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African Security Survey

The main goal of this survey is to explain the place of Africa in the global security environment, specificity of African geopolitics, as well as a general understanding of African development in the context of current World Order. In even recent history, Africa was the global periphery – the source of raw materials and a cheap labour force. The global perception of Africa started to change in recent years, however the continent remains insecure and unsafe both for Africans and the World community due to extreme instability on the states and interstate conflicts as well as so called non-military threats including epidemics, low social organization of society, etc. The state stability and consolidation, sustainable development, and implementation of Millennium Development Goals are prerequisites to coming to a solution for the African problems. The world has the possibility to assist Africa in dealing with epidemics, climate change and other issues as well as applying stricter arms control, peace keeping and peace making.

Introduction

Traditionally Africa was (or still is) the World periphery[1]. This view on Africa is based on a comparatively late "discovery" of the continent, the legacy of the colonial era and the geopolitical realities of the Cold War period. In recent years numerous attempts to revise the out-dated approaches appear. The idea is to change Africa from the continent of problems to the continent of opportunities.

There is no doubt that the significance of Africa for the World is growing. In the Cold War period it was indeed the "third world", important for "first" and "second" for support to one of them. After the Cold War it simply impossible to ignore African poverty, internal conflicts, epidemics, demography and general insecurity. None of the continents can stay aside in the global world[2]. Africa is now more important for the United States, China, and Russia; there are also important notes on Africa in EU security strategy[3].

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[1] The text deals mostly with so-called Sub-Saharan Africa (except some notes), taking in mind, that North Africa politically and in context of regional and international security composes separate region or part of Middle East and Islamic area.

[2] Vareikis E., *Globalusis Futbolas. Emociniai ir politiniai civilizacijų santykiai dabartinėje globalizacijoje*, Vilnius: Eugrimas, 2008.

[3] Klingebiel S., "Regional Security in Africa and the Role of External Support", *European Journal of Development Research*, 2000, vol.17, no.3, p. 437-448.

However pathetic declarations about Africa do not changes the grim reality. Africa is at the end of the tables in regards to different economic, political development data level of democracy, and in the group of "weakest" regions. So the talks about African security are related to general understanding African realities. African states are considered as instable, many of tam cannot avoid internal (civil) conflicts, and interstate wars take place as well. Also the non-military threats as epidemics, demography, and natural disasters increase insecurity. Some of the problems have their origins in pre-colonial and colonial times some occurred in the time of establishment and sovereignity of African states.

The main goal of this survey is to overview the security of the African continent in the light of classical and modern concepts of security and to discuss the main security problems of the continent in the beginning of XXI century.

1. Theoretical Background of African Security

1.1. African Geopolitics

The research of security – global and regional – was limited for a long time by the issues related to Euro-Atlantic space. The security of the "third world" was in the Focus of interest just after the World War II, during the process of de-colonization (1950-ies and 1960-ies)[4], however late it became only part of Cold War security interest.

Africa is unique for the lack of a consistent concept of its geopolitics. It was not created by Africans, nor by any of great civilizations. None of the countries can say they need Africa, and which kind of Africa they need, if the answer is yes.

From a historical perspective, the technical limitations of ancient Rome permitted the control of only the northern part of Africa. After the collapse of the Roman Empire Africa became the no man's land, undiscovered and unknown with the exception of Egypt. Later the same North Africa became the origin of Islamic threat, however the ideologists of the Islamic expansion did not have solid knowledge about what Africa really is and how to manage this land. Islam crossed the Sahara and the equator; however it was expanding in a chaotic manner without any geopolitical motivation and administration.

In the time of geographic discoveries at the end of XV century the great powers - Spain and Portugal – divided equally the entire World. According to the Treaty of Tordesillas, Africa was agreed to be a Portuguese area of interest. Portuguese circumnavigated Africa and "discovered" it, however with limited human resources invested in trade relations, but not into the creation of a

4   Akinrinade S. "Democracy as Security in Africa: Towards a Framework of Understanding", *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 17 (2), 1999, p. 221.

colonial empire. They colonized small parts of the costal areas without serious penetration into the continent.

Later the Dutch, British and French found the profitable business. Slaves became the most important and desirable African good. There were no major conflicts about the slave market, conflicts that could make Africa important geopolitically. Africa was important as a supplier only, but not the territory for implementation of desirable geopolitical goals.

Colonization later became the continuation of policies of European interests of great powers. During the World Wars, Africa was the battlefield of the war between the great powers, but not the battlefield for Africa itself. The same can be said about Cold War. There were the regimes that were more supporting of one of the competing systems, but the "iron curtains" and "Berlin walls" did not appear. Local politicians often were changing sides in a radical way, declaring their sympathies to Moscow, to Washington or former the metropolis.

The classics of geopolitical thought in recent centuries tried to prove Africa being useless and not important instead of looking for its prospective. Alfred Thayer Mahan, the author of the sea power concept, put Africa and its states into a category of states of continental orientation. There are no conditions for ship construction, local people have no expansionist strategy and are orientated rather to the continental side. So it is clear why Africans never "discovered" Europe or America and never established an aggressive and dynamic empire.

Friedrich Ratzel stated that African society has not enough potential to establish the aggressive states; they don't want to be the masters of nature, preferring to live in harmony with it[5]. Halford Mackinder referred to African states as useless territory, surrounding the "world centre" – Heartland - and adjacent regions[6].

Africa also was not a part of the various ideologies of paneuropeanistic, panamericanistic, or euroasiatic concepts; in the times of classical geopolitics panafricanism was still not fashionable. Karl Haushoffer proposed to give Africa to Germany in the division of the globe between great powers[7], however it was never considered seriously. Finally Africa was divided rather accidentally with no attention to the will of local population, ethnic or historic heritage. Unlike USA, which was created according to the classical concept of political liberalism, unlike Asia, where pre-colonial heritage was respected, Africa had none of that. It is not a surprise that the de-colonization of Africa resulted in numerous failed states offered to accidental local leaders.

There are a few exceptions only: the attempts to implement a model of European style society in South Africa, historical reminiscences in Ethiopia and Egypt and of course Islamic North Africa, that generally according to numerous Africanists is the region different from Sub-Saharan Africa.

De-colonized Africa – the periphery of Europe – is the source of regional

[5] Ratzel F., *Politische Geographie*, Osnabrück: Zeller, 1923.
[6] Mackinder H. J., "The Geographical Pivot of History", *Royal Geographical Society*, 2000.
[7] Haushofer K., *Bausteine zur Politik*, Berlin, 1928.

and ethnic conflicts and examples of failures in the creation of states and modern nations[8]. There is no state able to take responsibility for solving the geopolitical problems. The states still are not really nation states, and people are mostly indifferent to the destiny of their own states. The problem of simple physical survival is essential. It is necessary to survive in the endless civil wars, and decades of dictatorships. Facing AIDS, poverty and famine – Sub-Saharan Africa is an area of extreme poverty. One can add corruption, a devastated natural environment and the profanation of traditional values. Lagging behind in the speed of development Sub-Saharan Africa is the poorest place in the World.

The hopes of the end of Cold War were not fulfilled as well as hopes of de-colonization. New World Order rejected studies of African geopolitics as outdated – democracy has not to be related to geography and history. The main things factors for development have to be liberal economy and political pluralism[9].

In the beginning of the XXI century none of the great powers had a geopo-

Vienna (1815) resulted in the legitimization of colonialism – it was said that it is necessary to discover and to divide everything in entire World. The Order of Versailles (1920) reduced the significance of so called realistic concept of security. The colonial administrations were partially replaced by mandate territories, what permitted the local population to participate in administration. It was introduction into further de-colonization.

The Cold War Order was rather complicated. From one hand it was the universal order based on UN Charter. Using this background, various structures such as NATO were created and peace-keeping operations were sanctioned. The United Nations had to be a universal arbiter and decision maker in the security issues and they sponsored de-colonization. Africa became a continent of independent countries.

New World Order after the Cold War has to be the result of balanced politics, a liberal economy and World peace, invented by rational thinking. In the last decade of the XX century the impression was that there are enthusiastic steps toward it. American Francis Fukuyama wrote[12] that the World is approaching the stage of liberal democracy – the end of history. There are no wars in this stage because democracies do not start wars, and only competition and enhancing prosperity prevails. So it could happen that there is the place for African states in the list of peaceful and democratically managed countries. The new wave of democracy had to come in the beginning of the XXIst century. It had not only to stabilize African states, but to integrate them to a community of non-problematic states as well.

But the predictions were too optimistic. Only a few countries in Central Europe implemented a post Cold War scenario and became an integral part of the West, whereas Africa remains the area of the crossroads of different global and local interests. The spread of the idea of democracy is going too slowly.

1.3. The Chart of the Threats for Africa

The talk about the specific security of any region has to start from the definition of the threats followed by recommendations on how to diminish or annihilate them. Usually there is an attempt to "measure" the threat taking in to account the probability of the threat taking place and the damage it can cause. The Chart of the threats is the two dimensional graph, where the threats are placed according the probability of their occurrence and the damage they make. Modern researchers Klinke and Renn imagine the chart of the threats as a composition of a few typical groups of threats[13].

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[12] Fakuyama F., *The End of History and the Last Man*, Free Press, 1992.
[13] Klinke A., Renn O., "Precautionary principle and discursive strategies: classifying and managing risks", *Journal Risk Research* Volume 4 (2), 2001, p. 159-173.

DAMAGE CAUSED BY THE THREAT
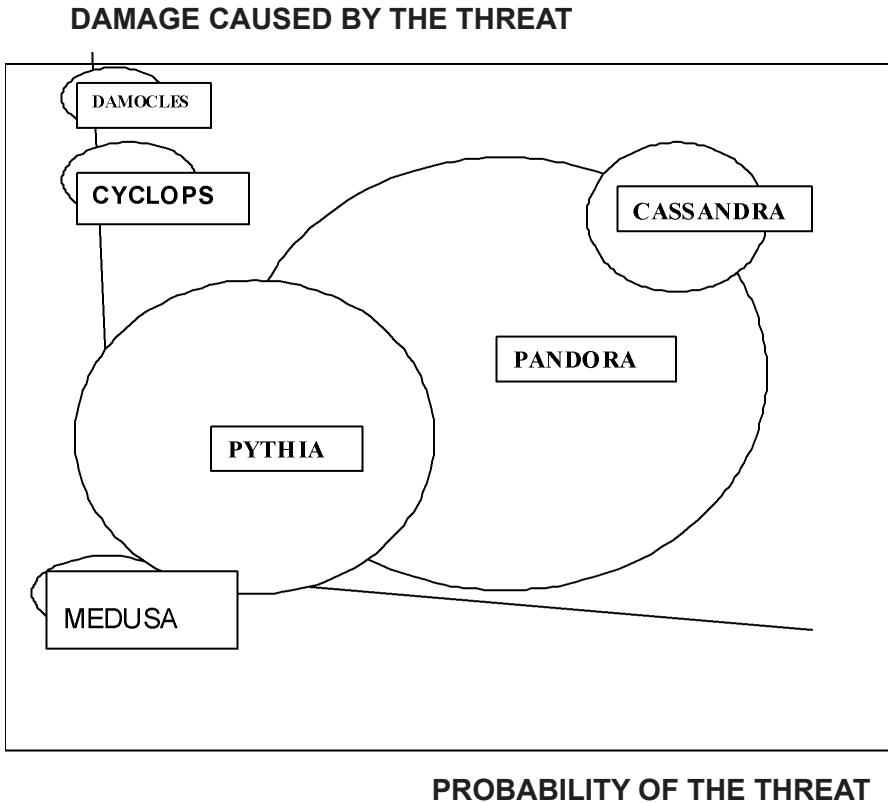

PROBABILITY OF THE THREAT

Figure 1. **Chart of threats for Africa**

Damocles – these are predictable global disasters like global nuclear war or other project of self-annihilation, invented by human beings. The damage of such disaster is formidable, but today these events look very little probable. It is clear, that Africa can not suffer alone in this case, if the disaster happens the entire globe will be damaged, so *Damocles* generally is global, but not an African issue. Africa can influence these threat in the scale it influences the global politics.

Cyclops – these are large-scale international conflicts, including World Wars. Their damage and probability can be estimated, however, the causes of war sometimes are far from rational calculation. This is really the threat for Africa, taking into account the fact that local wars are widespread. This kind of threat is even extremely dangerous for this continent.

Pythia – these predictable and "classic" threats, including physical security of persons, state stability, predictability of society, etc. Africa is really full of this kind of threats – the majority of the states are unstable, the social organization of society is in the low level of development, local communities are terrorized and even "run" by organized crime, and people are suffering from epidemic diseases. All this makes the situation totally unpredictable.

Cassandra – These are the threats with an unpredictable outcome, though their causes are generally known. Let's take the destruction of the ozone layer, or increasing the level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. The most important *Cassandra* of our time is the climate change, and its consequences for Africa can be more disastrous as for other regions.

Pandora – the threats that are not expected, but have the high intensity and significant damages – epidemics, "civilization diseases", etc. For Africa – AIDS is a very special damaging case. *Medusa* – the threats that always exist – some level of crime, human insecurity, the illegitimate use of military equipment, regular diseases, etc. In Africa the level of this kind of threats is also comparatively high, thus need be special treatment.

It is possible to fight *Damocles* and *Cyclops* with political instruments. In the case of *Pythia* and *Pandora,* long term strategies are necessary, whereas *Cassandra* and *Medusa* are something that exist eternally. This simply shows that Africa needs specific security policies; that would first of all diminish the probability of threats, especially wars and solve the "technical" problems related to epidemics, organized crime and their damages.

2. Specific Security Problems in Africa

2.1. Global Dimension of Security

After the Cold War, as it was already stated, the General assumption was the impossibility or at least a very little possibility of global nuclear conflict. For two last decades the USA and USSR/Russia do not use nuclear deterrence as the core strategy of their security. One of important tolls to limit the nuclear weapons is the Non-Proliferation Treaty and other international efforts to prevent the growth of "nuclear club".

According the general knowledge, only one state in the continent – South Africa - produced nuclear weapons and dismantled them later, however there in not 100 percent evidence on that. There is some information about nuclear programs of Libya and Algeria; however there is no serious fear that these countries can produce the nuclear weapons in foreseen future.

The other important tool is the creation of nuclear free zones. They are useful for the limitation of deployment (and possibilities to use) of the nuclear weapons. In 1996 the so called Treaty of Pelindaba was signed. It created the nuclear free zone in entire Africa; 51 out of 53 states in continental Africa signed the treaty, however only less than thirty ratified it, so the treaty is not in the force yet. The implementation of this treaty would be an important formal step to strengthen global security.

Recently a new threat in that area appears. These are rumours about the

attempts of the countries like Iran to use the territory of Africa for stationing for nuclear weapons or nuclear testing. Thus the nuclear free zone is a serious element of security policy.

There is no reason to think that someone aims to conquer and colonize the African continent again using military means. There is no substantial external threat. The Military threats in Africa come generally from the African states themselves.

2.2. Instability of States

Instability of states, as it was mentioned, is one of the causes of insecurity. Political scientists often use the term "failed states" to describe the phenomena. It means in essence the definition of the state in which the central government does not administrate the entire country and its population. The state cannot guarantee the survival, administration nor is reliable, there is no physical protection of people, and the state can not fulfil its international obligations.

The World Bank says there are at least fifty failing states, and majority of them in Africa. The journal "Foreign Policy" and The Fund for Peace annually calculates the index of state failure, which permits one to measure the phenomena. The index is based on 12 indicators of social, economic, political and military development[14].

Instability is caused by factors such as demographic trends, integration of refugees and displaced persons, group grievances, uneven economic development, severe economic decline, criminalisation of the state, marginalization of public services, "State within a State", and the military intervention from outside.

Last year Sudan was on the top of the list, followed by Iraq, Somalia, Zimbabwe, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Afghanistan, Guinea, and the Central African Republic. The data shows, that eight of ten are African states. Among the 32 states qualified as unstable, almost two thirds are from Africa.

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[14] The methodology of calculation of index is presented Foreign policy, *The failed State Index 2008*, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=4350&page=1, 14 11 2008.

Table 1. **The unstable states in the World**

Rank	Country	Total index
1	Sudan	113.7
2	Iraq	111.4
3	Somalia	111.1
4	Zimbabwe	110.1
5	Chad	108.8
6	Cote d'Ivoire	107.3
7	Democratic Republic of Congo	105.5
8	Afghanistan	102.3
9	Guinea	101.3
10	Central African Republic	101.0
11	Haiti	100.9
12	Pakistan	100.1
13	North Korea	97.7
14	Burma/Myanmar	97.0
15	Uganda	96.4
16	Bangladesh	95.9
17	Nigeria	95.6
18	Ethiopia	95.3
19	Burundi	95.2
20	Timor-Leste	94.9
21	Nepal	93.6
22	Uzbekistan	93.5
23	Sierra Leone	93.4
24	Yemen	93.2
25	Sri Lanka	93.1
26	Republic of the Congo	93.0
27	Liberia	92.9
28	Lebanon	92.4
29	Malawi	92.2
30	Solomon Islands	92.0
31	Kenya	91.3
32	Niger	91.2

Additional sources of instability in Africa are problems related with the conflicts between the government and society caused by the fact that the ruling tribe is different from the majority of the population, or the different tribes aim to establish their own ruling elite. It causes the uneven distribution of political influence and state budged, or division of international assistance.

Corrupt African states become the criminal organization fighting for the survival of their ruling regimes only. Being created as units of former colonial administration, numerous countries are not satisfied with their boundaries and possibilities to use their natural resources. This tends to predict, that further international conflicts are inevitable.

2.3. Local Conflicts

Talking about local conflicts, one can pick several causes of them – these are conflicts coming from pre-colonial Africa (like hutu – tutsi confrontation), colonial tone conflicts (fight for raw materials in DR Congo), and conflicts from Cold War period (civil war in Angola and Mozambique). According to many commentators, the end of the Cold War reduced the reasons to go for local wars however the number of conflicts did not go down. It is even difficult to say how many conflicts are going on now – long term and so called low intensity wars de facto are not finished in any case.

It is difficult to apply the traditional methods of conflict resolution in the area of Africa, there is the traditional tribal structures end specifically shapers understanding of ethnic identity is in place. The numerous mechanisms of conflicts prevention and solution, proposed by Europeans in recent decades and based on the primacy of liberal democracy are not working in Africa[15].

It is necessary to create the mechanism of conflict settlement and peace keeping. There were attempts, however, African countries spent more on their own national security than on the solutions of regional problems. It is necessary to create a kind of "Helsinki process" with it sown Decalogue of cooperation, like it was done for Europe in 1975. The prevention of conflicts also is not a solution. The UN indeed made a lot of efforts to implement the durable solutions. The numerous UN operations were performed so far[16], but will it bring the long lasting peace is the subject for future development. These are comparatively large scale operations. For example in Liberia there are 15,000, and in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) – even 17,000 persons.

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[15] MacFarlane S. N., "Intervention and Security in Africa", *International Affairs*, Winter, 1994, p. 56-58.
[16] Klingebiel, "Regional Security in Africa and the Role of External Support", *The European Journal of Development Research*, Vol.17, No.3, September, 2000, p. 437-448.

Table 2. **Completed UN operations in Africa**

Dates of operation	Name of Operation	Location	Conflict
1960–1964	United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC)	Congo	Congo Crisis
1988–1991	United Nations Angola Verification Mission I (UNAVEM I)	Angola	Angolan Civil War
1989–1990	United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG)	Namibia	Namibian War of Independence
1991–1995	United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II)	Angola	Angolan Civil War
1992–1994	United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)	Mozambique	Mozambican Civil War
1992–1993	United Nations Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM I)	Somalia	Somali Civil War
1993–1997	United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL)	Liberia	First Liberian Civil War
1993–1994	United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR)	Rwanda Uganda	Rwandan Civil War
1993–1996	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR)	Rwanda	Rwandan Civil War
1993–1995	United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II)	Somalia	Somali Civil War
1994	United Nations Aouzou Strip Observer Group (UNASOG)	Chad Libya	Aouzou Strip dispute
1995–1997	United Nations Angola Verification Mission III (UNAVEM III)	Angola	Angolan Civil War
1997–1999	United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA)	Angola	Angolan Civil War
1998–1999	United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL)	Sierra Leone	Sierra Leone civil war
1998–2000	United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA)	Central African Republic	Central African Republic mutinies
1999–2005	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)	Sierra Leone	Sierra Leone civil war
2000–2008	United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE)	Eritrea Ethiopia	Eritrean-Ethiopian War
2004–2006	United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB)	Burundi	Burundi Civil War

Not all operations were successful. Operations bringing independence for Namibia, transitions in Mozambique, Angola or Liberia are the UN success

stories; good examples are the agreement between Libya and Chad, stabiliza-
tion in Sierra Leone. Less successful operations, though completed, took place
Somalia, Rwanda[17] and Burundi as well as the mediation of Ethiopia – Eritrea
conflict. Seven UN operations are still ongoing.

Table 3. **Ongoing UN operations in Africa**

Start of operation	Name of Operation	Location	Conflict
1991	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO)	Western Sahara	Moroccan occupation of Western Sahara
1999	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC)	Democratic Republic of Congo	Second Congo War
2003	United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)	Liberia	Second Liberian Civil War
2004	United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI)	Côte d'Ivoire	Civil war in Côte d'Ivoire
2005	United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS)	Sudan	Second Sudanese Civil War
2007	United Nations/African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID)	Sudan	Darfur Conflict
2007	United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT)	Chad, Central African Republic	Darfur Conflict, War in Chad (2005–present)

One of the operations without success is the Mission that has to solve
problem of West Sahara. The country, partially controlled by Morocco, partially
by nationalist movement, still has no defined status, and the attempts to organize
an election failed. Operation without success works already for eighteen years.

UN operation in Congo Democratic Republic works from 1999. The civil
war seems to be going to its peaceful end and much is done, however it is not
the final success yet. Similarly it can be said about the situation in Liberia or
Cote d'Ivoire. The UN is failing in the Darfur crisis as well as in the conflict
between Chad and Central Africa Republic.

Can Africa formulate its strategic goal, the vision of happy Africa, if yes
it needs to say how to make that vision a reality, if no – what has to be done to
create it. Today many say there is no vision. Is it question of time, or question
of mentality? It's a matter worth to reflect and discuss.

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[17] Charbonneau B., "Mastering "Irrational" Violence: The Re-legitimization of French Security Policy in
Sub-Saharan Africa", *Alternatives* 31, 2006, p. 215.

One more threat, today defined as military threat, is terrorism that has in an extremely good condition prospered in Africa. The intelligence and counter intelligence are weak, almost no internal arms control implemented, so this threat is really serious.

2.4. Problems of Non-military Security

Non-military security is a part of security issues and does not relate to military policy, use of armed forces, as well as other war and peace problems. Part of security as ecological security – climate change, fighting droughts and floods, epidemics, - cultural and economical security from the first glance has nothing in common with the war, however can provoke wars, and the army can be used fighting environmental disasters and protecting people in case of epidemics and other environmental disasters.

The demographic factors such as migration have to do with non-military security as well. The fighting of organized crime is a mission for the police, so it is not a military matter, however it can become military if the level of organized crime is becoming dangerous such as terrorism.

There is only way to solve the problems of non-military security. It is cooperation. It's obligatory - cooperation is extremely necessary – isolation or self isolation can not save the society *vis-a-vis* non-military threats.

The factors of non-military security can be divided into a few groups:

- *Biological-ecological*: environmental threats, climate change (floods, droughts, earthquakes, purity of air, water, food, radiation, ozone layer, etc.) epidemics, and "civilization diseases".
- *Demographical:* demographical "explosion" in the Third World, dispropor-tions between population growths and GDP growth, and migration.
- *Civilization*: globalization, interaction between cultures, ethnic conflicts and clashes of civilization, crime and terrorism.

It is worth stressing that all of these factors are actually occurring in Africa. While speaking about security, ecologists and eco-politicians pick few contemporary problems, creating insecurity:

- *Global warming, wasting of energy resources and gas emission*. There are predictions of rising of global average temperatures from 1 to 3.5 this century. Pessimistic scenarios predict that Africa will suffer the most in the world. Despite the provisions of Kyoto protocol, there are still no real changes on the ground.
- *The reduction of equatorial forests.* Half of them disappeared in the last century. If the trend persists, the food production in Africa will shrink, the deserts ill grow, especially in North and West Africa. There the area of deserts are bigger than some respectable European states. The densely populated territories of Senegal and Nigeria will go under the water.

- *Changes of rivers flow – dams.* In 1950 there were app. 5,000 big dams, changing the river directions. In 2,000 the number grew to 45,000. There are two new dams constructed daily. They change the natural balance of the environment. In Africa the dams are the threat for the natural biosphere of the rivers. For example, the dam planned to be constructed near Angolan-Namibian border can dry, in the future the entire delta of Okwango River can cause the disappearance of river's delta in Botswana and extinction of a unique natural environment and the creation of climate change.
- *Nuclear waste.* There are more than 400 commercial nuclear reactors in the world. They "produce" more than 11,000 tons of nuclear waste annually. They need special treatment; however, app. 160 million people live closer than 100 kilometres from nuclear waste storage. It is no secret that Africa is seen as a potential storage of the waste.

The problems of civilization and demographical security are of crucial significance as well. It is necessary to mention, that the population growth in Africa is the biggest in the world. More than half of the population is under 15 years and the population is doubling in 25 years. The African population creates a so called demographical pressure for Europe and other continents.

According to UN data in year 2000, app. 175 million people can be defined as migrants, and 25 million among them have no legal status of their residence. A significant part of them are people living in Africa or coming from it. For the time being there is a globally acceptable model for dealing with migrants. Generally states are tending to limit migration, though these efforts contradict with human rights, free movement and globalization. On one hand there is the xenophobic trend to avoid "others", however strong the wish to have a cheap labour force, which stimulates encouraging to invite "gastarbaiters". Within highly developed countries there is the social security system applicable even for the illegal migrants, and it seems to be the ground for people who are ready to accept minimal support. The developing countries or countries involved in various conflicts are not able to stop migration out of the country, whereas western states generally lack mandate to assist in these sensitive matters or to solve problems of foreign countries.

In the late 1970-ies the World Health Organization had issued the ambitious project with the name "Health for all in 2000". The idea of the project was to implement the global-scale prophylactic measures against main diseases, and to decrease the prevalence of them significantly, because people will understand that is better, easier and cheaper to avoid the illness, than to cure it. The project showed the hopes put into the progress of knowledge and optimism.

Infection diseases are one of so-called new threats. Global vaccination or antibiotics made progress, but not victory. It is impossible to prevent the trans-border spread of the diseases – the infection can be transmitted by birds, animals, and insects.

Malaria is transmitted in mosquitoes is widespread in Africa, the number

of people suffering is growing, it is also been stimulating by climate change and grooving number of mosquitoes. Tuberculosis takes more than million victims per year, in Africa there are more than 5 million new cases annually.

HIV/AIDS. More than 40 million people died in recent two decades, and the number of people dying still grows. Many die even without the knowledge about the diagnosis. Only 5 percent of HIV positive people there understand what will be the outcome. Though only 12 percent of humans live in Africa, Africa claims 70 percent of AIDS cases in this continent. It decreases the life expectance of Africans on 8-10 years.

It is noteworthy to say that not only technical problems cause the spread of HIV/AIDS in the third world. This "specific" way of life does not permit the implementation of the measures encouraging one to keep the "traditional" family approach. The possible outcome of today's situation is the disappearance of entire generations from the society. As it is clear from demographical prediction in the case of Botswana, made by American experts, soon the generation of 45-55 years will be less numerous than older generation that lived they active life before the virus became deadly. It is highly possible is that the young generation is also endangered because of how many young people are HIV positive.

It may be said by some, that all of these problems are not security but health care issues, however, the diseases are already not only a medical problem. They are discussed in the political foray. Twenty years ago when optimism prevailed and there were predictions that security will be much more cheaper and new threats – terrorism, environmental problems, migration, epidemics – will be easy manageable. Futurology it seems is funny again. Fighting infection and terrorism are more much dangerous.

Biological weapons some time ago were disqualified as ineffective and non selective are now becoming dangerous weapons of mass destruction again. Terrorists know that the new threats can be their weapon – dangerous and effective. In the XIX century, terrorists attacked selected personalities – ministers, emperors. In the XX century terrorists wanted to create turmoil and panic among civil population. In the XIX century terrorists are attacking civilizations, its weak side – physical shape and morality. It is possible to transfer bacteria and viruses threw the security system, to bring them abroad without any major obstacles. It is easier than transferring explosives. It is possible even to mail bacteria in the envelope. There is no need to kill; there is a need to impose panic and mistrust. It is even better for terrorists that not the military, but not guilty civilians are insecure and vulnerable. The XXI century can be extremely insecure in this respect.

3. Strengthening African Security

Looking to the Threat chart it's easy to make the conclusion that the strengthening of security are the attempts to decrease the probability of the threat appearance and minimize the damages it can cause. One and another can be achieved by political and technical means.

As it was said, it is difficult for Africa to prevent *Damocles* type threats. It is possible to do that by political mean only – applying arms control, implementing global security and confidence building measures. Obviously African countries can contribute to the process, especially if the policy of its countries and international organizations will be in harmony with the principles of World Order. The seat for African country in the Security Council of the UN would contribute to the strengthening of the influence of African countries and will encourage them to speak "one voice".

From the other hand, the probability of the *Cyclops* type threats can be reduced by the creation of the effective peace keeping and peace implementing mechanisms. The UN missions are not enough. Thought there are too many conflicts, there is the growing hope that facing international organizations well-organized efforts, it is possible to avoid conflicts or at least reduced the losses caused by conflicts.

In the recent years there is more and more of a will to establish newer and newer international organizations. Copying some good examples they created forms of international cooperation even the African union and Pan African parliament. AU is really the important step towards the structuralization of African security. Previous Organizations of African unity[18] failed in security matters, because it was blocked by enormous respect to sovereignty and non-inherence. AU, created in 2001, took on board all African states except Morocco. What is new in the AU?[19]

AU has a right to neglect the principle of non inherence. To the contrary – the problems of security of a particular country or region is the subject for organization to deal with. Organization has the right to intervene in the cases of war, genocide, and crimes against humanity. The relation between security and sustainable development is well emphasized. Security is the prerequisite for development, and the conflicts are one of the main obstacles to the way towards Millennium Development goals. AU declares the independent policy for security guarantees – "African solutions for African problems". The main structural decision maker is the Security Council of 15 members, selected by rotation: five members for three years, ten embers for two years, taking into account the representation of five African regions. The Security Council already made decisions for operations in Darfur, Comorros, Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Cote d'Ivoire and others. There is the decision to create the

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[18] Naldi, G., *The Organization of African Unity. An Analysis of its Role*, London: Mansell, 1999.
[19] Klingebiel, "Regional Security in Africa and the Role of External Support", *The European Journal of Development Research*, Vol.17, No.3, September, 2000, p. 439-441.

rapid deployment force of 15,000 men, ready for peace keeping in any place of Africa. Despite the problems of financing, the plan seems to be realistic. AU is been supported in Europe and USA as well as enthusiastically backed by the leaders of the strongest Africa states – Nigeria and South Africa.

The "classic" *Pythia* threats could be less dangerous in the states; there is more stability, prosperity and state's responsibility for the communities. There is the general agreement, that the key element for African security is the achievement, of Millennium Development Goals. This is the international program which unites the participation of all the US member states as well as two dozen international organizations, trying to achieve the eight main goals listed in the UN millennium declaration of 2000. The aim is to achieve no later as in 2015 the reduction of famine and extreme poverty, at least the primary education, gender equality, to reduce children mortality and increase the health status of women in reproductive age, as well as to fight AIDS, malaria and other epidemics. Finally the Millennium Development goals foresee the efforts for global environment protection, fair cooperation between states and the transfer of the experience of good governance.

While the program is designed for all of the World, it is clear that it is important first of all for Africa. Even the implementation of a few of elements listen will increase security significantly. Millennium Development goals[20] are related to *Cassandra* type threats as well, first of all with the climate change. That is additional argument for emphasizing the importance of the program. From the other hand the *Pandora* and *Medusa* threats can be reduced in the case the state is stable and well administrated.

It is important to note that the biggest and strongest African countries are taking seriously the need to influence the political future of the continent. And it is, of course, the well-promising phenomena.

Conclusions

The strengthening of African security is an important challenge for all global society. It is clear that a secure, predictable and well-managed Africa is the primary interest of the international community. It is clear, that the process is time and resource consuming.

The so called Western World has to contribute to the Millennium Development goals as well, but not only supporting Africa ideologically. It has to strengthen African economies; for example by discarding debts or creating the fair entrance of African products on to the global market. African countries often say that debts do not permit them to invest into modern technologies and start the competition in the world market from a fair starting position. At the same

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[20] Macmillan P., ed., *Studies in Development Economics and Policy. Achieving the Millennium Development Goals*, UNU – Wider, 2008.

time it is necessary to maintain strict arms control, to prevent the temptation of many African countries to invest into military strength, and to demand the fulfilment of international obligations. It is necessary to strengthen the sovereignization of African states, and at the same time to encourage them to take international obligations, fighting illegal migration, money laundering, etc.

Finally, it is necessary to stop the wars still in place and prevent conflicts in the future. As it was said, in the area of non-military security more resources have to be allocated to fight epidemics, poverty and illiteracy. The final solutions of global peace is so called democratic peace – the status of the World, there only democratic states are in place, the states that do not start the wars and are only competing each other according the rules agreed. This is like the post Cold War vision of "end of history". The vision, still not implemented, however very attractive, especially for regions as Africa. Thus the question, how to make Africa happy is still open. It will be happy, if it will be safe. And this is very serious challenge.