

**EASF: DIFFUSED ASYMETRIES, STRATEGIC
DILEMMAS AND THE INOVATORIES OF
CONSTRUCTING A SECURITY ARCHITCTURE.**

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Question and Argument

- How are current diffused multiple economic and military asymmetries likely to constraint the Operationalization of EASF as a security architecture?
- How might they be innovatively exploited to serve as an inverse platform for constructing a viable regional security architecture?
- EASF's FOC Status is sustainable to the extent that the current efforts are accompanied by state consolidation efforts and a mutual defense pact that seeks to resolve immature anarchies.

EASF: A Historical Recap

- AU Summit 6-8th July 2004 directed setting up of Eastern African standby Brigade(EASBRIG).
- Policy Framework adopted 10th September, MOU signed on 11th April 2005.
- January 2011 MOU and Policy Framework Revised to respond to dynamics and inclusion of Police and Civilian Components.
- AU Road Map 1(2003-6) = legal frameworks SOPs, approval of doctrines, logistics, Establishment of structures; PLANELM, the Brigades , Logistical base , ESAFCOM secretariat

RECAP 11

- AU Road map 11(2007-2010)- Capacity development, Incorporation for integration and Multi-dimensionality of Civilian and Police.
- Harmonization of doctrine, SOPs to enhance interoperability. Command Post Exercises (CPX) in 2008-Kenya; Field Training Exercise (FTX) in Djibouti 2009 leading to Initial Operational Capability(IOC) 2010.
- Log MAPEX 2011, CPX 2012, FTX 2013 followed by validation exercise in November 2014

AU Road Map 11

- 10 objectives set. 2010 to 2015 leading to FOC in 2015
- 1. Decision making structure= Authorize, Mandate, over see employment of EASF
- 2. Information management , CIS Support structure for preparing, planning and command of forces deployed by 2015
- 3. FOC of Land force structure, Brigade HQ on stand by and maintained in states to required standards
- 4. Trained Police element(2015)
- 5. Trained Civilian component , Data Base(Roster)
- 6. Logistical system- supporting, deployment and sustaining regional capabilities
- 7. Integrated Regional training System
- 8. Efficient financial , Administrative processes and structure, resource capital
- 9. Est regional maritime component for maritime PSO, Safety and security Tasks ,
- 10. FOC 2015

Strategic Review: The Imperatives

1. FTX 2013 *Mashariki Salam* in Jinja and its AAR
2. AU Panel of independent Experts report.
3. Strategic Review Scan Led to Several Core Issues
 - The How and implications towards FOC
 - Conceptual Convergence of RDC, ACIRC and EASF
 - Structural frameworks (Admin and Operational), Secretariat, PLANELM, Brigade HQ, LogBase
 - Sustainability issues
 - Legal Issues (The Mandating Process and Agreements)

FOC- A Conceptual Note

- Col Tyson: that desired end state of ongoing efforts, is conceived to entail the attainment of a joint, combined, integrated and comprehensive mission Headquarters manned, trained and equipped to an operational standard to cope with requirements of AU Missions 1-6, with adequate contingency plans in places
- Broad Conception of FOC to entail the attainment of the capacity by the EASF to; (a)Launch itself into an operation as authorized by the mandating authority within the stipulated mandated timelines using the optimum compliment of its multidimensional and multinational kinetic and non-kinetic components in accord with the stipulated six scenarios,(b)Sustain itself logistically for the duration prior to mission takeover by the AU and to(c)extricate as per the dictates of the mission deployment criteria.
- Three components critical to FOC;(a) Operationalization of RDC, Planelm, Brigade HQ, Police and Civilian components.(b) sustaining components and (c)the support variables inherent in the political, legal institutional and organizational frameworks critical to launching sustaining and recovery of the force.

Other Critical Elements

- Well Trained, kitted and armed. Some equipment and units projected in the RDC force structure, ie aviation unit, field engineer squadron may be problematic in sourcing.
- Dev of SOPs , doctrine and training manuals, certification standards including readiness standards, maximization of continuity and operational readiness.
- RDC as part of the EASF embraced by member states. A cohesive single nation, with common equipment, language, tactics, procedures, logistics to make it effective..
- Requirement of training both at individual level and collective level of the RDCs established by the region to an acceptable standard that can be confirmed through monitoring and evaluation.
- Comprehensive training programs to ensure cohesion at the

The Kigali Ministerial Decision POINT

- Harmonization of Rapid deployment Capability(RDC), African capacity For Immediate Response to Crisis (ACIRC), ASF concept leading to critical Decisions
1. Kigali – Council of Ministers meeting April 2014 accepted concept of converging ACIRC, RDC into EASF force structure.
 2. Restructure of EASF for effective Administrative and Operational functions
 3. Multi-sectoral rep of Police Min of Foreign Affairs in policy Organ meetings
 4. EASF Crisis Response Mechanism and mandating process.
 5. Convening expert group of member states to Review Table of Organization and equipment(TOE)
 6. Force Pledging Conference and MOU

Malabo 26th June 2014, Council of Ministers Kigali 22/8/14 and EASF

1. Agreement est EASF. MOU upgraded to agreement, clear mandating process for deployment

- Policy Framework establishing EASF, Peace fund
- Commitment to FOC 2014

2 Kigali August

- **Table of Organization and equipment (TOEs) adopted , Organization of Donner Conference. MOU on Pledged forces,**
- **EASF CPX Masharik Salam 2014 eventually held in Adama validating FOC**

Other Critical Elements Attained

1. Financial Sustainability
2. Variegated SOPs(Military, Civilian, Police)
3. Early warning system
4. Conceptual Documents-
 - EASF Integrated Mission Support Concept.
 - EASF Operational concept
 - Force Generation Concept
 - EASF training and evaluation Concept
 - Command, Control , Communication and information Systems(C31S) Concept
 - EASF Rapid deployment Concept.
 - EASF Medical support Concept,
 - Maritime Concept of Operations

Geo-Political Dynamics and FOC

- In the process of launching, sustaining and extrication of force components from mission areas. Critical force multipliers include; the political will to mobilize, coalesce and sustain multiple tangible and intangible centers of gravity. Need for a region centric interest that manifests itself through a mandating and sustaining process. In turn, impacts variables such as force regeneration.
- Weaving region centric interest -differentiated and sometimes contending state centric contexts is a challenge –reflected in multiple memberships in security and economic organizations. Equally Critical are differentiated economic and Military Asymmetries
- EASF region = a distinct and significant subsystem of security relations. Nature of their geographical inter-connectivity mediates interest contestations, Amity and Enmity ,cooperative or conflicting dynamics. Hence character of security and insecurity dilemmas.
- Geopolitical imaginations of colonial actors and frontier relations- states or cross-border communities, Access water and pasture animate interests at individual and state centric levels and perceptions about their security. This compounded by institutional vulnerabilities at economic, political and social levels. When these vulnerabilities converge with threats be they military, environmental, societal, economic or political in nature the net effect is the sustained situation of insecurity dilemmas .
- Dynamics of state weakness, collapse, constrained state reconstitution

Geo-political Imaginations and Ideas

1. Pursuit of conflicting and sometimes converging interests. Apparent high and low security complexes will remain a challenge.
2. Political will likely to be tested by affirmation of
 - Ability to evolve a Rapid Deployment Capability,
 - Potential for setting up The African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crisis (ACIRC)
 - Over-commitment(Over stretch) and the inclination towards state-centric measures with external support through regional organizations
3. These may constraint commitment to the EASF mechanism and attention to concept of troop pledges calling for mechanisms for reaffirmation of availability.

Imaginations and Ideas.

4. Structural design mediated by the logic of relative gains. Multiplicity of other institutional arrangements and mechanisms can only lead to competition, duplication, waste and inclination towards self help behavior thus constraining state cooperation on security matters.

5. Challenge of interlocking nature of subsystems and apparent volatility and blurred boundaries of the regions as defined by state weakness and kin country dynamics creates potential for overstretch, permeability and conflict cascades.

6 Attempts at collective security mechanism characterized by Immature anarchies. In the EASF geography these attempts converge at multi and bilateral levels animated by absence of a broad regional organization to which all states can subscribe to and instrumentalize for their combined response to economic and security threats.

Ideas and Options

- Endurance here is a function of self help measures, discoveries of resources and development of state-centric infrastructure and insecurity engendering dependencies, Ideas/ power politics and Relations.
- Need to see Structures as social rather strictly material. Changing how think about regional relations impacts on security. As Social constructivists note, Social structures are made up of elements such as shared knowledge, material resources and practices. Structures of mechanisms emerge out of shared understandings, expectations or knowledge. How we think and limit our possibilities explains what we get as an aggregate of our collective effort
- Wendt : anarchy is what states make of it. Rethinking of structures with ideas informed by broader common interests, appreciations of threats over time and space, the imaginations of value addition to resources, a process that should impose the need to generate alternative knowledge and formation of regional security communities. As a structure it is characterized by shared knowledge, pursuit of absolute gain, trust, collective interest and resolution to settle disputes peacefully.

Interest Aggregation and 2015

State interest aggregation of states can be organized around four clusters: Survival, Critical, Major and Peripheral.

- Necessity to protect them depending on their location across the four clusters will determine options and efforts mobilized by states individually or in alliance with others. This process runs through a logic of appreciation in space over time and in effect explains intensity.
- The higher the threat, the higher the intensity of activities geared towards securitization to protect the object threatened and by inference the interest being pursued. The objects can be clustered around; Defense of the Homeland, economic Well being, favorable region/world order, Promotion of values.
- Survival interest exists when the physical existence of the entity is threatened due to attack/ actions of a phenomenon. Core here are phenomena such as environmental, Asymmetrical threats that seek to collapse states through organized genocide or exclusivist ideologies by groups such as Alqaeda, Alshabaab, FDLR, ADF-NALU and the Lords Resistance Army. All states in the Eastern Africa region converge over in this

Cont'd

- **Vital** -situations where serious harm to the state would result if no measures are effected including the use of force. Sustaining strategic interests such as region-centric infrastructure and assets (port facilities and installations) designed by states for purposes of extracting and exporting strategic resources such as oil.
- The assumption here is that any destabilization has a broad regionally destabilizing impact a factor that increases the rationale for collective securitization. Other global threats terrorism, organized crime, piracy (both on transport vessels and common goods such as fish).
- **Major interests.** Political, economic and social well being could be affected if nothing is done. Military force not included. Expanding economic interactions currently the centre piece of regional economic organizations crime, economic interactions, efforts aimed at combating drug activities and laundering fall in this category.
- **Peripheral.**, global peace and stability. Given the four clusters, the fact that the challenges of threats continue to mutate. The rationale for a vibrant EASF becomes apparent. Indeed it should be seen in the unexploited potential currently limited by the idea behind the design that also underpins the legal frameworks. Convergence of interest especially survival and vital should help re-thing -around the foregoing options.

Option : MERGER with IGAD

- Convergence of survival and critical national interest, merging EASF with IGAD becomes an option. Environmental threats and the need to contain them regionally all none IGAD states share close interests with their IGAD partners.
- State centric infrastructure ie LAPSSET
- Mutation of economic activities especially the need to access new resource discoveries. The Indian ocean space converges these Island States and IGAD States. This has to be grasped within the logic of geopolitical imagination where the Indian Ocean soon becomes a lake mediating intense economic , environmental, societal, political and security interests. This will raise the possibilities and need for joint or shared maritime assets for common security.

Option Two :Mechanism to R.Sy Pact

- Restructuring of the mechanism to bring in the regional security component under the Summit. Setting up of a troika made up of the Chairperson EASF, IGAD and EAC within the EASFCOM mechanism.
- Feed with situation analysis of the security status in the region, the organ would coordinate early response efforts among the states and across the multiple institutions. It would avoid duplication, allocate lead roles based on the principle of subsidiarity, complementarity and competence.
- Security pact with duties that seek to enhance the capacity of states to mutually confront threats.
- The troika- authority to commit EASF assets for CPMR on behalf of the summit where need be. Both IGAD and EAC would be effectively brought into mediated corporation with EASF increasing corporation, coordination, while maximizing on the principles of complementarity, subsidiarity and competence.

Option Three: Status Quo

- Mechanism retains stand alone posture. Transformation of MOUs into enhanced security pacts that are ratified by the states. Enhanced mandating process structured around a triage of the summit, AU and the UN. It would also call for the dual function of the brigade for regional security roles without awaiting the AU's approval prior to action. It would involve the strengthening of the secretariat as per the 2nd option in addition to memoranda of cooperation with other regional mechanisms such as IGAD, EAC and COMESA.
- To ensure that the two components critical to operationalizing Force Operation Capability (FOC): that is the design, equipment of the brigade HQ and joint operation centers, a well manned planning element, operational RDCs at one level and a sustaining component at another are in place. Fundamentally, it implies that the decision making organs accept the concept of RDCs commit themselves to its development across member states.
- Challenge of the post, 2015- inevitable competition and duplication of roles at costs. Eventually, the drift towards IGAD-led state options of security management would render EAC/COMESA's utility minimal.

Some Thought.

- That EASF States commit efforts at State building and consolidation
- States commit themselves and resources to build disaster management capabilities and assets either under lead state(with contributions) or common pool options.
- That EASF States commit themselves and resources and direct PLANELM to operationalize development of Sealift, Airlift along options of either lead state(with collective contributions) or common pool.
- Development and signing of a mutual security and defense treaty or pact to underpin a regional capacity for conflict prevention, management and containment.
- For institutional value proposition post 2015, calls for structural changes that can enhance the value proposition of the mechanism as means to attract member state interest and thus ensure financial sustainment.

EASF Geography

