Affairs (1999-2001), Counselor to the Secretary of Energy (1998-1999), national security deputy to Ambassador Bill Richardson, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations (1997-1998), as Chief of Staff to Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs (1993-1997), and an Attorney-Adviser in the Office of the Legal Adviser at the State Department (1991-1992). Mr. Goldwyn acquired extensive international business experience as an attorney with the New York law firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison from 1986 to 1991. He has been affiliated with the Ford Foundation and the Brookings Institution and has authored a series of works on energy sector transparency. Mr. Goldwyn received a BA from Georgetown University (United States), an MPA from the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University (United States), and a law

degree from New York University School of Law (United States). Mr. Goldwyn is also Chairman of the Board of Global Giving, a foundation dedicated to using the internet to match donors with projects in the developing world.

His Excellency Rabiu Musa Kwankwaso, is the Minister of Defense of the Government of Nigeria, a position which he has held since 2003. Previously he served as the Governor of Kano state from 29 May 1999 - 29 May 2003. He has also served as an elected member and deputy Speaker, Federal House of Representatives, representing Madobi Constituency, Kano State, (1992-93). A member of the Peoples Democratic Party, he was also a member of the defunct Social Democratic Party. Dr. Musa Kwankwaso was born in 1957, and is a water engineer by profession.

Mr. Mamadou Lamine Loum is the Chair of the International Advisory Group (IAG) Chad-Cameroon Petroleum Development and Pipeline Project. Prior to his work at the IAG, Mr. Loum served as Prime Minister of Senegal between July 1998 and March 2000. He joined the Ministry of the Economy, Finance and Planning in 1977 and held a number of senior positions in the Ministry thereafter, including Chief Treasurer and Paymaster (1984-91), General Director of Treasury (1991-93), and Deputy Minister in charge of the Budget (1993-98) before being appointed Minister of the Economy (January-July 1998). Mr. Loum is a graduate of the Faculty of Law and Economics of the University of Dakar (Senegal) and of the École Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature of Senegal.

Dr. J. Stephen Morrison is Executive Director of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) HIV/AIDS Task Force, CSIS Africa Program. Dr. Morrison joined CSIS in January 2000 where he has overseen the revitalization of the CSIS Africa Program and in late 2001, launched the CSIS Task Force on HIV/AIDS. The Task Force is a multi-year project (co-chaired by Senators Bill Frist (R-TN) and John Kerry (D-MA) and funded by the Gates Foundation and the Catherine Marron Foundation), that aims to strengthen U.S. leadership in battling global HIV/AIDS, identify emergent critical issues and appropriate U.S. foreign policy responses, and forge alliances with expert authorities in countries threatened by HIV/AIDS. In his role as Director of the CSIS Africa Program, Dr. Morrison spearheaded the review that resulted in the publication of *Africa Policy in the Clinton Years: Critical Choices for the Bush Administration*. He co-chaired the reassessment of the U.S. approach to Sudan that laid the basis for the Bush Administration push for a negotiated peace settlement, and in the summer of 2002 organized an energy expert mission to the Sudan peace negotiations in Kenya. He has written and spoken widely, and testified before Congress frequently, on a range of issues pertaining to U.S. foreign policy and Africa. From 1996 through early 2000, Dr. Morrison served on the Secretary of State's Policy Planning staff, where he was responsible for African affairs and global foreign assistance issues. In that position, he led the State Department's initiative on illicit diamonds and chaired an interagency review of the U.S. government's crisis humanitarian programs. From 1993 through 1995, he conceptualized and launched USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives, for which he served as its first deputy director and created post-conflict programs in Angola and Bosnia. From 1992 until mid-1993, he was the democracy and governance adviser to the U.S. embassies and USAID missions in Ethiopia and Eritrea. In the period 1987-1991,

he was senior staff member of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa. Dr. Morrison holds a PhD in political science from the University of Wisconsin (United States), is a graduate magna cum laude of Yale College (United States), and has been an adjunct professor at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (United States) since 1994.

Admiral Michael G. Mullen,⁵ United States Navy, currently serves as Commander, U.S. Naval Forces, Europe and Commander, Joint Force Command Naples. A 1968 graduate of the United States Naval Academy, Admiral Mullen has served in a wide range of assignments at sea and ashore, in both the Atlantic and the Pacific Fleets. He has commanded three ships, USS Noxubee (AOG 56), USS Goldsborough (DDG 20), and USS Yorktown (CG 48); and has also commanded Cruiser-Destroyer Group Two and the George Washington Battle Group. Adm. Mullen's last command at sea was as Commander, U.S. Second Fleet/Commander, Striking Fleet Atlantic. Adm. Mullen's shore assignments include duty on the staffs of the Secretary of Defense and the Chief of Naval Operations. He has served as Director of Surface Warfare and he was the 32nd Vice Chief of Naval Operations from 2003 to 2004. In 1985, Adm. Mullen graduated from the Naval Postgraduate School with an MS in Operations Research, and in 1991, he completed the Harvard Business School Advanced Management Program. As Commander, Joint Force Command Naples, Adm. Mullen currently has operational responsibility for NATO missions in the Balkans, Iraq and the Mediterranean. As Commander, U.S. Naval Forces Europe he is responsible for providing overall command, operational control, and coordination of U.S. Naval forces in the European Command area of responsibility. He assumed his duties on 8 October 2004.

Brigadier General Bertrand Ract Madoux currently serves as deputy of the General Director of the Joint Staff and has been in charge of the "Plans & Military Strategy" Bureau since September 2004. After graduation from the French Army Officer Academy of Saint Cyr in 1974, he joined the Cavalry Branch serving as a platoon leader with the 8th Hussard Regiment in Altkirch. In 1981, the then Captain was the commander of the 1st Armored Division Scout Squadron before joining the 15th Infantry Division Headquarters in 1984 as Logistical and budget officer. In 1988, he was selected to attend the Staff and Command College and the joint command course in Paris. After completing his time at the Staff and Command College in 1990, he went on to serve as second in command of the 2nd Light Cavalry Regiment in Verdun and was sent on temporary duty (TDY) to the former Yugoslavia as part of the European Community Monitoring Mission (ECMM). After serving three years with the Army Staff in Paris, he was slated to be commanding officer of the 1st Spahis Regiment in Valence, France and was engaged in the former Yugoslavia as commander of BATINF 2 (Infantry Battalion) in the area of the Sarajevo airport. In 1999, he attended the National War College and the Higher National Defense Institute Courses in Paris. He was then appointed to the Joint Staff as Deputy Chief of "Plans & Military Strategy" Bureau. Promoted to Brigadier General in 2002, he served as commander of the 2nd Armored Brigade and participated in Côte d'Ivoire with operation "Unicorn" in 2004. Among his honors, Brigadier General

⁵ Admiral Michael G. Mullen was unable to attend, but he provided a paper presented on his behalf by Rear Admiral Noel Preston

Ract Madoux holds the French Légion d'Honneur medal as a Knight, the "Ordre National du Mérite" as an Officer, and the French Military Value distinction.

His Excellency Chief Olusegun Obasanjo⁶ is President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. He has held office since he won the 1999 presidential election on the ticket of the Peoples Democratic Party. President Obasanjo was the Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces from 1976-1979, when he presided over the voluntary transition to civil democratic rule. His senior appointments have included: Member, Supreme Military Council, 1975-1979; Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, 1975-1976; Commander, Nigerian Army Engineering Corps, 1970-1975. He was General Officer Commanding, Third Marine Commando Division during the Nigerian Civil War, leading the Division to end the war and accepted surrender of Biafran forces in January 1970. Previously he served with the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in the Congo, 1960-1961. He is a graduate of the Royal College of Defence Studies, London; Indian Army School of Engineering; Indian Defence Staff College; School of Survey, Newbury, England; Royal College of Engineering; Regular Officers Special Training School, Teshie, Ghana. He holds the national award of Grand Commander of the Order of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (GCFR). General Obasanjo enlisted in the Nigerian Army in 1958, after high school, and was trained at the Mons Officers Cadet School, Aldershot, United Kingdom.

Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala is currently the Honorable Minister of Finance of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Prior to her appointment as Finance Minister, Dr. Okonjo-Iweala briefly served as the Economic Advisor to President Obasanjo of Nigeria and during her tenure was responsible for major achievements, which included recommending a new institutional approach to the management of Nigeria's external debt burden through the creation of the Debt Management Office (DMO). For over 20 years, Dr. Okonjo-Iweala has worked at the World Bank. With the World Bank her appointments have included: Senior Economist and Special Assistant to the Senior Vice President of the World Bank; Chief of the Agricultural division; Chief of Country Operations; Director of several Departments; Vice President; and Corporate Secretary. Dr. Okonjo-Iweala sits on the board of several foundations and non-governmental organizations at home and abroad and has published widely in her area of expertise. Dr. Okonjo-Iweala graduated magna cum laude with a BA in Economics from Harvard University (United States) and holds a PhD in Regional Economics and Development from Massachusetts Institute of Technology (United States).

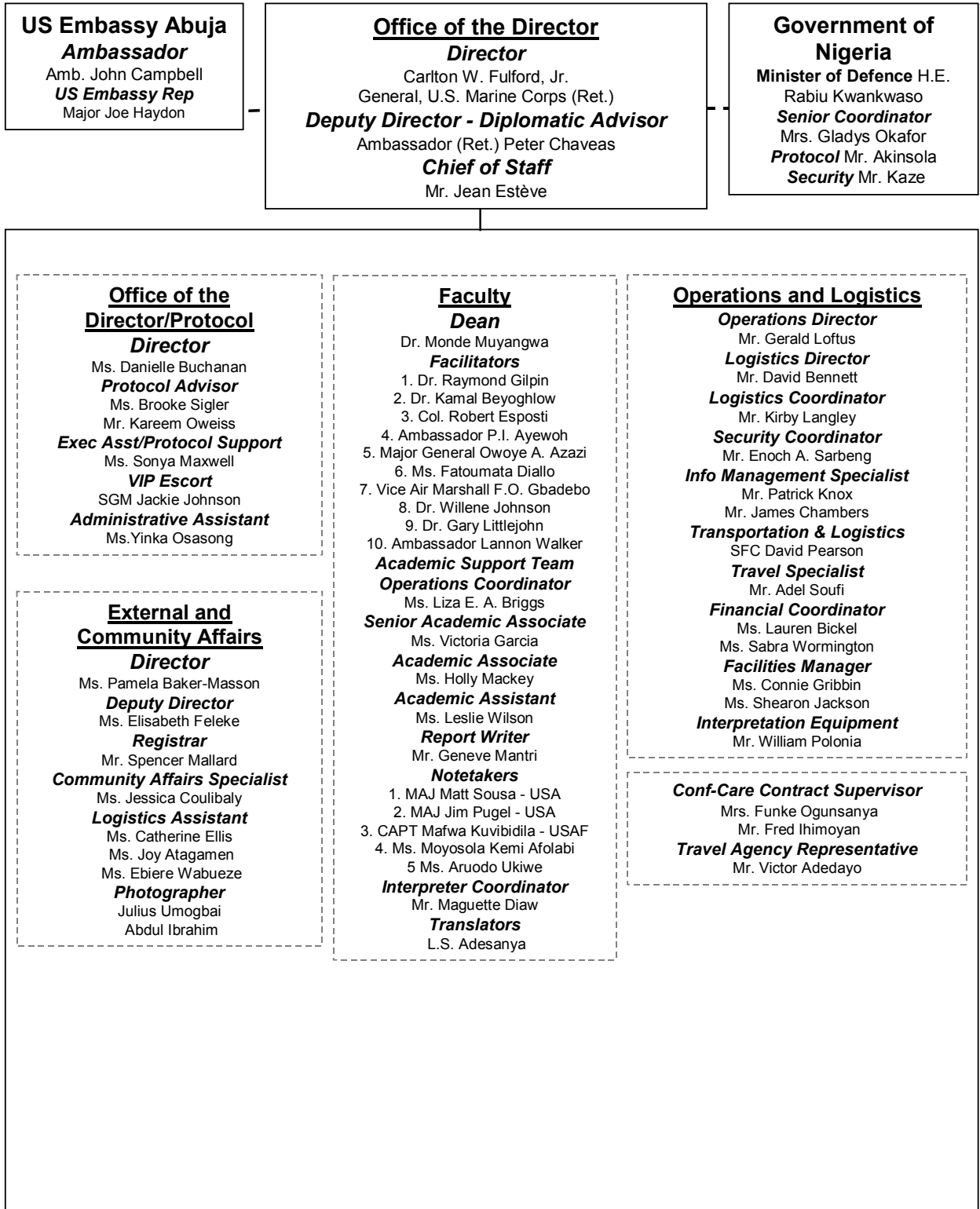
Captain Georgina Tackie, has served as the Regional Coordinator at the International Maritime Organization (IMO) Regional Presence Office, Accra, Ghana, since 2001. As Regional Coordinator, Captain Tackie has worked towards the implementation of the Maritime Security ISPS Code in the sub-region with the assistance of the IMO through a variety of regional and international workshops; has promoted closer working relationships with several key regional organizations including the African Union (AU)

⁶ His Excellencies speech was presented on his behalf by the Honorable Chief (Dr.) Roland L. Oritsejafor, Minister of State for Defense

and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); and has worked to identify maritime needs and priorities in conjunction with relevant countries, among many other projects at the regional and international level. Captain Tackie began her military career as a Deck Officer in Tema, Ghana, from 1977 to 1991. She went on to serve as both Lecturer and Senior Lecturer at the Regional Maritime Academy, Accra, Ghana, and from 1997 to 1999, she served as a Nautical Expert and Training Adviser at the Commonwealth Funds for Technical Cooperation, Seamen's Training Center, Chittagong, Bangladesh. Captain Tackie received her Class 3 Certificate of Competency, Second Officer; Class 2 Certificate of Competency, Chief Officer; and Class 1 Certificate of Competency, Master Mariner at South Tyneside College (England). In 1994, she received an MSc in Maritime Safety Administration at the World Maritime University (Sweden).

The Honorable Eric A. Williams was appointed as the Minister of Energy and Energy Industries for the government of Trinidad and Tobago in December 2001. Minister Williams's professional career began in the Ministry as a Geologist's Assistant in 1977. He went on to be granted a scholarship from the Ministry of Energy and pursued studies at the University of Houston (United States) in Geology with a major in Exploration Geophysics. He left the Ministry in 1990 to begin an eight-year stint at the state-owned petroleum company, Petrotrin, where he held the positions of Geophysicist and Technical Specialist. He also held technical positions at Western Geophysical (then a division of Western Atlas). Minister Williams has authored several published technical articles and has also served as a part-time lecturer in Geophysics at the University of the West Indies (St. Augustine).

2005-03 TS Nigeria Organization Chart



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